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LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

(PLATES I.—VII.)

§ 1.—THE SEASON'S WORK AND SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

CONTINUING the lines laid down in 1906, the campaign of 1907 was confined entirely to the site of Sparta itself. Our thanks must again be expressed to the Hellenic Government and the Ephor-General of Antiquities for their continuous support. This year we have especially to mention the enlargement of the Sparta Museum. The number of our finds had made this necessary, as the two rooms and entrance-hall of the old Museum were quite full when our work began. Two rooms have now been added to the right and left of the old building, doubling its original capacity. These rooms we have found most useful for purposes of study, and for arranging and repairing the finds, and we are especially grateful for the speed with which this improvement has been carried out. The position of Government representative was ably and agreeably filled by Mr. Gerasimos Kapsalis.

Mr. Wace, Mr. Tillyard, and Mr. Peet arrived at Sparta on March 15th, and Mr. Dickins and the Director followed on the 18th. Work was begun at once, and, except for slight interruptions from rain early in the season, lasted steadily until May 31st. Other members of the party were Mr. Penoyre, Mr. Droop, and Mr. Woodward, who joined Mr. Tillyard in the study of the inscriptions found, and also took part in the work at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Mr. Wace carried to a conclusion the work he had

begun the year before on the city wall, and in company with Mr. Dickins excavated a series of Hellenistic tombs. Mr. Dickins also undertook the excavation of the Temple of Athena Chalkioikos and of the small sanctuary discovered on the road to Megalopolis. Mr. Droop occupied himself chiefly with museum work and in making a series of drawings of the bronzes and pottery, to illustrate his section of this report. Mr. Penoyre also made water-colour drawings of painted pottery, some of which are published below. As a draughtsman we again had the advantage of Mr. Bagge's services for nearly six weeks, and Mr. Sejk was again with us as surveyor. His principal work was the completion of the general plan of the site, which it was necessary this year to double in extent, in order to take in the entire extent of the ancient city as revealed by the course of the wall. It is now published on Plate I.

Mr. George, an architectural student, did some excellent water-colour drawings, and also very valuable work at the Orthia Sanctuary, giving us several weeks of his time, first at Sparta and then at Athens. The plan and sections of the Orthia buildings are due to him. I take this opportunity of recording how very much my account of the Roman theatre at this site owes to his careful work and to his readiness to put his architectural knowledge at the service of the School.

Except for a few Cretans who came over on their own account, we relied this year entirely on local labour. The old hands had acquired some skill, but unfortunately men do not come here every year to the work and so get thoroughly well trained, as they do in Crete. There the land is in the hands of small peasant proprietors, and the men are thus kept to the locality, and every year will come to an excavation in the slack season between sowing and reaping. Laconia is inhabited rather by a roaming population of day-labourers. We again had Gregory Antoniou of Larnaka as foreman, and his experience was very valuable in keeping the somewhat elaborate system of digging by layers and sections in order. The same mender Joannes Chatsarakis came from Palaikastro, thus completing his sixth season of service with the School.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

Though most of the money and time was spent at the Orthia Sanctuary, the rest of Sparta was not neglected. The following short

summary of the sections of the Report will give the general results of the season's work.

The City Wall (§ 2, p. 5).—The tracing of the circuit of the ancient city wall was begun last year by Mr. Wace, who has now carried his task to a conclusion by following out the whole *enceinte*, and discovering traces of the towers. Where the wall itself has utterly perished, indications of its course remain in the shape of the stamped tiles that were used to roof it. Although several parts of the wall might be further examined with profit, the general direction is now clear, and a great step has thus been made towards a knowledge of the topography of the city. A feature of the excavation has been the great number and variety of the stamped tiles found. Mr. Wace has contributed a detailed study of them, and their topographical importance is very great. This year for instance they give an indication of the position of Pitane.

The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (§ 4, p. 44).—It was foreseen last year that the complete excavation of this site would require two more seasons, and this has proved to be the case. The work is by no means finished, although much has been done. As the two heavy items of expense, the diversion of the mill-stream and the expropriation of the site, were paid last year, we started free to use all our funds for excavation proper. The work done in this second campaign consisted in fully clearing the Roman theatre, and digging the arena and the temple down to virgin soil. The altar foreseen last year in the arena was found, or rather a series of three or possibly four, superimposed altars, ranging in date from archaic Greek to late Roman. The dating of the temple, as it stood in Roman times to the second century B.C., has been confirmed, but it has now been shewn to rest on the foundations of an older sixth-century temple. The plan of the Roman theatre has been recovered, and enough indications remain to enable a reconstruction of its main features to be made. Evidence has been found that it was not all built at the same time.

The Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos (§ 7, p. 137).—The discovery of this celebrated sanctuary is perhaps the most important of the whole campaign. Mr. Dickins took out a party of men to look for it on the hill above the theatre, and his efforts were almost immediately successful. The architectural remains were scanty, but the finds of great value. The most

important were a second slab, as long as the first, of the well-known Damonon inscription, a series of bronze statuettes of good period, and a remarkably fine Panathenaic amphora. The excavation of a deposit of Geometric pottery was only begun, but enough was found to enable Mr. Droop to conclude, that it is, as a whole, earlier than the Geometric from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and intermediate between it and the still earlier ware from the Amyclaion.

The Hellenistic Tombs (§ 8, p. 155).—Whilst making trial-pits with the hope of discovering the Agora, Mr. Wace and Mr. Dickins found a series of well-built tombs of the Hellenistic period. Taken in connexion with the so-called Tomb of Leonidas, it seems likely that we have here part of a large necropolis. It is worthy of note that the tombs are inside the city, and Mr. Dickins in his account of the excavation has discussed this point. Mr. Wace has added a study of the vases, of which a rich store was found with the skeletons, and by their means has been able to fix the chronological order of the different interments, which belong to the second century B.C.

The Small Sanctuary on the Megalopolis Road (§ 9, p. 169).—This was a small shrine on the west of the river outside the city wall to the north. It was remarkable for the thousands of miniature vases that were found in it. These date from the archaic period, and the sanctuary is possibly the Achilleion mentioned by Pausanias.

This summary and the detailed reports which follow will shew that a great part of the work for the next season is already prescribed, as being the continuation of work already begun. The first objective must again be the Sanctuary of Orthia, and besides this the Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos should be finished. As regards new work, we should continue making search for the Agora, and for more of the Hellenistic tombs, and examining the face of the late Roman wall of the Acropolis for inscriptions. The number of students now at the School who have had some experience of excavation will make it possible to do a good deal of that sinking of experimental trenches in various parts of the site by which alone we can hope to solve the remaining problems of Spartan topography.

R. M. DAWKINS.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

§ 2.—The City Wall.

One object of the excavations of 1907 was to attempt to determine the course of the city wall, so as to fix the limits within which the buildings mentioned by Pausanias were probably situated. In addition to the part traced by excavation in 1906 along the river bank[1] (General Plan, **O 15**, **14**, **P 13**, (Pl. I.)) I had observed in other places remains of Greek masonry and other indications which possibly belonged to the city wall.[2] These were accordingly examined by excavation, and with the results thus obtained and the assistance of the stamped tiles which were found in great numbers at one or two points, it has been possible to determine approximately the line of the city wall, and consequently the extent of ancient Sparta. The work lasted from March 20th to April 13th, 1907; Mr. Woodward assisted in the excavation along the northern walls, and Mr. Droop in that along the southern circuit.

The only part of the wall seen by the members of the French expedition to the Morea[3] was to the south-east of the mill (**F 16**) on the Magoula river, where the modern cathedral now stands. We searched the tops of the hills here in vain for any trace of the wall; the growth of the modern town has probably destroyed any remains there were, and the denudation has been so extensive, that there is little or no soil upon

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 284 ff.

[2] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 280,436.

[3] *Expéd. de Morée*, ii. Pl. 46, KK.

them. We found however by the cathedral (**G 16**) one wall tile (Type 9 A),[1] and further to the south-east (**H 19**) a tile of Nabis; thus with the indications given by the French surveyors we have every reason to believe the wall to have run along the ridge of these hills, but it probably turned away from the left bank of the Magoula, where the hills begin to sink towards the Eurotas (**J 20**), and then crossed to the prominent hill to the south-east of modern Sparta (**L 19**). Here we found no traces of it, but were told by natives that a wall had been destroyed quite recently. It seems certain that the city wall occupied this hill, because we found here quantities of stamped tiles from it, including one of Nabis (Type 22 C). To the north of the hill, and all down its eastern slope towards Matalla's mill we found traces of ancient potteries, which consisted of pits whence clay had been dug. They had afterwards been filled up with broken pots and other refuse from the kilns. As is actually the case in Sparta to-day, the kilns seem to have been some distance from the pits. Clay for tiles and bricks is dug from this part nowadays and is carried to the kilns at Psychikó (**M 20**).

By Matalla's garden (**N 18**) we found many tiles from the walls, including one of Nabis (Type 22 C), and concluded that the wall must have here turned northwards up the Eurotas valley. Some walls that might have formed a tower were also found. The measurements seemed to agree with the towers on Klaraki, but no certain evidence was obtainable. As this part of the city wall lies nearest to Therapne, there probably was a gate at this point, and outside the walls on the road leading to the bridge over the Eurotas stood the shrines of Athena Alea and Zeus Plousios noticed by Pausanias.[2] We know from Xenophon[3] that the shrine of Athena Alea was near the bridge, therefore the latter was on the way to Therapne. It is natural that the road and bridge connecting Sparta and Therapne, where stood the important sanctuary of Menelaus and Helen, would take the shortest route. Also we have referred above to the frequent traces of ancient potteries found in this neighbourhood, and we know from the stamped tiles that they were made at the shrine of Alea (Type 11),[4] so it is reasonable to assume that it stood in the pottery district. It is quite unlikely that the shrine of Alea was near the

[1] These numbers refer to the section on the stamped tiles, *v.* pp. 17 ff.
[2] Paus. iii. 19. 7. [3] *Hellenica* vi. 5. 27.
[4] See the section on the Stamped Tiles : p. 20.

Byzantine bridge,[1] for at that point between the city wall and the river there is no space for two shrines, and we know that the temenos of Athena Alea was large enough to hold sufficient hoplites to deter Epaminondas from attempting to cross the bridge.[2] This would also be the longest way to Therapne, and there is no clay in the neighbourhood at all suitable for tiles, or pots. Thus assuming that the gate to Therapne was by Matalla's garden (**N 19, O 19**) we may identify as one of the two shrines the much ruined wall at the end of the garden, built of large blocks in the style of the so-called Tomb of Leonidas. Other trial pits close to the mill revealed

FIG. 1.—THE CITY WALL BY THE EUROTAS.

other traces of a shrine here, for in them we found some late Greek terracotta statuettes, a bronze bull, and a few lead wreaths.

From this point as far as the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia no traces of the wall were found[3] except some rock cuttings in the ravine south of

[1] Mr. Dickins however believes the ancient bridge to have stood here (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 437). This view would involve the assumption that the tile works of Athena Alea were not near her shrine.

[2] Xenophon, *loc. cit.*

[3] Vischer (*Erinnerungen*, p. 379) saw definite traces of the wall here; but Jochmus (*Journ. R. Geo. Soc.* 1857, pp. 10 ff.) did not.

the sanctuary (**O 16**); a little below this (**O 17**) a tile of Type 13 was found.

The wall found between the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and the Heroön has been fully described in last year's report.[1] It is possible that the straight wall shewn outside the Roman building in the French plan [2] is part of the city wall which here bent outwards to include the sanctuary. Further examination of the curved wall below the Heroön (**O 13**) shewed that it is a late wall built of blocks from the city wall, which probably ran straight on as shewn in the plan (**O 14**). Beyond the Heroön the wall has been destroyed by the encroachment of the river (Fig. 1), but it must have turned westwards again to the north of the great altar (**P 12**), for several stamped tiles were found near here.[3] No trace of the wall itself is to be seen till we reach the small island in the mill-stream just below the modern road. On the island itself are several large blocks that possibly came from the wall, and on the left bank lies a cut block of limestone that almost certainly belonged to it. North of the road (**O 11, 12**) one of the best preserved pieces was found. Between the mill-stream and the river, just behind a large mass of Byzantine masonry, a tower was found, eight metres broad and projecting 3·70 metres from the face of the wall. A second tower of the same dimensions was found twenty-eight metres to the north of the first, and the wall was traced continuously from the first tower to just beyond a sharp turn in the mill-stream; here it has been destroyed by the river and all trace of it was lost. The two faces of the wall base, which is here 3·20 metres thick, and of the towers are well built of squared blocks of soft limestone (*poros*) laid regularly in courses, and between them is a solid packing of rough stones and earth.[4] The construction of the faces is exactly similar to that of the ancient embankment wall against the river.[5] This is built of similar squared blocks of *poros* laid alternately as headers and stretchers. It extended, as shewn by some similar blocks lying in the

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 284 ff. [2] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 309, Fig. 2.

[3] The wall in the abandoned mill-stream north of the altar (*B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VII. **P 12**, pp. 300, 287, 438) is not part of the city wall. It runs in the wrong direction, and is made of large rough stones packed, not built, together. The upper courses are of smaller stones laid with earth; the city wall is always built of large cut blocks resting on a foundation of small stones. The wall in question is probably of a comparatively recent date, and intended as a defence against encroachments of the river.

[4] The platform above the wall here is built of blocks torn from it, but is no part of the city wall; on the contrary it seems to belong to some quite late building.

[5] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 438, Fig. 3.

river, some distance north of the ancient bridge, of which the ruins still stand in the river-bed. The embankment wall is probably contemporary with the city wall, and may be compared to two similar walls along the Eurotas on the way from Sparta to Arcadia.[1] The piers of the bridge mentioned are much later than the embankment wall[2]; they consist of a core of rubble masonry set in mortar, and are faced with squared blocks of limestone and marble laid with mortar and tiles. It is certainly Byzantine. Fortunately an inscription copied by Fourmont[3] *prope pontem Spartae antiquae* tells us its exact date, 1027 A.D.: it was built during the reign of Constantine VIII. by a monk named Nicodemus. To the left of the bridge (*ἐν τῷ ἀρηστερῷ μέρι τῆς γεφύρας*) he erected a church and monastery, whose abbot was to have charge of the bridge. Presumably the church was endowed with the bridge tolls. Possibly the Byzantine foundations just north of the modern road are the remains of the church. The traces of roadway seen by the French surveyors[4] on the left bank of the Eurotas and those found by Mr. Dickins last year[5] on the right seem to have belonged to the road that crossed this bridge, since they run in the direction of the north gate of the late Roman walls (**M 13**).

From this point the city wall must have turned to the west along the right bank of the Mousga river, and somewhere in the interval between the Eurotas and the first hill (**N 11**) was probably the gate through which passed the road to Arcadia,[6] but as no sign of the wall could be found here save some very doubtful blocks (**O 11**), the exact position of this gate is unknown.

Between the part of the ancient bridge (**O 12**) and Klaraki (**H 7**) no certain trace of the wall was found, but all along the right bank of the Mousga, especially below the hills called Moundouna (**L 11, M 11**), there are several squared blocks that may have fallen from the walls, which must have run along this ridge of hills. To the west of Moundouna (**L 10**) were found two stamped tiles made for a portico on the Alpion (Type 63). One fragment of a tile of this type was found in 1906 at the

[1] Loring *J.H.S.* 1895, pp. 42, 43.

[2] Mr. Dickins however says that the embankment is 'of similar material and construction to the bridge' (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 437). This would involve the assumption that the city wall was built at the same time as the bridge, 1027 A.D., since it is similar in construction to the embankment.

[3] *C.I.G.* 8704. [4] *Expéd. de Morée*, ii. Pl. 46. [5] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 437.

[6] Pausanias, iii. 20. 8; Loring, *op. cit.* pp. 41 *sqq.*; very possibly there stood here, as this part is very much exposed to the floods of the Eurotas, the *παραπύλια* mentioned in an inscription as having been ruined by the river, *C.I.G.* 1330, l. 18.

Heroön. But most probably this low ridge of hills (**K 10**; **L 10, 11**) on the right bank of the Mousga is to be identified as the Alpion, since we know from Pausanias[1] that it was near the Acropolis. Further north-west, where the old road from Mistrá to Tripolis crosses the aqueduct (**J 10**), the field walls are built of Greek blocks that seem to have come from a wall like the part of the city wall at the Heroön[2]; these are just at the brow of the ridge, which is the most likely line for the wall. Thence it ran up the slope of the hill Bambakiá, on whose western peak a *parathesis* tile was

FIG. 2.—KLARAKI FROM THE EAST.

found (Type 41 A), but the hill itself has suffered from denudation and from levelling to bring it under cultivation, and so all attempts to find the wall proved fruitless.

On the next hill, Klaraki,[3] the results of excavation were far more important. The shape of this hill is remarkable: there is a broad slope from the south-east rising gently to the summit (Fig. 2), but on all the other sides the hill falls away very steeply, and so it is naturally well

[1] iii. 18. 2. [2] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 286, Fig. 2.

[3] Called the 'heights of Paktalia' by Mr. Bosanquet in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 280; cf. *ibid.* p. 346, 1.

adapted to serve as a turning point for the wall. On the eastern side of the hill only a few traces of the wall were found, but at one place (Fig. 3) a well preserved portion was found where a tower projected. All round the edge of the summit of the hill indications of the course of the wall were found, either stamped tiles or displaced blocks. On the top there was apparently a small fort, for on its south side three blocks of *poros* were found in position; they seemed to have formed part of a wall which probably joined the city wall on either side of the angle. To the south of the point, where this would have joined the western return of the city wall,

FIG. 3.—ANGLE OF TOWER ON KLARAKI.

traces of a projecting wall, probably that of a tower, were found. About twenty-eight metres south of this the natives have recently destroyed some walls in digging for building material. These projected from the city wall and have the same measurements as a third tower found twenty-eight metres to the south. Beyond this third tower, again, after an interval of twenty-eight metres, are indications of a fourth. These towers project from 5·80 to 6 metres from the wall and vary in width from 6·80 to 7 metres; they apparently were built with a base of cut stones and a superstructure of unbaked brick like the wall. Two years ago peasants engaged in digging

for stones extracted from the front wall of the third tower mentioned, the fine grave stele here illustrated [1] (Fig. 4). The wall itself was here built in the usual way except that where possible, the native conglomerate, which outcrops here, was cut to serve as its base. This is as much as four metres wide, but the wall was set back about ·30 m. from each edge of this. The *poros* blocks are set back from the edge of the conglomerate where it fails, and a built base was necessary, so we may assume that the wall was here

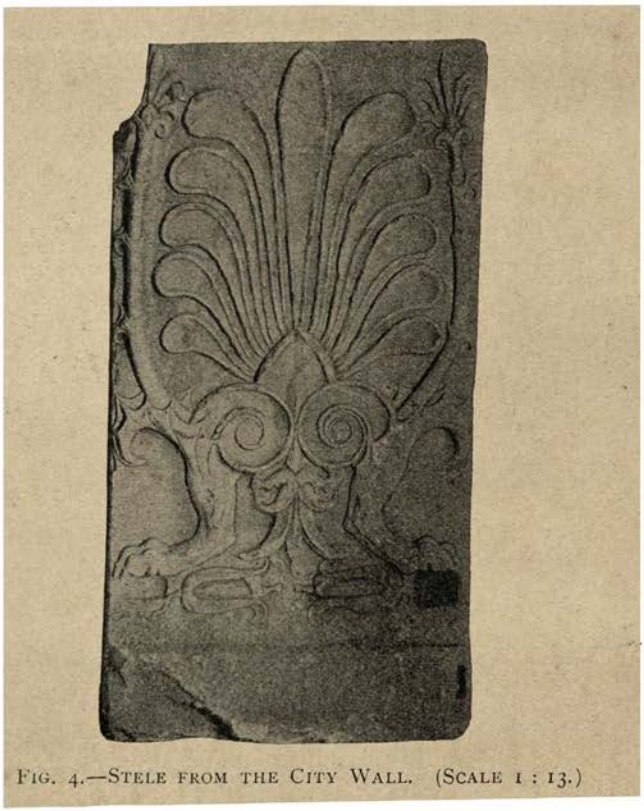


FIG. 4.—STELE FROM THE CITY WALL. (SCALE 1 : 13.)

not more than 3·50 metres wide. That these walls on Klaraki were really part of the city wall, is proved by the quantities of stamped tiles from it,

[1] This stele (Mus. No. 839) which must be earlier than the third century B. C. is the best example yet found of a type that is apparently Laconian. A list of the known specimens is given in *S. M. C.* p. 179, No. 445 *b*, Fig. 58. The stele there mentioned as being in private possession at Slavochori, is now in the church of Hagios Nikon in the same village. To the list given must be added another stele outside the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Kalogoniá.

which were found on this hill. A large number of them were made in the year of Eudamidas; so many in fact, that we can conjecture the wall to have been built in that year, which probably fell soon after 184 B.C.[1]

From the south-west slope of Klaraki the wall was traced partly by the actual remains of its base, partly by the finding of stamped tiles, over the low knoll called Kokkinaki; there two tiles stamped Πιτανατᾶν were found (Type 61). As remarked elsewhere, these tiles, like those of Nabis, probably belonged to the earliest wall, that destroyed by Philopoemen in 188 B.C. Since these tiles have been found only at this point we may assume Pitane to have lain in this region to the north-west of the theatre.

From Kokkinaki across the plain to the Cathedral Hill no trace of the wall could be found, except two tiles in the garden of Skandalakis (**H 15**). Assuming that the Roman baths (Arapissa) were within the city, we may conjecture the wall to have followed the line shewn on the plan.

It will thus be seen that the city wall follows the natural strategic line. From Klaraki, a strong and easily defended position, it runs along the hills on the right bank of the Mousga to the Eurotas, then, turning southwards, the whole eastern wall as far as Matalla's mill is covered by the Eurotas. It crosses by way of the south-eastern hill (**L 19**) to the Magoula river, and follows the hills on the left bank of that river as far as the Cathedral. From there to Kokkinaki the wall would have no natural protection, and we may assume that that part would have been more strongly fortified.

As stated above, the wall throughout consisted of a stone base with a superstructure of unbaked brick roofed with tiles. The construction of the base is well illustrated in Fig. 1, where owing to the encroachments of the Eurotas the wall appears in section in the river bank. The towers are always about twenty-eight metres apart,[2] but they vary in shape; those on Klaraki being almost square (6 × 7 metres) and those by the iron bridge long and narrow (3·70 × 8 metres).[3] For the tile roof two systems were in

[1] *v.* page 43.

[2] Of course this distance would not be constant. The towers of Nisyros are 23 metres apart (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 167, Fig. 12), but at Messene, Mantineia, Priene, and other sites the distance between the towers is irregular.

[3] Towers of this shape are fairly common; they exist at Demetrias, 6·10 × 2·70 metres (*Ath. Mitt.* 1905, pp 221 ff.); Messene, 6·70 × 4·10 metres (*Expéd. de Morée*, i. Pl. 39); Priene, 6 × 3·50 metres (Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, Pl. I.), and Orchomenos, 1·20–2·40 × 5·70–6·30 metres (Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. p. 183).

use: the first, which was the commoner and perhaps used for the wall proper, consists of the alternate use of broad, slightly concave tiles, and narrow semicircular tiles.[1] These were arranged so that the semicircular tiles covered the joints of the flat tiles which lay on their backs overlapping one another. The semicircular tiles taper towards their upper ends, which also have a small piece cut away underneath on both sides; this was to allow the upper end of the covering tile to fit over the overlapping flat tile and also to enable the lower end of the upper covering tile to grip better over the narrow end of its neighbour. These tiles are always described as δαμόσιος or δαμόσιοι, and therefore their technical name was masculine. Since we find on one stamp affixed to the broader tiles of this system

FIG. 5.—ANTEFIXES PROBABLY FROM THE CITY WALL. (SCALE 1 : 5.)

the word στεγαστήρ,[2] this may have been its technical name. The corresponding round *imbrex* was called καλυπτήρ.

The other system, which was perhaps used for towers only, is a variety of the same method used in better buildings.[3] The flat tiles have raised edges on their long sides, and are bent in sharply at the lower end; they thus overlapped the lower tiles, and as they fitted tightly against them, were prevented from slipping down. At their upper ends there is a low ridge on the top of the tile. This lay underneath the lower end of the upper tile, which projected outwards very slightly, and prevented rain from being blown by the wind between the joints. Similarly the covering tiles, which are semi-circular inside and shaped like a half hexagon outside, have a slight ridge near their upper ends, also to prevent

[1] *v.* Dörpfeld and others, *Die Verwendung von Terrakotten*, p. 16; cf. Furtwängler, *Aegina*. Pl. 63.

[2] *v.* page 41, Type 57; *v.* also page 24.

[3] *v.* Dörpfeld, *op. cit.* p. 18.

the slipping of the next tile above. These tiles are always feminine in the stamps impressed on them;[1] probably therefore we have to understand with the word *δαμοσία κεραμίς*, which may have been the technical term for them.

The open ends of the lowest covering tiles in both systems were closed with terracotta ornaments, or antefixes. Those belonging to the *στεγαστῆρες* system are the commoner (Fig. 5). They have been found on the south-eastern hill (**L 19**), at the Orthia site, in Tagari's garden, at the Heroön, by the iron bridge, and on Klaraki. They projected a little below the bottom of the tile itself. This was either to protect the lower end of the broad tile, or, as the eaves of walls of unbaked brick extended some distance from it, this projection enabled the rain water to run straight off the tiles, and not against the wall itself. Those of the *κεραμίδες* system, illustrated in Fig. 6, have been found only on Klaraki.

FIG. 6.—ANTEFIXES FROM THE CITY WALL. (SCALE 1 : 6.)

We cannot tell whether the roof of the wall was of the lean-to or gable shape,[2] although we have not yet found any king-tiles. The upper or outer surfaces of all the tiles, in order to enable them to resist weathering, were smoothed and covered with a glaze that varies in colour from red to deep red brown.[3] Black glaze is very rare. The tiles seem to have been set as a rule in a kind of fine mortar.[4]

[1] *v.* page 24.

[2] We have no material to enable any reconstruction at all similar to that of the walls of Athens: *v.* Choisy, *Les murs d'Athènes*.

[3] Dörpfeld, *op. cit.* p. 14.

[4] My warmest thanks are due to Dr. Dörpfeld for most kindly giving me information as to the details of tile roofs.

Our brief survey of the wall ends here. It will however be seen that, though we can approximately determine the extent of the circuit, further finds may give fuller information. In particular, as regards the parts already known, the tower by the iron bridge, and the wall by the Orthia site should be cleared; also between Tagari's garden and the Heroön search should be made for towers.

A. J. B. WACE.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

§ 3.—THE STAMPED TILES.

As was expected, the excavations of 1907 yielded even more stamped tiles than the first campaign. They were found in quantities all along the line of the city wall, especially at Klaraki, and on the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**). The sanctuaries of Athena Chalkioikos and Artemis Orthia also produced a great many. The total number approaches five hundred. Many of these give us entirely new and interesting inscriptions, and others help to correct and complete the reading of imperfect specimens found before. For the sake of convenience the numbering of the types given in last year's report[1] has been followed and extended. As this report is a continuation of the previous one, I have not thought it necessary to repeat all the comparisons with tile stamps from other sites which are there referred to. All our tiles are, with the exception of types **20**, **23**, **43**, **44**,[2] and **45**, not later in date than the first century B.C.

The lettering is in every case impressed on the upper or glazed side of the tile, whatever its shape. The stamp used was a wooden hand-stamp,[3] since the graining of the wood is visible in many cases (Fig. 1, C, G, Fig. 2. A, Fig. 3, B). It is clear also for several reasons,[4] that the letters were not

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 344–350. My warmest thanks are due to Mr. Tod, who has revised my MS., and made many valuable suggestions.

[2] The numbers in thick type refer to the type numbers.

[3] Probably the *τύπος ξύλινος κεραμίδων* of the Delian inventory, *B.C.H.* 1882, p. 48, c. 172.

[4] I am inclined to doubt Paris' statement that the lettering of the Elateia tiles was cut reversed on the inside of the mould: v. *Elatée*, p. 116.

cut on the mould. Tiles are made not *in* a mould, but *on* a mould, so that the under side of the tile is always next to the wooden mould: our stamps are always on the upper side of the tile. Also the stamps were impressed often two, three, or even four times on one tile, and in some cases we have two different stamps impressed on the same tile (**42**, p. 36). Further, one end of the stamp is often more deeply impressed than the other.

The object of stamping the tiles was of course to prevent theft: if anyone was suspected of stealing tiles from the city wall or any other building, an examination of the tiles found on his house or property would at once give sufficient evidence to secure his conviction or acquittal.

Tiles made for the City Walls. (Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

1. Fig. 1, A. A few new specimens were found along the north-eastern wall (General Plan, **Q 12**).

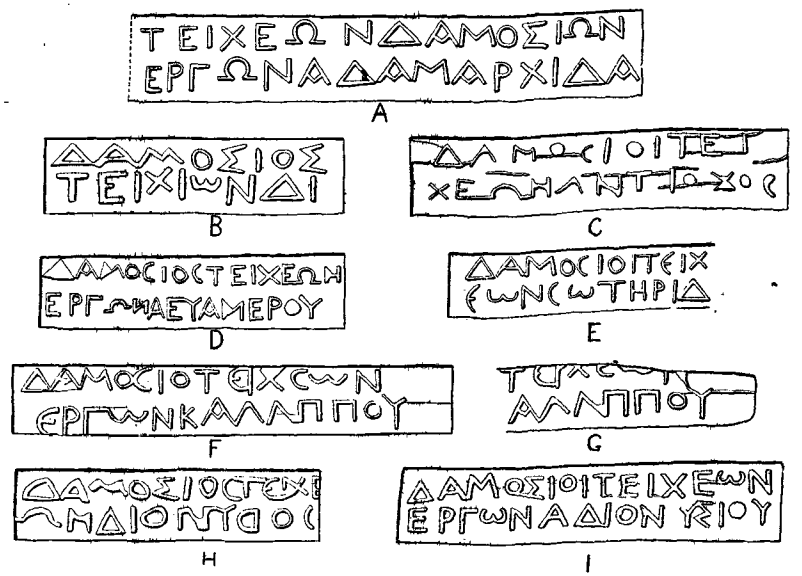


FIG. 1.—STAMPED TILES FROM THE CITY WALLS. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

2. Fig. 1, B. Several new specimens, which verify the conjectured reading given before, were found along the eastern walls (General Plan, **O 12–17**, **N 18**). The spelling *τειχίων* recurs in the tiles of

Philocleidas, Archippus, and Calligenes (**29**, **30** A, **31** B), and the lettering closely resembles one of the types of Archippus (**30** A), but the two varieties of **9** suggest that the abbreviated contractor's name Δ I may stand for *Διονυσίου*.

3. **4**. No new examples were found.

5. Fig. 1, C. Three new specimens were found on the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**). These show that we should read not *Ἀντιόχου*, but *Ἀντίοχος*, after which, on the analogy of **45**, we can supply *ἐπόει*, and *δαμόσιοι* instead of *δαμόσιος*.

6. Fig. 1, D. This occurred along the eastern wall.

7. Fig. 1, E. No new example has been found.

8. Fig. 1, F. Of this type we have no less than fifty-six new examples, besides seven found last year. It has occurred on Kokkinaki, and Klaraki, in the well at the Heroön, at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and on the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**). It is one of the commonest and most widely spread types, and is easily identified from certain well marked peculiarities. The new specimens show that the complete stamp reads:—

Δαμόσιο(ς) τειχέων	Publica (tegula) moenium
ἐργών(α) Καλλ(ί)ππου.	redemptore Callippo.

That many tiles were made by this contractor is shown by the fact that the wooden stamp split from constant use. The crack through the ΟΥ widened (Fig. 1, G), and the upper part of the end of *τειχέων* split right off. This circumstance, and the peculiarities of the ΓΩ and the ΛΛΠΠ render even the smallest fragment of this type recognisable.

9. *A*. Fig. 1, H.

Δαμόσιος τειχέ-	Publica (tegula) moenium
ων Διονύσιος	Dionysius (fecit).

B. Fig. 1, I.

Δαμόσιος τειχέων	Publica (tegula) moenium
ἐργώνα Διονυσίου	redemptore Dionysio.

Of the tiles of this contractor we had only one example of **9** A last year from the well at the Heroön. This (**9** A) has proved to be a widely spread type, having been found on the eastern walls and on the cathedral hill (General Plan, **G 16**). There is also one doubtful example from Kokkinaki. But **9** B was found only on the south-eastern hill. After Διονύσιος in **9** A we have to supply (cf. **45**) ἐπόει. The occurrence of Σ and C in the stamp (cf. **31** B) is not surprising when we consider that the stamps would be cut by workmen. In this case **9** A was cut by a badly educated workman and **9** B by a well educated one.

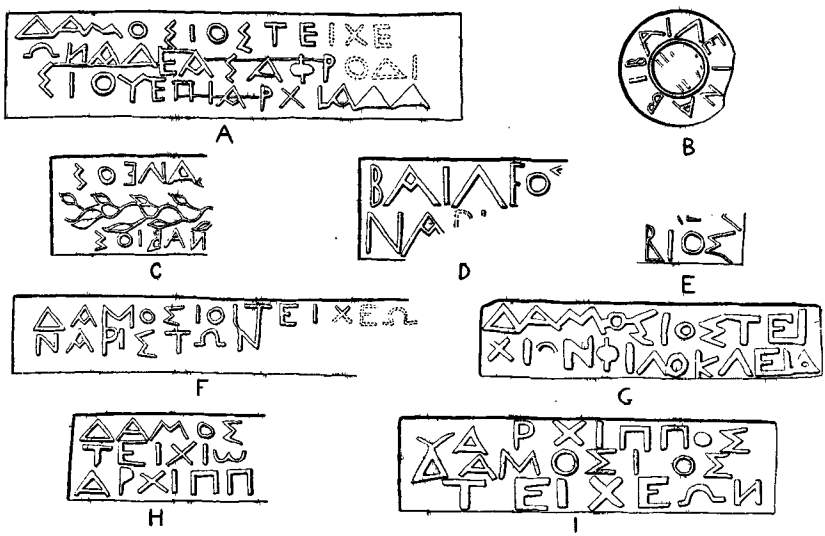


FIG. 2.—STAMPED TILES FROM THE CITY WALLS. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

11. Fig. 2, A. No new specimens have been found of this type, which is remarkable for the very detailed formula.

22. *A*. Fig. 4, B. No fresh example has been found.

B. Fig. 2, C.

Βαιλέος	Regis
Νάβιος	Nabidis.

One tile of this type was found on the hill west of the Gytheum road (General Plan, **H 19**). In this stamp the floral scroll between the words is

remarkable: it can be paralleled by the faint ornament just distinguishable in the centre of **22** A.

C. Fig. 2, D, E.

Βαίλέος	Regis
Νάβιος	Nabidis.

Of this type we have two specimens from different stamps, one found near Matalla's Garden (General Plan, **N 18**), the other from the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**). Probably the tile seen by Wolters[1] in the Sparta Museum was of this type, and the I of *βαίλέος*, which is very faint in one of the specimens, was invisible in the example he saw. His tile was almost certainly meant to read Βαίλέος Νάβιος, which is the correct method of writing these words in the Spartan dialect.[2] If *βαλέος* was really the right reading, it must have been due to an error of the stamp cutter, for it would be hard to find a true parallel to such a form for *βασιλέος*.[3]

These tiles are of course to be dated to the reign of Nabis 207–192 B.C.

28. Fig. 2, F.

Δαμόσιοι τειχ[έω]-	Publicae (tegulae) moenium
ν Ἀρίστων[ος]	Aristone (redemptore).

A new type, of which we have three specimens from Klaraki, and one from the garden of Skandalakis (General Plan, **G 15**).

29. Fig. 2, G.

Δαμόσιος τει-	Publica (tegula) moenium
χίων Φιλοκλείδ(α).	Philocleida (redemptore).

Two specimens from the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**) and two from the Amyclaion (*S.M.C.* 643;[4] Inv. No. 7062). We have again the spelling τειχίων as in **2**, **30** A, and **31** B. But most puzzling is the appearance of city wall tiles at the Amyclaion. There are several possible solutions. The Amyclaion may have been a state shrine, and state authorities may have used up surplus tiles from the walls for repairs to the temple at Amyclae, or the state may have sold surplus tiles to the trustees

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, p. 139. [2] R. Meister, *Dorer und Achäer*, pp. 10 ff.

[3] Prof. Wolters has kindly sent me a copy of the tile he saw. This was like **22** C (Fig. 2, D), and so the view expressed in the text seems correct.

[4] The complete specimens show that Tod's restoration of the Sparta Museum fragment is incorrect, *S.M.C.* p. 28.

of the Amyclaion, or the tiles may have been taken to the Amyclaion by Byzantine or mediaeval builders for the church of Hagia Kyriaki which stood on the site. The only other instance of a wall tile not found by the wall is that of **31** B from the Acropolis.

FIG. 3.– STAMPED TILES FROM THE CITY WALLS. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

30. *A.* Fig. 2, H.

Δαμόσ[ιος]	Publica (tegula)
τειχίω[ν]	moenium,
Ἀρχιππ[ος].	Archippus (fecit).

B. Fig. 2, I.

Αρχιππος	Archippus (fecit)
δαμόσιος	publica (tegula)
τειχέων.	moenium.

31. *A.* Fig. 3, A.

Καλλιγένης	Calligenes (fecit)
τειχέων	moenium
δαμόσιοι.	publicae (tegulae).

B. Fig. 3, B.

Δαμ(ό)σιος τ[ει]-	Publica (tegula) moenium
χίων Καλ(λι)γένη[ς.	Calligenes (fecit).

The first three of these types are remarkably alike, not only from the fact that the words are widely spaced and in three lines, but in the lettering as well. In **30** A and **31** B we have the spelling τειχίων as in **2** and **29**. Further, in **31** B we have Σ and Ϲ occurring together as in **9** A, and ligatures as well. If the same contractor's name did not appear in **31** A and **31** B, it would at first sight be hard to believe that they were of the same period. As in the case of Dionysius (**9** A, **9** B) the workman who cut **31** B was less well educated than the man who cut **31** A. Of **30** A we have three specimens, and of **31** B four, but of the other two, especially **31** A, considerable quantities have been found. All four types occur along the eastern walls, except a solitary specimen of **31** B from the Acropolis.

32. Fig. 3, C.

Δαμόσιος τειχέ-	Publica (tegula) moenium
ων Ἀριστ(αρχίδα.	(redemptore) Aristarchida.

The lettering of this stamp is good and strongly resembles **9** B. There is one specimen from the well at the Heroön, and several from the south-eastern wall.

33. *A.* Fig. 3, D.

Δαμόσιαι ἐπὶ	Publicae (tegulae) patronomo
Εὐδαμίδα τει-	Eudamida moenium
χέων ἐργων-	redemptoribus Nicione
ῶν Νικίωνος	(et) Xenarcho.
Ξενάρχου.	

B. Fig. 3, E.

Ἐπὶ Εὐδαμί-	Patronomo Eudamida
δα δαμόσιαι	publicae (tegulae)
τειχεῶν [ἐρ](γωνῶν)[1]	moenium redemptoribus
Νικίωνος	Nicione (et)
Ξενάρχου.	Xenarcho.

[1] Ἐργωνῶν is restored here because the letters ερ, though faint, seem to exist on some specimens.

34. Fig. 3, F.

Ἐπὶ Εὐδαμ-	Patronomo Eudamida
μίδα δαμό-	publicae (tegulae)
σιαι τειχέ-	moenium
ων	(redemptore) Xenarcho.
Ξενάρχου.	

35. *A.* Fig. 3, G.

Δαμόσιαι τειχέων	Publicae (tegulae) moenium
ἐργώνα Νικίωνος.	redemptore Nicione.

B. Fig. 3, G.

Δαμόσιαι τειχέ-	Publicae (tegulae) moenium
ων ἐργώνα Νικί-	redemptore Nicione.
ωνος.	

This is perhaps the most interesting group of tiles yet found. Types **33** A, **33** B, **34**, and **35** B are found on flat tiles, while **35** A occurs only on round tiles. We thus notice that flat tiles and angular *imbrices* (cf. **38** A, **39**) are feminine, and that round tiles—all the types given above are found on round tiles only—are masculine (see above, p. 14). The tiles of type **33** were made by Nikion and Xenarchus working in partnership. They seem to have afterwards dissolved this partnership, since we find each making tiles by himself (**34**, **35**). This dissolution took place in the year of Eudamidas, because the tiles of the partners and of Xenarchus are dated to the same year.[1] A further point to notice is the great similarity of **34** to **33** A and **33** B, and the dissimilarity of the two varieties of type **35** from either of these. We may thus conclude that on the dissolution of the partnership Xenarchus retained the services of the trusted workman, probably the foreman, who cut the tile stamps, while Nikion, when he set up independently, had to employ a new stamp-cutter. The sign which occurs on **33** A, **33** B, and **34** before Ξενάρχου is not very intelligible. It may be a trademark, or the sign of a stamp-cutter. It is another proof of the common origin of types **33** and **34**.

All the specimens of these three types, of which **33** B is the commonest, were found on Klaraki.

[1] Of course it is also possible that Xenarchus and Nikion worked separately at first, and then became partners in the year of Eudamidas. But the view given in the text seems to me the more probable.

The date of the year of Eudamidas is unfortunately unknown. An Eudamidas was eponymous Patronomus in the second century A.D. according to *C.I.G.* 1249, but our tiles cannot be later than the first century B.C. In an inscription from the shrine of Apollo Hyperteleates mention is made of the year of Eudamidas.[1] But if this refers, as is probable, to the Eleuthero-Laconian league, this Eudamidas was Strategus of the league and not Patronomus of Sparta.

36. Fig. 3, 1.

Ἐπὶ Εὐδαμίδα	Patronomo Eudamida
τειχέων	moenium
δαμόσιος A - - - E - - .	(tegula) publica A - - E - - - .

Twenty-seven specimens of this stamp were found on Klaraki, and it has so far appeared nowhere else. The great number of tiles of this type and of types **33** and **34** found on Klaraki seems to indicate that the walls on Klaraki were built, or at least underwent very considerable repairs, in the year of Eudamidas.

The meaning of AE is not clear. They can hardly be the first two letters of a name. We might suppose them to stand for A (the first letter of a name) E(ΡΓΩΝΑ), or as a monogram for ΑΛΕ, an abbreviation for Ἀλέας (cf. **11**). If the first view is right, we could complete the AE as Ἀ(ρχίππου) ἐ(ργώνα).

37. Fig. 3, K.

Ἐπὶ Ἀριστονό[ου]	Patronomo Aristonoo
[τειχέ]ων ἐργ[ώνα]	moenium redemptore
[E]ὐτύχου.	Eutycho.

Three specimens from Klaraki.

As Ἀρίστων never makes its genitive in Ἀρίστονος, we must restore the Patronomus' name as the genitive of Ἀριστόνους. This in Attic would be Ἀριστόνου or Ἀριστόνοος; but it is possible that the Spartan form would be Ἀριστονόου, for Εὐνόου occurs in an unpublished inscription at Mistrá, and we have Θευξίνοος as a nominative in *S.M.C.* 784.

[1] Collitz-Bechtel, 4546.

38. Various fragmentary stamps, all from the walls.

A.

ΔAMOCIATEI - - - -
- - ΙΠΠΑΡ - - - - - -
ΛΛ - - - - -

Four flat tiles from Klaraki, and one *imbrex* from near the iron bridge (General Plan, **O 12**). The formula seems to run :—

Δαμοσία τει[χέων]	Publica (tegula) moenium
[ἐπὶ] Ἱππάρ[χου τοῦ δεῖνος]	patronomo Hipparcho,
ΛΛ *[ἐργώνα.]*	redemptore - - - - -

B.

- - - - - - - -
ΤΕΙΧ - - - - -
CTPON - - -

One flat tile from Klaraki.

C.

- - - - - - ΧΕΩΝ
- - - - - - ΓΩ .
- - - - - - - CΠ

One round tile from Klaraki. The formula seems to run :—

[Δαμόσιος τει]χέων	Publica (tegula) moenium
[ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐρ]γώ[ν]-	patronomo - - - redemptore,
[α τοῦ δεῖνος CΠ*]*	- -

but the last two letters seem unintelligible.

D.

ΤΕΙΧ - - - -
ΣΙΑ - - - - -

One round tile from the garden of Skandalakis (General Plan, **G 15**).

E.

ΤΕΙΧ - - - - -
ΧΟΥΔ - - - -

One tile from the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**). It may be restored :—

Τειχ[έων Ἀντιό- (or *Εὐτύ-*)]	Moenium Antiocho (Eutycho)
χου δ[αμόσιος]	(redemptore) publica (tegula).

Compare **37** and **5** for the contractors Eutychus and Antiochus.

F. - - - - ΤΕΙ(Χ)
- - - - - ΤΩΝ

One tile from the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**).

G. - - - ΑΜΑΤΕΙ - - -
- - - - ΧΕΙΩ - - - -

One tile from the hill to the west of the Gythium Road (General Plan, **H 19**).

39. ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ - - - -
- - ΣΙΑ - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

Two flat tiles and one angular *imbrex* from Klaraki. Perhaps:—

Ἐπὶ Νικονόμου [δα]-	Patronomo Niconomo
[μο]σία [τειχέων ἐργ]-	publica (tegula) moenium
[ώνα τοῦ δεῖνος].	redemptore - - -

Niconomus occurs as Patronomus in type **40**.

In discussing types **33**, **34**, **35**, and **36** above it has been suggested that since tiles dated by the year of Eudamidas are so common on Klaraki, that part of the walls was built in that year. We know from Livy that the walls of Sparta destroyed by Philopoemen in 188 were ordered to be rebuilt by the Roman commission under Appius Claudius in 184 B.C.[1] As so important a work as the rebuilding of the walls cannot have been long delayed, the year of Eudamidas may fall as early as 183 B.C. Then the tiles dated by the years of Archiadas (**11**) and Aristonoos (**37**) must be later, though probably also of the second century B.C. If our restored reading of **38** A is correct, Hipparchus must have also been a Patronomus. An inscription[2] from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia dates from the year of Hipparchus and is possibly of the first century B.C. We may assume our Hipparchus to be the same person. Niconomus (**39**) is also to be assigned to the first century for reasons given elsewhere (*v.* p. 36).

[1] Niese (*Geschichte d. griech. u. mak. Staaten*, iii. p. 60) believes that the rebuilding of the walls and the restoration of the modified Lycurgan constitution did not occur till 178 B.C. If this view is correct, the dates in the text must be altered accordingly.

[2] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 361. 4.

Tiles Stamped Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας. (Fig. 4.)

10. Fig. 4, A. Two new examples of this type have been found. Further consideration and the evidence of **14**, **15**, and **26** incline me to the belief that this is to be read :—

Δαμόσιος	Publica (tegula)
Ἀθάνας Πρατέ(ας).	Athenae (ex officina) Prateas (fecit),

and not, as I thought before, *Δαμόσιος τε(ιχέων) Ἀθάνας, Πρα - - - .* TE would be a most unusual abbreviation for *τειχέων*, and from the evidence of

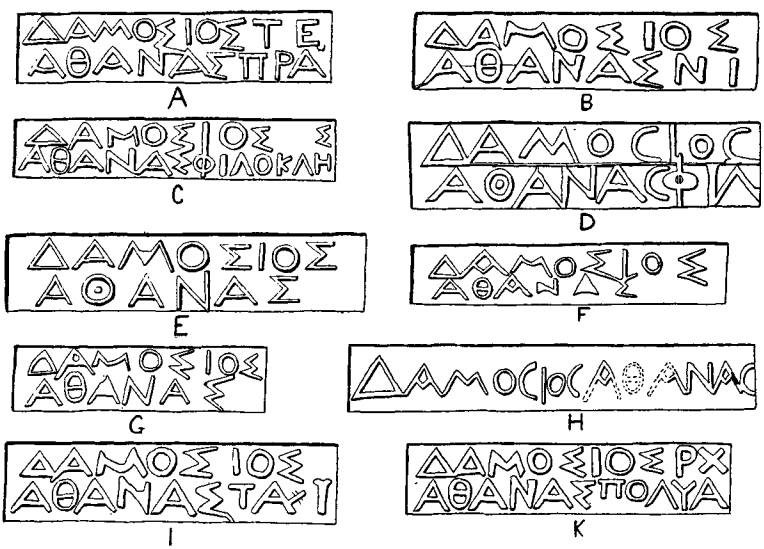


FIG. 4.—STAMPED TILES FROM THE FACTORY OF ATHENA ALEA. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

14, **15**, and **26** it seems more likely that TE are the next two letters of the contractor's name put up into the first line for want of space in the second. *Πρατεας* is a known Spartan name : cf. *S.M.C.* 247.

12. We now have complete specimens of this type, which reads as conjectured in last years's report, but none of them are well enough preserved to allow a good facsimile to be given. It has been found at the Heroön, the theatre, the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**) and by Matalla's garden (General Plan, **N 19**).

13. Fig 4, B. This is a very common stamp. It has been found at the theatre, by the iron bridge, at the Orthia site, on the Acropolis, east of the stoa, by Matalla's garden, on the land of Leopoulos (General Plan, **K 14**), by the sanctuary on the Megalopolis road (General Plan, **O 8**), and between Matalla's mill and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (General Plan, **O 17**). Νι - - may be an abbreviation for Nikion (cf. **33**, **35**) or Nikasion (cf. *S.M.C.* 276, 535), both of them known as brick and tile contractors.

14. - - - ΟΣΙΟΞΚΛΗ [Δαμ]όσιος Publica (tegula)
- - - - - - - ΠΟΛΥ ['Αθάνας] Πολυκλῆ(ς). Athenae (ex officina) Polycles (fecit).

Two specimens from the well at the Heroön (Inv. No. 2397, 7063: Inv. No. 2454 is not of this type, but of type **26**).

15. Fig. 4, C. Last year this type was found only in the well at the Heroön: it has occurred this year at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, on Klaraki, and on the Acropolis.

16. *A.* Fig. 4, D. This year this type has been found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and on Klaraki: last year it was found only at the Heroön on the line of the city wall. The suggestion that Φιλ - - - - should be completed Φιλοκλῆς is probably right, although we have in **15** Σ and not Ϲ; but in **9** A and **31** B we find Σ and Ϲ occurring in the same stamp, and in some of the tiles of Nikion we find Ϲ (**35 B**) and in others Σ (**35** A, **33**).

B. - - - - - ΟΣ [Δαμόσι]ος Publica (tegula)
- - - ΝΑΣΦΙ ['Αθά]νας Φι(λοκλῆς). Athenae (ex officina) Philocles (fecit).

One specimen from the well at the Heroön. I prefer to restore Philocles here, because in **15** we have Philocles' name in connexion with tiles made at the factory of Athena Alea. We might read Philocleidas (**29**), but he seems to have made only a few tiles for the walls, and to have had no connexion with the factory of Athena.

17. *A.* Fig. 4, E. A very common stamp found at the Mound (General Plan, **M 14**), the theatre, by the city wall (General Plan, **O 15**), in Tagari's garden, on the Acropolis, by the wall south of the sanctuary

of Artemis Orthia, and at the Orthia site, where more specimens have been found than elsewhere.

B. Fig. 4, F. A rare type: it has been found at the theatre, near Arapissa, near the south gate in the late Roman wall, on the Acropolis, and at the round building, but not yet on the line of the city wall.

C. Fig. 4, G. This type occurs on the line of the city wall (General Plan, **O 14**), at the Heroön, on the late Roman wall east of the Stoa, below Klaraki, on the Acropolis, and on the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**). One of the tiles from the Heroön is a flat tile.

D.	ΔAMO - - - -	Δαμό[σιος]	Publica (tegula)
	AΘAN - - - - -	'Αθάν[ας - - -]	Athenae (ex officina).

Two specimens from the well at the Heroön: this may be the beginning of type **14**.

E.	ΔAM - - - - -	Δαμ[όσιος]	Publica (tegula)
	AΘA - - - - -	'Αθά[νας - - -]	Athenae (ex officina).

One specimen from the well at the Heroön.

24. Fig. 4, H.

Δαμόσιος 'A[θ]άνας.	Publica (tegula) Athenae (ex officina).

This has been found by Tagari's garden (General Plan, **O 15**), in the well at the Heroön, and at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

25. Fig. 4, I.

Δαμόσιος	Publica (tegula)
'Αθάνας Τα(χυκλῆς).	Athenae (ex officina) Tachycles (fecit).

This occurs at the Heroön, and on the line of the city wall (General Plan, **O 14**). The restoration of the contractor's name is not certain: Tachycles, which is suggested, is a Spartan name (cf. *S.M.C.* 612).

26. Fig. 4, K.

Δαμόσιος	Publica (tegula)
'Αθάνας Πολύαρχ(ος).	Athenae (ex officina) Polyarchus (fecit).

This occurs on the Acropolis, at the Heroön, by Matalla's garden (General Plan, **N 19**), and on the land of Leopoulos (General Plan, **J 14**).

It will at once be seen that these tiles cannot have been made for a temple of Athena,[1] since they are found scattered all over the site of ancient Sparta. The explanation of this is, as remarked last year,[2] that Ἀθάνας refers to the tile-factory attached to the shrine of Athena Alea. Of the existence of such a factory type **11** is certain evidence. We have therefore to render Δάμοσιος Ἀθάνας as *tegula publica ex officina Athenae.* The great variety of stamps of this class strengthens this conclusion.

These tiles then were made for the general purposes of the state at the factory of Athena Alea to the order of various contractors, though the names that occur need not necessarily be those of contractors, but possibly those of the priests of Athena Alea. At all events, it is reasonable to assume that for some considerable period the tiles for general purposes were supplied by contract to the state from the factory of Athena Alea; and on one occasion (cf. **11**) a special lot was ordered for the city wall. This class of tile, though commonly used for repairs to the walls, was also employed on other state buildings.

Type **13** is common on the Acropolis, and as other state tiles have been found there (*v.* pp. 31 ff.) we naturally conclude that the shrine of Athena Chalkioikos was managed by the state, and not by its own trustees, as that of Artemis Orthia (*v.* p. 38). For this reason we find that state decrees (*S.M.C.* 217 B, l. 16; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 441, 1, l. 15) were set up in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, while amongst the far more numerous inscriptions from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia there is not one state decree. If the tiles of type **17** A, found at the Orthia site were used for the city wall there, it must have been roofed with them alone. Another explanation is suggested below (cf. p. 39, **21**, **23**).

Tiles for the Παράθεσις. (Fig. 5.)

40. *A.* Fig. 5, A.

Ἐπὶ Νικονόμου	Patronomo Niconomo
παραθέσεος	apothecae
ἐργώνα Εὐφράνορος.	redemptore Euphranore.

Two flat tiles from the Acropolis.

[1] Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 50 n.; Collitz-Bechtel, 4460.

[2] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 347. For the probable position of the shrine of Athena Alea, *v.* page 6.

B.	- - - - - ΙΚΟΝ - - - -	[Ἐπὶ Ν]*ικον*[*όμου δαμ*]-	Patronomo Niconomo publica (tegula)
	- - - ΠΑΡΑΘΕ - - - -	[*οσία*] *παραθέ*[*σεος ἐργ*]-	apothecae redemptor
	- - - ΝΑCΕΥΦΡΑ - - -	[*ώ*]*νας Εὐφρά*[*νωρ.*]	Euphranor (fecit).

Two angular *imbrices* from the Acropolis. *Δαμοσία* is restored here before *παραθέσεος* on the analogy of **39** : cf. **40** D and **40** E.

C.	ΔΑΜΟCΙ - - - - ΡΑΘΕ	*Δαμόσι*[*οι πα*]*ραθέ*-	Publica (tegula) apothecae
	CΕΟC - - - - - - - ΟΥ	*σεος* [*ἐπὶ Νικονόμ*]*ου*	patrono Niconomo
	ΕΡΓΩΝΑΞΕΝΟ - - - ΟC	*ἐργώνα Ξενο*[*κλέ*]*ος*	redemptore Xenocle.

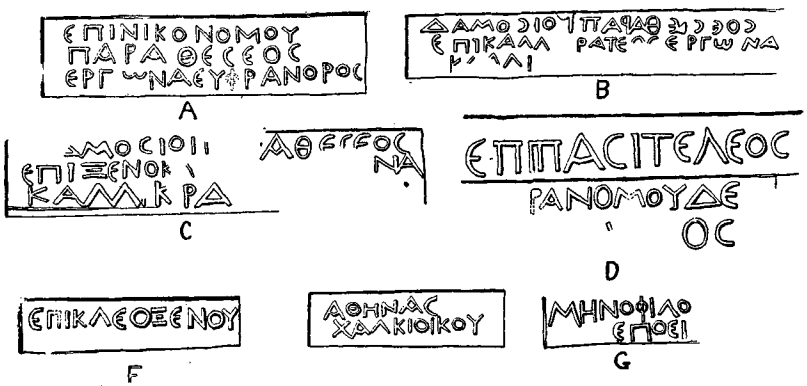


FIG. 5.—STAMPED TILES FROM THE ACROPOLIS, ETC. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

Two round tiles from the Acropolis. The restoration is made by combining conjecturally two fragmentary inscriptions which seem to have been made by the same stamp.

D.	- - ΙΚΟΝ - - -	[Ἐπὶ Ν]*ικο*[*νόμου δαμ*]-	Patronomo Niconomo
	- - ΠΑΡΑ - - -	[*οσία*] *παρα*[*θέσεος*]	(tegula) publica apothecae
	- - - ΑΕ - - - -	[*ἐργών*]*α* Ε[*ὐφράνορος.*]	redemptore Euphranore.

One flat tile from the Acropolis. For the restoration cf. **39**, **40** B, and **40** E.

E.	ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ - - -	Ἐπὶ *Νικονόμου* [*δαμ*]-	Patronomo Niconomo
	- - - ΑΠΑ - - - - - - - -	[*οσί*]*α πα*[*ραθέσεος*]	(tegula) publica apothecae
	- - - ΩΝΑ - - - - - - - -	[*ἐργ*]*ώνα* [*τοῦ δεῖνος.*]	redemptore - - - - - -

Three flat tiles and two angular *imbrices* from the Acropolis. For the restoration cf. **39**, **40** B, and **40** D.

41. *A*.	ΔΑΜΟϹ - - -	*Δαμόσ[ιοι παραθέσεος]*	Publicae(tegulae)apothecae
	ΕΠΙΑΡΧΙ - - -	*Ἐπὶ Ἀρχι[- - ἐργώνα]*	patronomo Archi - - - -
	ΚΑΛΛ - - - - -	*Καλλ[ικρατίδα.]*	redemptore Callicratida.

One round tile from Bambakiá, and one from the Acropolis.

B. Fig. 5, B.

Δαμόσιοι παραθέσεος	Publicae (tegulae) apothecae
ἐπὶ Καλλ[ικ]ράτεος ἐργώνα	patronomo Callicrate redemptore
Καλλι[κρατίδα.]	Callicratida.

Two round tiles from the Acropolis, and one from the round building.

C. Fig. 5, C.

[Δ]αμόσιοι (π)[αρ]αθέσεος	Publicae (tegulae) apothecae
ἐπὶ Ξενοκλ[είδα ἐργώ]να	patronomo Xenocleida redemptore
Καλλικρα[τίδα.]	Callicratida.

One round tile from the Acropolis, and one from Klaraki.

D.	ΔΑΜΟCΙΟΙ - - -	*Δαμόσιοι [παραθέσεος ἐ]-*	Publicae (tegulae) apothecae
	ΠΙΤΑΡΑ - - - - -	*πὶ Τάρα [ἐργώνα Καλ]-*	patronomo Tarante redemptore
	ΛΙΚΡΑ - - - - - -	*λικρα[τίδα.]*	Callicratida.

One round tile from the Acropolis. Taras is a Spartan name, and in Laconia makes its genitive in Τάρα, *S.M.C.* 206, l. 41 ; 207, l. 43.

E.	ΔΑΜ - - -	*Δαμ[όσιοι παραθέσεος]*	Publicae (tegulae) apothecae
	ΕΠΙ - - - -	*ἐπὶ [τοῦ δεῖνος ἐργώ]-*	patronomo - - - redemptore
	ΝΑΚΑ - - -	*να Κα[λλικρατίδα.]*	Callicratida.

One round tile from the Acropolis.

In these five stamps I have restored the contractor's name as Callicratidas, because in one example of **41** C there seem to me to be faint but uncertain traces of *τι* after the *Καλλικρα*. *Ξενοκλείδα* has been restored in **41** C, because there also appear to be traces of *ει* after the *λ*.

F.	ΔΑΜ - - - -	*Δαμ[όσιοι παραθέσεος]*	Publicae(tegulae)apothecae
	ΕΠΙ - - - - -	*ἐπὶ [τοῦ δεῖνος]*	patronomo - - - - - -
	ΕΡ - - - - -	*ἐρ[γώνα τοῦ δεῖνος]*	redemptore - - - - - -

One round tile from the Acropolis.

G.	- - - ΟCΙΟ(Ι)ΠΑ - - - -	*[Δαμ]όσιοι πα[ραθέσεος]*	Publicae (tegulae) apothecae
	- - - - - ΓΕΝΙΔΑΕΡ - - -	*[ἐπὶ - - - -]γενίδα ἐρ[γώνα]*	patronomo - - - - -genida redemptore
	ΝΕΟΚΛΕΟC	*Νεοκλέος*	Neocle.

One round tile from Moundouna (General Plan, **M 11**).

The stamp, though almost complete, is much worn ; in the early part of the Patronomus' name there seem to be traces of an *ω*, so we might restore *[Σωσι]γενίδας*.

H.	ΔΑΜΟ - - - ΘΕCΕ	*Δαμό[σιοι παρα]θέσε(ος)*	Publicae(tegulae)apothecae
	ΕΡΓΩΝ - - - - - - -	*ἐργών[α τοῦ δεῖνος].*	redemptore - - - - - -

Three round tiles from the Acropolis.

I.	- - - - ΟCΙΟC	*[Δαμ]όσιος*	Publica (tegula)
	- - - - ΑΘCΕΩC	*[παρ]αθ(έ)σεως*	apothecae.

One round tile from Klaraki. This is probably the latest of the series, for we have *παραθέσεως* and not *παραθέσεος*, and the letters are bad and careless.

The five varieties grouped under type **40** were all made during the patronomate of Niconomus, three (**40** A, **40** B, **40** D) by Euphranor,[1] and one (**40** C), if our conjecture is right, by Xenocles. This variety of stamps shows that there was a great demand for *παράθεσις* tiles in that year. Two contractors, Euphranor and Xenocles, were employed, and the former used at least two wooden stamps—quite a rare circumstance. The only other instances of two stamps occur on the tiles of Dionysius, Archippus, and Calligenes (cf. **9**, **30**, **31**), all of whom supplied large quantities of tiles for the city walls.

In the first five varieties of type **41** the exact converse of this occurs. Here we have one contractor Callicratidas supplying tiles for the *παράθεσις* for a series of years under Callicrates, Xenocleidas, Taras, Archi . . . . , and

[1] Type **40** A may have been used for flat tiles, and **40** B for angular *imbrices* only.

a Patronomus whose name is lost. The other varieties are very incomplete, but enough remains to decide the character of the inscription.

We have now to explain what the παράθεσις was and why there are so many varieties and so few specimens of each. It seems clear that it cannot have been a building, for though these tiles are common on the Acropolis, they occur also elsewhere (cf. **41** A, **41** C, **41** G, **41** I) on the line of the city wall, and at the round building (**41** B). Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that tiles so scattered must have been intended not for one particular building, but for a general purpose. What that general purpose was is explained by the word παράθεσις, which is used by Polybius[1] and in inscriptions[2] to mean a stock or store of anything. Therefore in this case παράθεσις means the state stock or depôt of tiles. There must have been many state buildings in Sparta, and their tile roofs must now and again have been in need of repairs. Such repairs would not mean the use of fifty or more pairs of tiles for one building, but merely the replacement of three or four tiles cracked by frost or blown off by a high wind.

Thus if twenty state buildings each needed four tiles a year, it would hardly be worth while to make twenty specially stamped sets of four tiles each. Instead, I believe, the state bought regularly year by year by contract a fixed number of tiles for such emergencies. These would accordingly be stamped as stock tiles and used for any necessity that arose. Callicratidas, as pointed out above, held a contract to supply such tiles for five years at least. Of course for extensive buildings like the city walls that probably needed many new tiles each year, specially stamped sets would probably be made; though, as remarked before, παράθεσις tiles have been found along the line of the city wall.

There is one further consideration. Was the supply of παράθεσις tiles contemporary with that of Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας tiles, which, as we have said, were probably also stock tiles? It is just possible that the state needed so many tiles that two contracts were necessary. But then we should expect all the tiles to be stamped παράθεσις, whether made by Athena Alea or private contractors. So one class should be older than the other. The Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας tiles are probably the earlier, but bricks for the Skanotheke were made at the factory of Alea in the year of

[1] iii. 17. 11; ii. 15. 3.

[2] Dittenberger, *Syll.*[2], 177, l. 73, 303, l. 25; *Id. O.G.I.* 90, l. 22; Hiller von Gaertringen, *I. v. Priene*, 108, ll. 42, 68, 84.

Callicrates (see p. 193). In one case (**11**) Athena Alea is referred to simply as Alea, ϛ for Σ occurs only twice (**16** A, **24**), Ε is always used, and ⊙ occurs twice (**16** A, **17** A). On the other hand, in the *παράθεσις* tiles ϛ and Ε are universal, ⊙ never occurs, and the inscriptions generally seem later.

Now in the *παράθεσις* tiles we have Callicrates mentioned as Patronomus (**41** B). In *S.M.C.* 207, which is attributed to the first century B.C., a Callicrates is eponymous Patronomus. If we assume this Callicrates to be the same person, we may therefore assign Archi - - -, Xenocleidas, and Taras to the first century, since Callicratidas made tiles under them as well as under Callicrates (**41** A–E). Probably we should assign Nikonomus and - - - - -genidas to the same period (**39**, **40**, **41** G), for *παράθεσις* tiles were made under them also. On the other hand, Archiadas (**11**), whose name occurs on tiles made at the factory of Athena Alea, will probably be of the second century B.C., since we have conjectured the *Ἀθάνας* tiles to be the earlier. He cannot be earlier than 184 B.C.,[1] after which year the rebuilding of the walls began, and if, as conjectured above, they were built in the year of Eudamidas, Archiadas must be later.

Tiles with Magistrates' Names.

27. - - - - ΥΧΑΝΔΡΟΥ [Ἐπὶ Τ]*υχάνδρου.* Patronomo Tychandro.

Three specimens from the well at the Heroön: for the restoration cf. **42**, **43**.

42. Fig. 5, D.

Ἐπὶ *Πασιτέλεος*	Patronomo Pasitele,
[*ἀγο*]*ρανόμου* δὲ	agoranomo autem
- - - - - - *ος.*	- - - - - -

This type is very interesting; we have three tiles bearing parts of the words *ἐπὶ Πασιτέλεος* and on two of them there is stamped below part of [*ἀγο*]*ρανόμου* δὲ *κ.τ.λ.* This shows that there were two stamps and that they were not always placed one above the other. It shows that the Agoranomus stamp was complementary to that of Pasiteles; and probably also Pasiteles' name was stamped on tiles for the walls or the *παράθεσις*

[1] Or 178 B.C.: *v.* page 27, 1.

which were marked with another stamp, for type **42** by itself is an incomplete stamp, being in fact nothing but a date. It does not seem clear why the Agoranomus' name was added. In *S.M.C.* 691 we have an *ἀγορανόμος ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδούς*, so as the Agoranomi were Aediles another member of the board may have been superintendent of public buildings. The stamps do not seem to be very early for the use of C Є, and A, but we have the genitive in *εος* and not *ους*; therefore we may assign the tiles to the first century B.C.

If the conjectural restoration of **27** is correct, it was probably applied as a secondary stamp to tiles made for the walls. To judge by the careful lettering the inscription seems to date from the second century B.C.

Other tiles from the Acropolis.

43. Fig. 5, E.

Ἐπὶ Κλεοξένου.	Patronomo Cleoxeno.

44. Fig. 5, F.

Ἀθηνᾶς Χαλκιοίκου.	Athenae Chalcioeci.

45. Fig. 5, G.

Μηνόφιλο[ς] ἐποει.	Menophilus fecit.

These three types have so far been found only on the Acropolis. The lettering is not very good and does not seem early. We have H used for A in **44**, and C and Є are used throughout. It is just possible to attribute the tiles to the late first century B.C., but more probably they belong to the first century A.D.

The tiles on which these three stamps occur are simila rin fabric, and the lettering is so alike in style that the inscriptions seem to have been cut by the same hand. So, as each inscription is incomplete alone, I would conjecture that all three stamps were applied to the same tiles, and that the three inscriptions really form only one. We have just seen in the case of type **42** that two stamps could be applied to one tile, and in that case the stamps are short, incomplete inscriptions of the same kind as these. Parallel instances of this are to be found in a tile from the Argive

Heraeum[1] with two stamps, one reading Σωκλῆς ἀρχιτέκτων, and the other Δαμόϊοι Ἥρας, and the bricks from the temple of Athena Cranaea, the inscriptions of which Paris completes from three separate stamps reading Δαμοσία πλίνθος | ἐπὶ Ἀπελλέα | ἐργώνου Δαματρίου.[2] There is yet another parallel from Sparta itself. Some of the bricks of the Skanotheke are stamped with a different inscription on each of their four sides. For instance *S.M.C.* 712 reads Ἐπὶ Καλλικράτεος | σκανοθήκας | Ζήνων. Other bricks with similar inscriptions, but made by different contractors, were found in the excavations at the theatre in 1906.[3]

Tiles from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. (Fig. 6.)

18. Fig. 6, A.

19. Fig. 6, B. Many fresh specimens of these two types were found this year. They probably served to roof the temple after its restoration.[4]

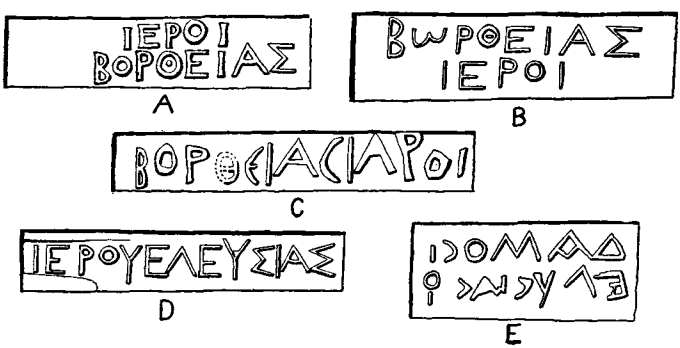


FIG. 6.—STAMPED TILES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

Since both types occur together we must suppose them to be contemporary, and that the contract for tiles for the temple was given to at least two contractors.[5] They probably date from the early second century B.C., for

[1] Richardson, *apud* Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, i. p. 217.

[2] Paris, *Élatée*, p. 116. He, however, thinks that the inscription was only complete when three bricks were placed in a row.

[3] See Mr. Tillyard's paper on them in § 10 of this report.

[4] *v.* p. 60. To the references given in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 349, for the use of *ἱερός* on tiles add a tile at Tripolis from Mantineia reading IEPOI reversed.

[5] At least twelve contractors supplied tiles, etc. for the roof of the temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus, Cavvadias, *Épidaure*, p. 91.

in both types ⊙, E, A, and Σ are used, and the lettering is good. The formula of these tiles is totally different from those stamped *Ἀθηνᾶς Χαλκιοίκου*. *Ἱεροὶ Βοῤθείας* means that the tiles were made specially for the temple of Orthia to the order of the trustees of the sanctuary, and as an inscription is exactly paralleled by *Δαμόσιος τειχέων*, which means tiles made for the walls to the order of the state. On the other hand *Ἀθηνᾶς Χαλκιοίκου* is an incomplete inscription, since it merely mentions the temple for which the tiles were made.

20. Fig. 6, C. No more examples of this type have been found. Probably only a few tiles were made with this stamp for repairs to the temple. Judging by the lettering the stamp seems to date from the imperial period. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that all the examples of this type were found at the Roman level.

21. Fig. 6, D.

Ἱεροῦ Ἐλευσίας	Templi Eileithyiae.

23. Fig. 6, E.

Δαμόσιοι	Publicae (tegulae).
Ἐλ(ε)υσίας.	Eileithyiae.

Five fresh specimens of **21** have been found, which enable us to complete the inscription. Of **23** there are only two specimens. Type **21** is complete, just as *Ἀθηνᾶς Χαλκιοίκου*, as remarked above (p. 37), is incomplete. Therefore we may conjecture this stamp to have been applied as a second stamp to some tiles of type **17** A *Δαμόσιος Ἀθάνας*, of which quantities have been found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. This would then give an intelligible inscription, '*Tiles made for the state at the factory of Athena Alea for the shrine of Eileithyia.*' The evidence for doubly stamping tiles is given under types **42–45** (pp. 36, 37); and we know from type **23** that the shrine of Eileithyia was managed by the state. Type **23** is probably as late as the imperial period, since the lettering is very careless and the word *Ἐλευσίας* misspelt.

Miscellaneous Tiles. (Fig. 7.)

46. *A*. Fig. 7, B.

[*Κατάλυμα*] *τῶν Ῥω-*	Hospitium Romanorum
[*μαίων καὶ*] *δικαστᾶν*.	et iudicum.

B. Fig. 7, A.

[K]*ατάλυμα τῶ*[*ν*] *Ρω-*	Hospitium Romanorum
μαίων καὶ δικ[*α*]*στᾶν.*	et iudicum.

Of **46** A there is one specimen from the Acropolis and another from the south-eastern corner of the late Roman walls (General Plan, **L 14**). Of the other we have two examples from near Hagia Kyriaki (General Plan, **J 14**). The former seems to be the older, but both varieties are to be attributed to the second century B.C.

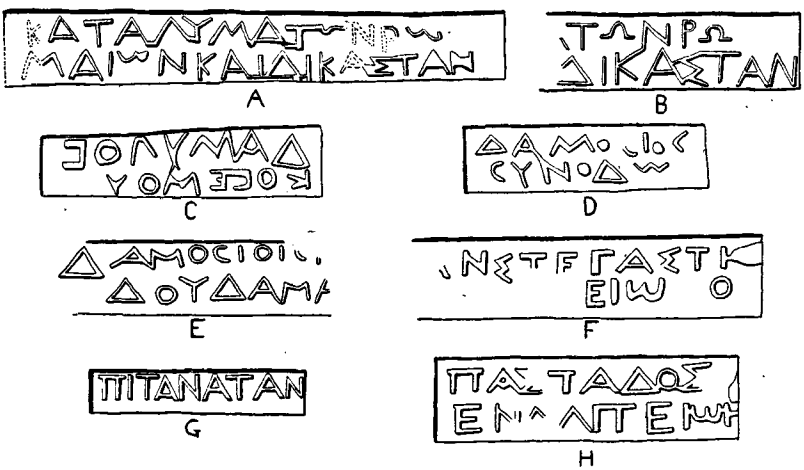


FIG. 7.—MISCELLANEOUS STAMPED TILES. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

We have here an undoubted reference to a building intended to serve as a lodging for Roman ambassadors or commissioners and for dicasts. Where this building was is not certain, for the tiles in question are very scattered. In one inscription[1] this building is mentioned. In the course of an honorary decree of the second century B.C. comes this sentence:— *δόντω δὲ* [*καὶ οἱ*] | *ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου κατάλυμ*[*α κ.τ.λ.* We must understand *τοῦ Ῥωμαίου* as the genitive of *τὸ Ῥωμαῖον* with *κατάλυμα* implied from the context. The dicasts meant were perhaps *ξενοδίκαι*, arbitrators from other cities in inter-state disputes about boundaries and similar questions.

As Sparta had no close friendship with Rome till she was separated

[1] *C.I.G.* 1331 ; Collitz-Bechtel, 4433.

from the Achaean league by Roman intervention after 184,[1] when she was restored to her former autonomy, we cannot suppose that any *κατάλυμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων* existed till that time, and this date fits in very well with that given above.

47. Fig. 7, C.

Δαμύλος	Damylus fecit
Κοσέμου	Cosemi

This inscription occurs on seven tiles found in a trial excavation near the mill-stream between the Altar and the Heroön (General Plan, **O 13**). *Δαμύλος* is obviously a name, probably that of the maker of the tiles.[2] But what *Κοσέμου* means is not clear. Kosemus might be the name of the contractor's father, but it would be exceedingly unusual for a contractor to place his father's name on the tiles he made. Otherwise Kosemus may be the name of the man for whom they were made, the genitive being used on the analogy of *τειχέων*, *παραθέσεος*, *Ἀθηνᾶς Χαλκιοίκου*, *Βορθείας*, and *ἱεροῦ Ἐλευσίας* (pp. 18, 31, 37, 38, 39). It is possible that, as often in late Spartan inscriptions, the ς stands for *θ*, and that the name is really Kothemus.[3]

50. Fig. 7, D.

Δαμόσιος	Publica (tegula)
συνόδω	synodi.

51. Fig. 7, E.

Δαμόσιοι σ[υνό]-	Publicae (tegulae)
δου Δαμα - - - -	synodi Dama - - (redemptore).

Of **50** there are two specimens, of **51** one specimen only: all three were found in the well at the Heroön. What the *σύνοδος* was is quite uncertain, for there is no other record of the existence of such a thing at Sparta.

57. Fig. 7, F.

[Τειχέ]ων στεγαστη̃[ρ]	Moenium imbrex
[ἐργώνα] - - - - ειω[ν]ο[ς]	redemptore - - - -

[1] Or 178: *v.* p. 27, note 1.

[2] It occurs on a coin of Leucas, and *Δημύλος* is common in literature: *v.* Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*; Bechtel-Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*, p. 27.

[3] R. Meister, *Dorer u. Achäer*, pp. 24 ff.

Two round tiles from the south-eastern hill (General Plan, **L 19**). The restoration of *τειχέων* is purely conjectural, and the reading of the second line is very uncertain. The word *στεγαστήρ* gives us for the first time the word that we have to supply to the *δαμόσιος* and *δαμόσιοι* that occur on round tiles. This point has already been discussed elsewhere.[1]

61. Fig. 7, G.

Πιτανατᾶν	Pitanatarum.

Two tiles from Kokkinaki. This inscription is most important. The tiles were found on the line of the wall and had obviously been used for it. Therefore we may assume that the townships of Limnae, Mesoa, Kynosoura, and Pitane which made up the city of Sparta, helped in the building of the wall, though all the tiles made specially for the walls were made to the order of the state, which seems to have had charge of them. Perhaps in earlier days when the walls were first begun, each village was responsible for that section of the wall which adjoined it, just as the Attic city demes were responsible for the upkeep of the walls of Athens.[2] This then is perhaps the reason why the tiles are stamped only with the name of the township. If our conjecture is correct, these tiles would belong to the earliest wall and date probably from the time before the institution of the patronomate by Cleomenes III, and the reform of the constitution. Thus they would belong to the third century B.C. : this date would suit the lettering very well. These tiles are also important, because they enable us to identify with certainty as Pitane that part of Sparta lying to the west of the theatre.

63. Fig. 7, H.

Παστάδος	Porticus
ἐν Ἀλπείωι	in Alpeo.

Two tiles from near the Mousga north of the Acropolis (General Plan, **L 11**) and one from the well at the Heroön. Pausanias mentions the Alpion as being near the Acropolis ; therefore we may identify the low ridge by the Mousga as the Alpion (General Plan, **K 10**, **L 11**). He also

[1] *v.* above, p. 14.

[2] Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, ii. p. 34 ; Judeich, *Topogr. v. Athen*, p. 123 ; cf. Dörpfeld, *Wochenschrift klass. Phil.* 1906, p. 205.

speaks of various temples in this neighbourhood, but our tiles cannot refer to any of them. Most probably the Παστάς was a public portico of some kind.[1]

Chronology of the Patronomi.

It will be convenient to recapitulate in a final paragraph the conjectural dates given to the Patronomi whose names occur in tile stamps.

Second Century B.C.

Eudamidas (**33–36**, p. 23). Soon after 184 B.C.
Archiadas (**11**, p. 20).
Aristonous (**37**, p. 25).
Tychander (**27**, p. 36).

First Century B.C.

Archi - - - -
Callicrates
Xenocleidas
Taras
(**41**, pp. 33 ff.). These were Patronomi very close together, perhaps in successive years.

Niconomus (**39**, **40**, pp. 27, 31).
——genidas (**41**, p. 34).
Hipparchus (**38**, p. 26).
Pasiteles (**42**, p. 36).

First Century A.D.

Cleoxenus (**43**, p. 37).

Naturally this arrangement depends largely on conjecture, as we know little or nothing of the Patronomi of the last two centuries B.C. Future discoveries will no doubt throw more light on this subject, but from these tile stamps we have for the first time any considerable number of names of Spartan Patronomi of this period.[2]

A. J. B. WACE.

[1] Cf. Pausanias, iii. 18, 2; *v.* above, page 10.

[2] For the custom of dating tiles by magistrates' names *v.* Paris, *Élatée*, pp. 114, 115, 110, Nos. 12. 2, 318. 18, 319. 19; Richardson *apud* Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, i. pp. 221 ff. iii. v. vii.; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*, E 186, E 187, E 191, E 192.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

§ 4.—The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

(Plates II.—IV.)

The continuation of the work at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was the main objective of the season's campaign, and on it the greater part of our money and time were expended. Work was carried on continuously from the beginning of the season on March 18th to its close on May 31st, with the exception of the three weeks from April 5th to 25th, when the Director, who was in charge throughout, was absent at Athens. The number of men employed varied from about fifty to as few as twenty-five or thirty at the end of the season, when the work consisted mostly of slow digging with knives, at which it was not possible to employ more than a very limited number.

A comparison of the plans now published on Plates II. and III. with last year's plan in *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VIII. will shew the progress made. Work was confined to the temple and the theatre; the important region between the theatre and the new course of the mill-leat has not been touched. The theatre, which in 1906 was excavated only enough to trace the general plan and uncover the outer piers, has now been completely cleared, and the interior of the temple and the arena, which had been explored only by means of the trial-trench A and a pit at the western end of the temple, have now been completely excavated down to virgin soil. A general view of the site after the season's work is given in Fig. 1.

The Roman Theatre.

(PLATES II. AND III.)

The theatre was found in 1906 to have rested on a horseshoe-shaped foundation or raft of rubble masonry. On this was a series of radial walls, supporting the seats of the auditorium, and, separated from the ends of the walls by a vaulted corridor, the piers and arches, which formed the outer wall of the building. The extent to which the destruction of this

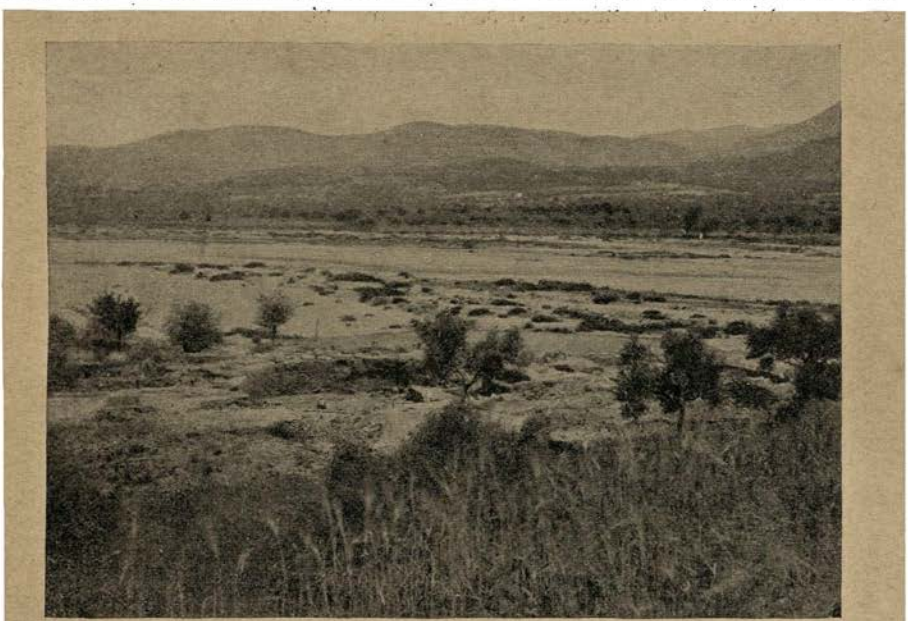


FIG. 1.—VIEW OF THE ORTHIA SANCTUARY LOOKING TOWARDS THE EUROTAS AFTER THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1907.

theatre has been carried, since it was seen by the travellers whose accounts have been collected by Professor Bosanquet,[1] can be seen by looking at the views reproduced in Figs. 2 and 3, which shew the building fully cleared. It will be seen that only the outer piers are preserved to any height above the foundations, and these never more than three, or at most four, feet. Often the walls are destroyed right down to the foundation, leaving only

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 305. To the references there cited should be added a Plate of the theatre in *Museum Worsleyanum*, which claims independent origin, but adds nothing material to Le Roy's.

slight traces of their position on its surface, and in one case the destruction of a radial wall (V on the plan on Pl. II.) by the searchers for building material has led to the removal of most of the actual foundation in that region. The plan on Pl. II. distinguishes between what has been left standing and what has been destroyed. Some of the destroyed walls have however left a clear mark of their original position, in the shape of a line of mortar rising up from the foundation along what was the face of the wall. Such walls are drawn on the plan with full lines, to distinguish them from the reconstructed parts, which are put in with dotted lines.

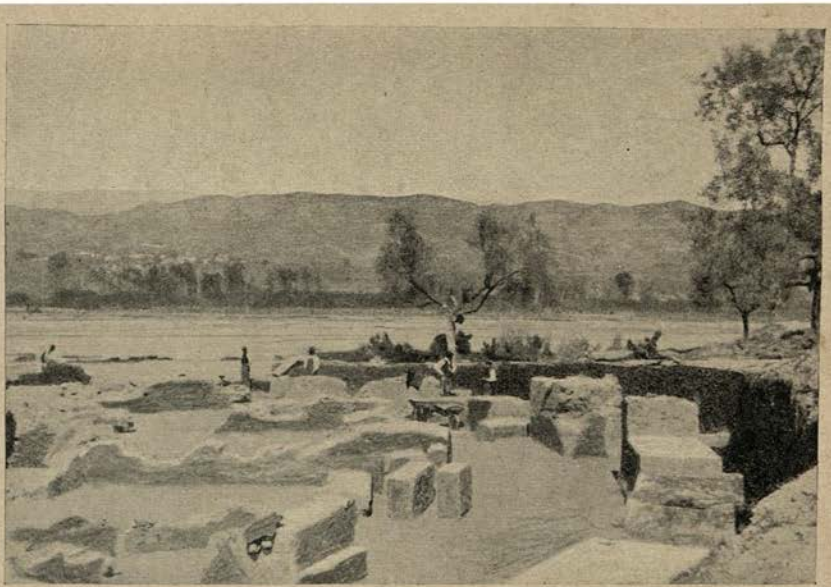


FIG. 2.—THE ROMAN THEATRE WITH THE PIERS AND RADIAL WALLS, AND THE EUROTAS IN THE BACKGROUND.

On this raft or foundation of rubble masonry, some 1·20 m. thick, the whole building rested. It has the shape of an incomplete ring 21·80 m. in inside, and 54·20 m. in outside, diameter. This ring is broken on the west to admit the temple, the gap being 10·10 m. wide. The temple protrudes into the arena, forming a chord to the inner circle of the foundation, the central point of the façade being two metres inside the circumference. The outside circle of the foundation would, if completed, pass through the back of the temple. Round the eastern half of the temple was a row of

stone slabs set on edge, of which fifteen were found *in situ*. They are 0·80 m. from the wall of the temple. One of these is preserved in front of the temple between the step and the slabs of the Roman pavement, with which its top is about flush. It seems likely therefore that they date from this period. They are marked on the plan in Pl. II., and the missing slabs marked in dotted lines.

The outer wall of the theatre rested on a series of arches and piers, of which latter ten are partly preserved. They are distinguished on the Plan on Pl. II. by Roman numerals. They were built of rough masonry,

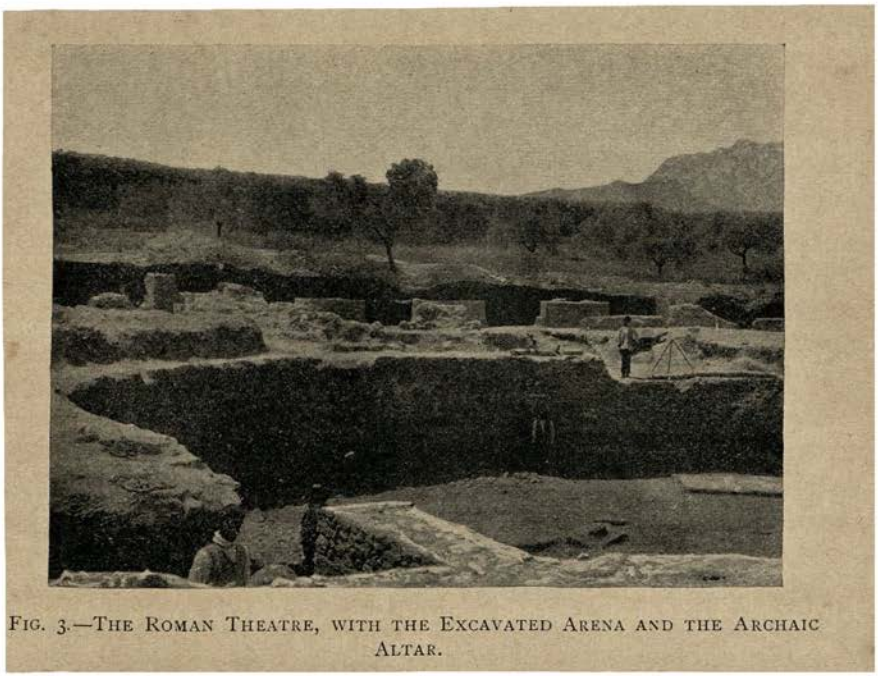


FIG. 3.—THE ROMAN THEATRE, WITH THE EXCAVATED ARENA AND THE ARCHAIC ALTAR.

broken at intervals by bands of three or four courses of brickwork, in a way characteristic of late Roman and Byzantine work. Each pier, except VII. and the reconstructed I., XII. and XIII., is 1·20 m. thick and, on the inside, 2·35 m. broad, exclusive of the plinth. These plinths are of irregular dimensions, and no doubt both they and the piers were faced originally with marble slabs, just as the present upper surface of the foundation must have been covered with a finer pavement. A block of marble with mouldings, which was found near by, probably belonged to a

course running all round the outside of the building above the arcade. No other architectural member has been found, to give any clue to the restoration.

Inside the piers is a series of radial walls, marked on the plan by Roman numerals. These rays spring from a ring of masonry rising above the inner part of the circular foundation. This raised ring is about 3·50 m. thick, and begins just behind the *podium*. It served to support the lower rows of seats. It is broken only at the two points between Rays VIII.–IX. and XVI.–XVII., where were the two entrances to the *podium* and the lower seats, whose position is marked on the old French plan in Fig. 4.

One of these entrances, that between Rays VIII.–IX., was found last year, and its opening to the *podium* just traced. This year lumps of fallen masonry were found in this opening, consisting of bricks arranged radially like the voussoirs of an arch and bound together by mortar. It was possible from these data to calculate the width of the arch to which the bricks had belonged, and it worked out to about 1·25 m., the actual width of the opening. It appears therefore that the entrance to the lower seats was through an arched passage, running from the outside of the building to the auditorium.

It is noticeable that the outside piers do not correspond at all regularly to the radial walls, and for this reason Pier VII. had to be made wider than the rest in order to produce the correspondence between the pair of piers, VII. and VIII., and the rays, VIII. and IX., inside them, necessary to make the entrance to the lower seats at this point symmetrical. Piers VIII., IX., etc. are of the normal size, a fact which points to the piers having been originally marked out on the foundation in the direction in which they are numbered on the plan, and it seems that, when the architect reached the entrance, he found his piers lagging behind, and had to make one wider than the others in order to catch up with the radial walls. Then, after he had passed the entrance, he went on again with piers of the normal size. This theory of the direction in which the building proceeded will be seen later on to have some importance. The blocks of the outer threshold of this entrance are preserved between the piers, and their height (·10–·15 m.) above the level of the top of the foundation shews that it was originally covered by a pavement, which has now disappeared.

Turning now to the radial walls, it is plain that these supported the

rows of seats immediately above those supported by the solid ring of masonry, from which the radial walls spring. Each of these is about 6·50 m. long.

The seeming irregularities of the plan it is possible to reduce to an almost perfect symmetry, and it is only north of the axial line that this fails. We notice first that the space between the rays at their outer end is, in all but certain cases, 2·30 m. One of these exceptions is the wider interval (2·75 m.) between Rays VIII.–IX., opposite the threshold between Piers VII.–VIII. This is due to the entrance to the lower seats, which runs in here, and it is to fit this also that the two adjacent spaces between Rays VII.–VIII. and IX.–X. are made wider than usual, 2·70 m. and 2·90 m. respectively. The other exceptions are between Piers II.–III., VI.–VII., X.–XI., and XV.–XVI. The size of the intervals cannot be recovered, because in no case are the two inner faces of any one of these pairs of rays preserved, but the sum of the widths of the pairs of rays *plus* the interval between them comes to 4·70–4·85 m., and, if we allow the rays their usual width, this gives intervals of only 1·50–1·65 m., instead of the standard 2·30 m. Also it appears from the remains of Rays X. and XI. that these intervals did not run in so far as the raised circle of masonry, like those between the other radial walls, but were, for some way at all events, filled up. This proves that these spaces were not mere blind passages roofed with conical vaults like the others. What they were appears plainly from the fact that, between the ends of Rays II.–III. a stone is preserved *in situ* jutting forward a little from the rays, measuring 1·40 m. long by ·40 m. wide, and that between Rays VI.–VII. a similar block has left its traces on the plaster facing of the wall. These stones are in fact the lowest steps of staircases, which ascended between these pairs of rays, and gave access to the upper rows of seats, very probably opening upon a *diazoma*, as shewn in the reconstructed section on Pl. III.

The west face of Ray XXV. is exactly symmetrical with Ray II. on the other side of the axial line, and by restoring a flight of steps between it and a reconstructed Ray XXIV., and another between the hypothetical Rays XX.–XXI., we get six sets of steps arranged with tolerable symmetry, three on each side of the axial line. This symmetry is broken by the staircase between Rays XV.–XVI., which comes only one ray after the axial line, whilst two (XII. and XIII.) divide this from the steps between Rays X.–XI. This departure from symmetry makes it impossible to reconstruct

the walls between this and the river, where they have been destroyed by the channel made for the mill-leat. Another irregularity is that, immediately beyond Ray XVI., the raised ring of masonry is interrupted, which must mean that here was another entrance to the lower seats, corresponding to that between Rays VIII.–IX. This brings the staircases and entrances into regular order, and gives us, starting from the south side of the temple, first two staircases, then an entrance, then two staircases, then a second entrance; and two more staircases bring us round to the north side of the temple.

The space between Rays XIII.–XIV. requires some notice. It is symmetrical about the median line of the temple, and is therefore likely to be of some importance. This space goes deeper into the solid ring of masonry below the lower seats than do the others, and yet it is not an entrance into the passage round the arena at the foot of the auditorium, like the spaces between Rays VIII.–IX. and XVI.–XVII., as, instead of running through into this passage, it ends with the remains of steps marked in the plan. In connexion with this we must notice a mass of masonry to the north inside Ray XV. which rises well above the probable level of the seats. On account of its height it was the only thing visible on the site before the excavations, except of course the broken face of the foundation that overhung the bank of the river.[1]

Taken in connexion with the steps between Rays XIII.–XIV. and their medial position, it is likely that here we have the remains of a sort of elevated tribune or 'box,' raised above the other seats, from which persons of distinction could witness the contests. Its central position, facing the front of the temple and immediately above the altar, would make this very suitable, and such tribunes for magistrates in Roman amphitheatres are well known.

The entrance to this tribunal was also marked by some special treatment of the outside wall. Unfortunately just at this point the destruction

[1] Owing to its height, this piece of masonry was marked on the 1906 Plan (*B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VIII.) as of a later (Byzantine) period, as was also Ray XVI. on account of its irregularity, and the end of Ray XV. Complete excavation has shewn that this is impossible. Another piece of wall shewn on the 1906 Plan as Byzantine is a face of masonry at the outer edge of the foundation, just where this is broken off beyond Pier XII. Its level, entirely below the upper surface of the foundation, shews that it has no connexion with the system of piers and rays, but that it is a piece of some substructure that supported the part of the theatre towards the river. The possible connexion of the city wall with this part of the building is mentioned below.

of the foundation itself begins, but the ingenuity of Mr. George has suggested a possible partial restoration.

Enough of the foundation is left to shew that no pier of the usual size follows Pier XI. The block, however, that forms part of the reconstructed Pier XII. was found *in situ*, and is at the normal distance of 2·50 m. from Pier XI., and runs out towards the edge of the foundation as far as the plinths usually do. Some pier was no doubt necessary here, to avoid the large span of 9·70 m. from Pier XI. to the symmetrically restored Pier XIV., and the entrance to the tribunal between Rays XIII.–XIV. can

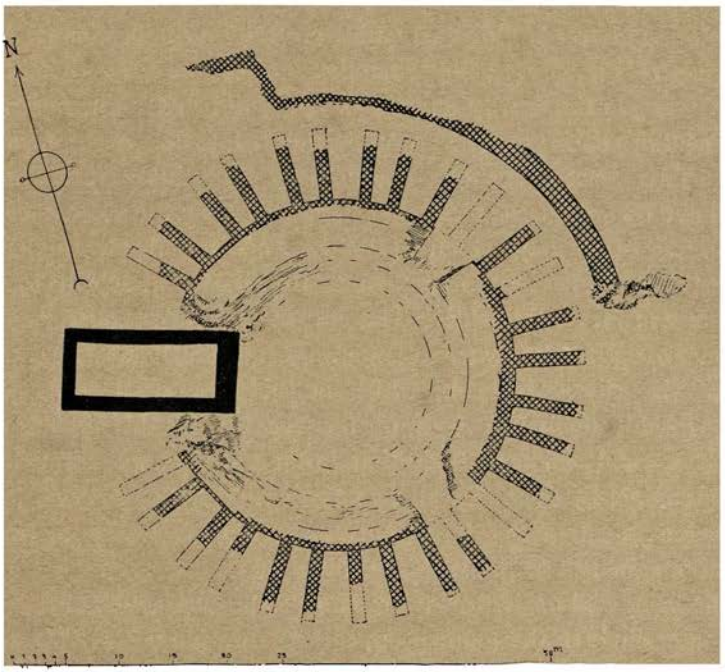


FIG. 4.—THE ROMAN THEATRE AS SEEN BY THE FRENCH EXPEDITION.

hardly have had a pier in the middle obstructing it. This, taken in connexion with the position *in situ* of the block in Pier XII., leads to the reconstruction of the two small piers XII.–XIII., leaving the entrance to the elevated tribunal open, and beyond them of a Pier XIV. symmetrical with XI. This reconstruction puts the small piers so restored at the regular distance apart, and so gains considerably in probability, and the arches

between them will thus have been of the same span and height as those between the other piers. It is likely that the two small piers were not carried up to the spring of the arches, but served rather to carry columns, so that this chief entrance to the building was distinguished from the others by being not single but triple, and divided by a pair of columns.

Instead of the piers from XV. onward for about a quadrant of the circle, it is possible that there was a solid wall rising up directly from the outer edge of the foundation, and of such a thickness as to make the vaulted passage between it and the ends of the radial walls of the same width as elsewhere. The evidence for this is the plan given by the French expedition, and here reproduced with the addition of the temple from last year's report[1] (Fig. 4). It will be seen that no piers are marked, but that their place is taken in the north-eastern part by a solid wall. The measurements of this wall are exactly such as would bring it into the position mentioned above. Two reasons make it not unlikely that this part of the theatre would have no entrances; first, that it was so near the river, and second, that the wall of the city which passed between the theatre and the river must at this point have been so close to the theatre as hardly to allow of ready access to it on this side. The curved wall in question ends to the north in an outstanding mass of masonry, and this may very well be a piece of the city wall itself, which in this case must have absolutely coalesced with the outer wall of the theatre at this point. Such a coalescence would make it likely that, in the narrow angle formed near the point of contact by the city wall and the curve of the theatre, this latter would have no entrances. The general accuracy, however, of the French plan is not sufficient to make this at all certain,

The back wall of the theatre remains to be considered. It is a chord of the outer circle of the foundation, cutting the side walls of the temple at right angles, rather less than half-way from the front to the back. It is not clear how the straight line of this chord was adjusted to the radial arrangement of the seats with their supporting walls and the range of outside piers. Nor were both sides alike. The eastern faces of Rays I. and XXVI. (*i.e.* those away from the temple) are exactly symmetrical about the median line of the buildings, but Ray I. is much thicker than XXVI., and west of these two faces all symmetry between the two sides ceases. It is plain that there must have been a back wall along the line of the chord,

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 309, and *Expéd. de la Morée*, 'Architecture,' ii. Pl. 46.

and a piece of it was in fact found in 1906 immediately north of the temple. A similar wall has been restored on the plan on the southern side. The wall on the north side at right angles to the back wall has no counterpart on the south, where there are some remains that in their turn are not represented on the north. The square cutting into the inner circle of the foundation just south of the end of the front of the temple is also unexplained.

A pier in the position of the restored Pier I., of which, however, no trace could be found, must have existed at the corners, and would connect with the back wall. The square blocks, lying off the foundation close by Pier I., perhaps belong to a gateway.

The section along the line *A*—*B* on the plan (Pl. III.) shews an attempt at reconstructing the buildings. The restorations are drawn in light lines, to distinguish them from the lower part of the drawing, which, like the other section along the line *C*—*D*, shews the buildings in their actual state. Allowing a probable angle of rise for the seats, the height of the theatre works out to 8·50 m., and the outer wall, following the indication given by the fragment of moulded cornice mentioned above, has been drawn with such a cornice above the arches which span the intervals between the piers. Between the piers and the ends of the radial walls an arched passage, with an average width of 2·75 m., goes all round the curve of the building. From this, two passages roofed with barrel vaults passed between Rays VIII.–IX. and XVI.–XVII. respectively, to the passage round the arena below the seats and behind the barrier, whilst exactly opposite the front of the temple another passage led from the main pillared entrance to the elevated tribunal, whence it may be supposed the highest magistrates witnessed the contests. At intervals also along this passage, under arched openings of the same height as the arches between the outer piers, the six staircases gave access to the *diazoma* and the higher rows of seats. One of these stairs is shewn in dotted lines on the reconstructed section. Such of the openings between the rays as were not used for access to the seats must have been blind passages roofed beyond their arched entrance, either with a conical vault that descended rapidly on a line parallel with the slope of the seats above, or possibly with a series of arches decreasing regularly in height.[1] One of these sloping vaults is shewn

[1] This latter is the arrangement in the theatre at Bosrâ (Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer*, Fig. 737).

in dotted lines in the section. The lowest six or seven rows of seats rested on the solid ring of masonry, those above them on the radial walls and their vaults, and the topmost rows were supported by the vault of the circular passage which runs round inside the piers. The spring of this vault was probably at the level of the crowns of the arches on either side of the passage, those on the outer side between the piers, and those on the inner side between the radial walls.

The back wall of the theatre has been drawn in the reconstruction as high as the eaves of the temple. This in the drawing seems to dwarf the temple a good deal, but in reality the façade comes so much forward into the arena that this effect would not be produced.

It has already been noted that the construction of the back wall, which terminates the theatre on the west, differs on the two sides, and this raises the question whether the whole building dates from the same period. In discussing the piers we saw reason to believe that their irregularity about the entrance between Piers VII.–VIII., and the greater size of Pier VII., were due to the setting out of the plan of the building on the foundation having begun on the south side of the temple, and worked round towards the east and north. If the building should prove not to be all of the same period, this evidence points to the southern side being the older. Now it is with Ray XV., and its steps, and the entrance beyond them, that the irregularities of the plan begin. There are also serious variations in this region in the diameter of the circle, from which the radial walls spring. If the French plan is to be trusted, it is at this point also that the series of walls and arches gives way to a continuous wall, and as this rose directly up from the edge of the foundation it must have projected at least ·75 m. outside the piers, producing the effect, not of a natural continuation, but of a very awkward join. It is thus likely that the theatre was not all built at the same time. There is no structural difficulty in this supposition, and no necessity that all the segments of a building with the entirely radial construction of a theatre should be contemporary. The stability of the successive *cunei* does not depend on any mutual support.

It is possible that the later part was not the completion of the hitherto unfinished building, but replaced in a less careful style a part that had been destroyed. This, however, hardly seems so likely. The destruction could only have come from the river, and so well-made a building,

especially with the protection of the city wall, would hardly have succumbed so easily.

We propose to remove more of the foundation next season, and it is likely that further evidence for the date in the shape of inscriptions may thus be found.[1]

The Temple.

The interior of the temple has now been completely cleared down to virgin soil, and its front wall displayed by the excavation of the arena. This is preserved to a height of 3·49 m. The middle of the back wall and the north-east corner have been a good deal destroyed by the mill-leat, which a reference to the plan published last year will shew passed over these parts.[2] Except at these points the usual height is about 3·00 m. In no case is the stylobate preserved, and the great height of the foundations is due to their having been sunk down to virgin soil, right through the deposits that accumulated on the site. This year a cross-wall was found two metres from the front wall. This is the foundation of the wall that separated the cella from the porch, and the temple was thus either prostyle or *in antis*. No remains of its architectural members have been found.

The fact that in the second century the Roman theatre was built round the temple shews that this latter was then standing and in use. Prof. Bosanquet has shewn that the rites of Orthia continued until far into the second half of the fourth century,[3] and since no later temple has been found, this was no doubt in use until the very end of paganism. The evidence for the date of its construction must now be given.

In front of the middle of the façade are the remains of a pavement of slabs, three of which were inscribed. This pavement is shewn in Fig. 5. The inscriptions all record the dedication of sickles to Artemis Orthia by victors, and are of the type so frequently found here, either in the ruins of the theatre, or built into its foundation. One (No. 2561) is of the first century B.C., another (No. 2562) possibly of the first century A.D., and the

[1] As to the date of the two parts, at the time of writing (April, 1908) an inscription of the Aurelian period has been found in the masonry of the southern part near the temple. This prevents us from assigning this part of the building to an earlier date than the beginning of the third century, the date given by Professor Bosanquet last year. The chronological diagram in Fig. 9 was drawn up before this inscription was found, and it was then thought likely that this part of the building was as old as the end of the second century.

[2] *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VIII. [3] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 317.

third (No. 2482) belongs early in the second century A.D.[1] The pavement cannot therefore have been laid down long before the date of the Roman theatre, and its rough construction makes it almost certainly contemporary with, and thus of, the third century A.D. It marks the level of the arena in the Roman period.

In the section and plan given on Pls. II. and III., and in the photograph in Fig. 5, a step is seen between this pavement and the front of the temple, and so close to the latter as to make it certain that the highest blocks preserved in the front wall of the temple must be almost at the level of

FIG. 5.—THE FRONT WALL OF THE TEMPLE, WITH ROMAN PAVEMENT.

the stylobate. Their upper surface is rough, but has some worked parts and possibly was covered with a thin slab of marble, which formed part of the pavement of the porch.

Above the level of this pavement a large number of fragments of stamped roof-tiles have been found, and in especial abundance along the front of the temple. They are of three types, but all bear the name of Orthia, and thus were specially made for use at this sanctuary. Two of

[1] No. 2482 published in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 376. For Nos. 2561, 2 see below, p. 188.

the types ΙΕΡΟΙ ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑΣ and ΒΩΡΘΕΙΑΣ ΙΕΡΟΙ are about equally common, whilst the third ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑΣ ΙΑΡΟΙ is rare, and looks later than the others.[1] It was probably used therefore only for repairs to the roof. The important point is that these tiles belong to the second century before our era, and therefore prove that the temple dates at least from the Hellenistic period. It may be older, but cannot be later. Whilst their presence above the Roman floor is another proof that the temple stood until the latest times, the number that have been found below it supports the epigraphical evidence of their Hellenistic date. These tiles found

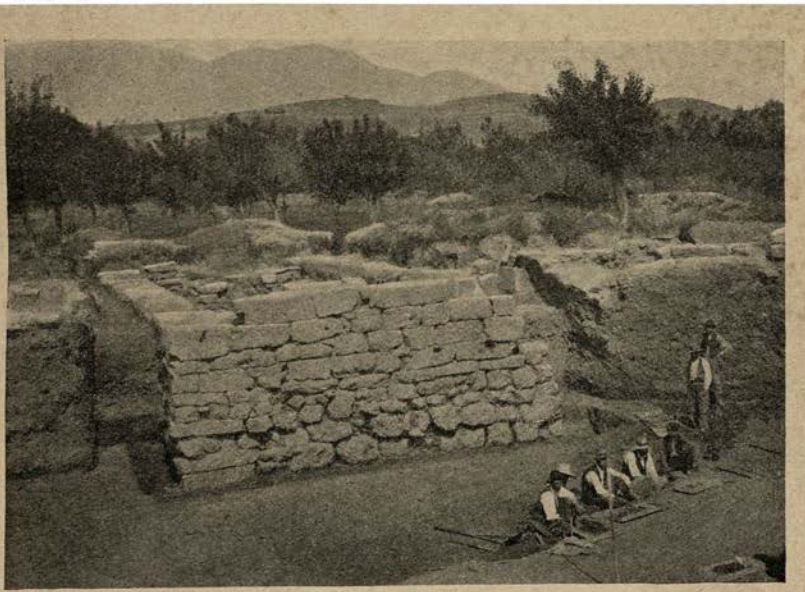


FIG. 6.—THE FRONT WALL OF THE TEMPLE UNCOVERED TO ITS FOUNDATIONS.

below are far fewer than those found above the Roman floor-level, and are probably unused or broken pieces left about or thrown aside at the time when the roof was constructed. Those above are naturally more numerous, as they formed part of the roof, and fell into their present position when the temple was destroyed.

An examination of the photographs in Figs. 6 and 7 shews that the remains of the temple are of two different periods. Fig. 6 shews

[1] For facsimiles see Fig. 6 on p. 38 above. They were published without facsimiles in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 348.

the front wall, uncovered right down to its foundation on the virgin soil, as it appears between the corners of the foundation of the Roman theatre, and Fig. 7 gives the inside of the south-west angle. Two styles of masonry can be distinguished: the first and older style consists of roughly-dressed blocks laid in somewhat irregular courses, and the second and later

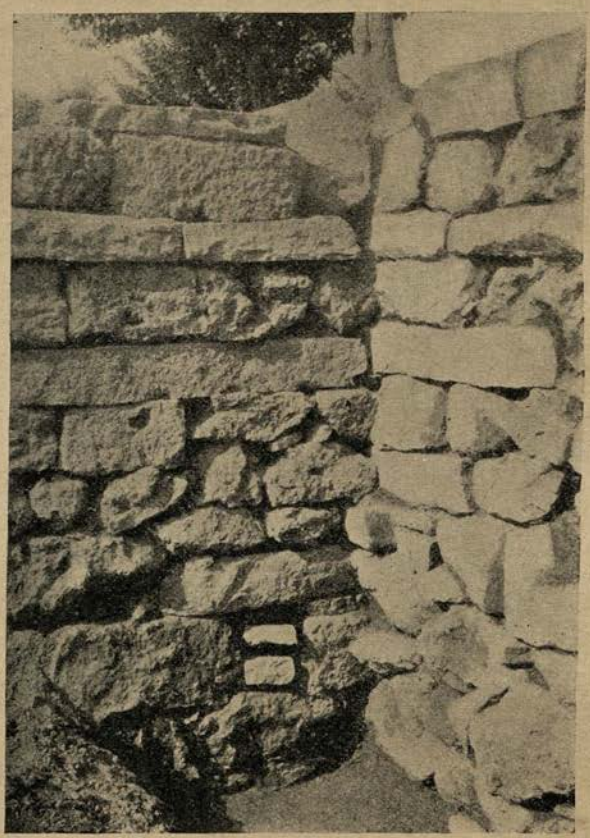


FIG. 7.—THE INSIDE OF THE SOUTH-WEST ANGLE OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE TEMPLE.

style of courses of slab-shaped blocks, often alternating with courses of the same stone as that used in the older parts, but more carefully squared. In the front of the temple (Fig. 6) the later style is seen in the south-east (left-hand) angle and in the upper five courses, and in the view of the

inside of the south-west angle (Fig. 7) the older style is overlaid by six or seven courses of the later. The alternating courses of slabs and blocks are here very marked.

This points to a rebuilding of the temple, which may be attributed to the same date as the stamped tiles. The temple was thus rebuilt on the foundations of an older temple in the Hellenistic age.

Spartan history perhaps enables us to fix this date more closely. Mr. Wace has suggested that no date is so likely as 178 B.C., or shortly after, when the constitution of Lycurgus was restored, and the walls of the city rebuilt.[1] This activity in building might well be extended to so important a temple, and none would be more likely than a temple so closely bound up with the traditions of the Lycurgan discipline and training.

The Roman level is marked not only by the pavement described above, but also by a row of bases, ranged along the northern edge of the arena, at exactly the same level. They appear on the right in Fig. 5. The bases themselves are older than the position in which they were found. The third in order from the temple, for example, consists of two bases superimposed, and the fourth rests on a lower base inverted. The mouldings are earlier than Roman, whilst the diversity and careless arrangement of the bases themselves also point to the re-use of older material at a period of decadence. In order to dig beneath them, they were removed, and set on the edge of the Roman foundation, just behind the positions in which we had found them.

In clearing the arena below this Roman floor-level, we first found ·75 m. of earth, and then a deposit of sand and gravel, varying slightly, but generally about 1·50 m. thick. This sand, which was brought from the river to raise the level of the site, was found, not only over all the arena, but also inside the temple. It contained objects of great importance for the history of the site. First, a number of building-chips, the small fragments of stone struck off when blocks are dressed, were found in it along the front of the temple. This shews that it was put down at a time when building operations were going on at the temple. That this was the building of the original temple, and not the Hellenistic reconstruction, is shewn by several facts: first, none of the Hellenistic tile-stamps were found in the sand; the lowest of these were found in the earth above it. Secondly, the sand did

[1] Niese, *Geschichte d. griech. und maked. Staaten*, iii. p. 60.

on the other hand contain several archaic objects ; notable amongst these are the six-sided shuttle-shaped die with the retrograde inscription published on p. 116 below, and the relief of the two lions heraldically facing one another shewn in Fig. 8. Only in the sacrificial *débris* mentioned below on p. 64, which lay immediately above the sand, was any black-figured ware found. The lion-relief resembles the limestone reliefs found in 1906, one of which bears an archaic inscription, which, like the inscribed die, may be put in the sixth century. We may therefore conclude that the sand was laid down in this century, and the temple built at the same time ; the dressing of the blocks on the spot produced the building-

FIG. 8.—RELIEF OF LIONS FROM THE LAYER OF SAND.

chips mentioned above. The level therefore marked in the section on Plate III. as having been made at the building of the temple, will date from the sixth century. During the period of perhaps seven hundred years before the construction of the Roman theatre, the level rose the ·75 m. between this and the level of the Roman pavement. It is in this three-quarters of a metre that some of the stamped tiles were found ; they must have been deposited there in the Hellenistic period, when the temple was rebuilt, and these tiles were used for the roof. The same stratum contained also other notable objects : just by the front of the temple a fragment of a lion's neck and mane in gaily-painted *poros* stone was found, and with this must be associated a number of pieces of the same material, some worked and some mere chips, which were found below the fourth and

fifth bases. These were heaped together some ·20 m. below the level of the top of the sand, but themselves lay in earth. The fragment of lion's mane may be attributed to the sixth century, and is probably part of a group of coloured sculpture, which decorated the temple in its earlier stage, and was thrown down, scattered, and broken at the rebuilding, which, we have seen, took place during the time when this earth was accumulating. It is only thus that we can explain the presence of tiles from the second temple in the same stratum as the *débris* from the first. The *poros* fragments found below the bases date, on the other hand, from the time when the

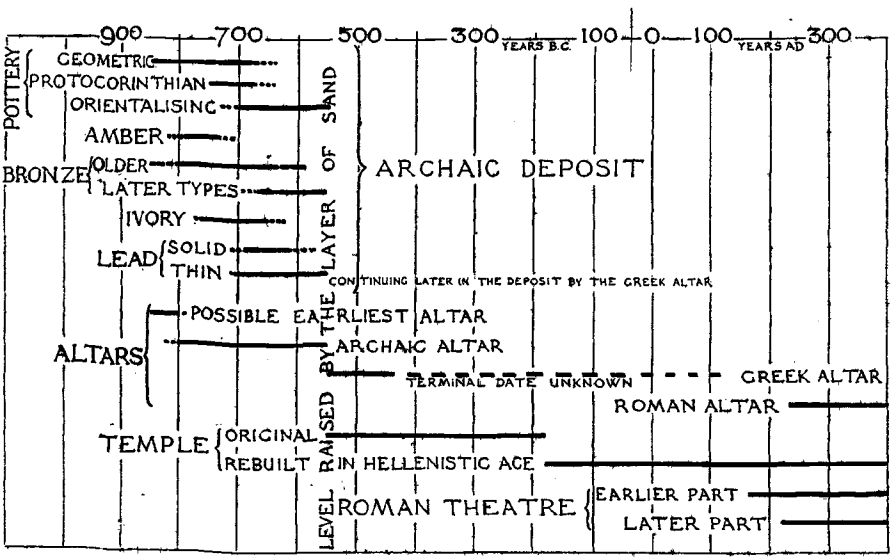


FIG. 9.—CHRONOLOGICAL DIAGRAM OF THE REMAINS AT THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA.

sculpture was made, and must have been thrown into a hole in the sand, when the newly-made surface was levelled in front of the new temple. The proximity of the river must always have exposed the sanctuary to floods, and it was this which led the Spartans in the sixth century to raise the level by a metre-and-a-half, and build a new temple. This they adorned with coloured *poros* sculpture, of which the lion's mane is, unfortunately, the only fragment yet recovered.

In this layer of earth between the sand and the Roman level is a drain made of terracotta pipes. It is seen in the plan to cross the arena in front

of the temple. The part preserved has a total fall of ·40 m. That it is earlier than the theatre is proved by its being cut right off at the north end by the concrete foundation.

The chronology of the first building and later reconstruction of the temple is given in diagrammatic form in Fig. 9.

The Altars.

The analogy presented by the auditorium and the façade of the temple to the *cavea* and stage-building of a theatre, and the prominence

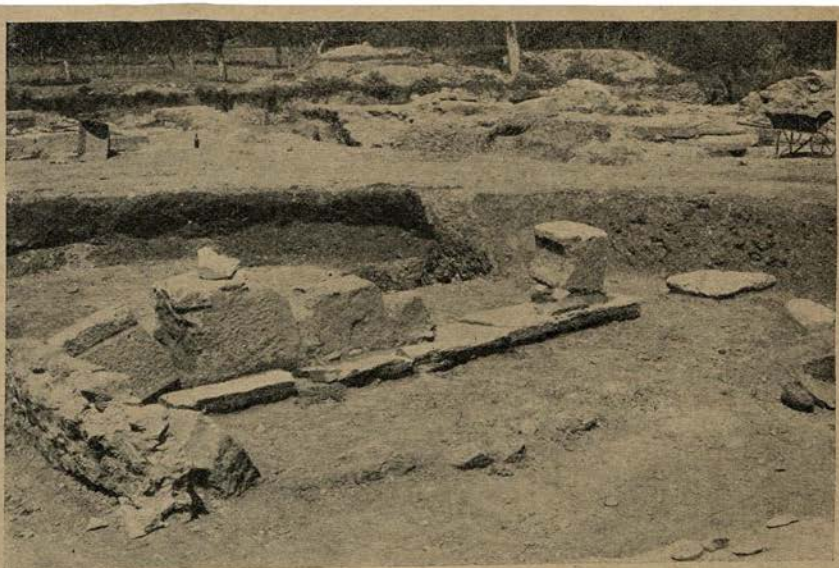


FIG. 10.—REMAINS OF THE ROMAN, RESTING ON THE REMAINS OF THE EARLIER GREEK ALTAR.

of an altar in the accounts of the contest of endurance, had already suggested that an altar existed in this arena. This has now been verified. Resting on the top of the layer of sand is a structure, which runs roughly north and south across the arena, and has been identified as the remains of an altar, or rather of two superimposed altars. The photograph in Fig. 10 shews it from the south-east. The row of bases appears behind on the right, and the front of the temple on the left. Plan, elevation, and section are given in Fig. 11.

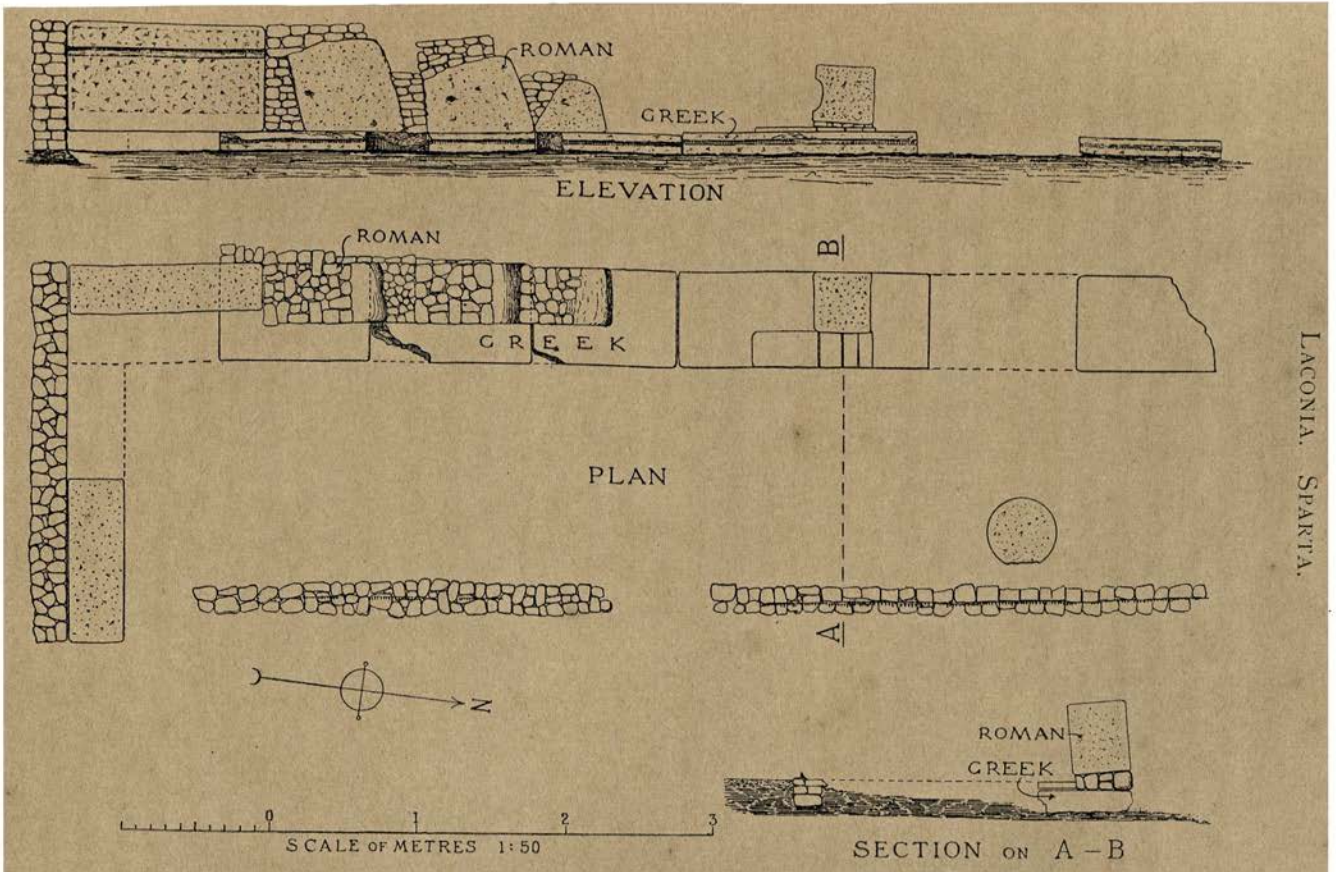


FIG. 11.—PLAN, ELEVATION, AND SECTION OF THE REMAINS OF THE ROMAN AND UNDERLYING GREEK ALTARS.

Immediately resting on the sand is a row of well-cut blocks of *poros* stone, laid without mortar. Another block, not appearing in the photograph, lies at right angles to these. These blocks support the remains of a later oblong structure, consisting of walls built up of odd slabs pieced together with mortared masonry of small stones. Its width was 2·60 m. The destruction of the northern end makes it impossible to recover its length. It was in any case more than 8·20 m. The structure is nowhere preserved to a greater height than ·75 m., and its highest point is only some ·15 m. above the level of the Roman arena. The photograph given in Fig. 10 shews how much its foundation is sunk below the Roman level, which is marked by the row of bases. At the level of the *poros* blocks, the space to the east between this structure and the foundation of the theatre is filled with a deposit of burned matter containing various objects, the *débris* of sacrifices. This space is shaded on the Plan in Pl. II.

In these structures we have the remains of two altars. The *poros* blocks are the lowest course of a Greek altar, and the patchwork building above them represents an altar of the Roman period. The deposit of sacrificial *débris* only begins along a line 2·60 m. east from the row of *poros* blocks, and thus exactly below the eastern edge of the later altar. This shews that the blocks are from an altar originally 2·60 m. wide, and thus of the same size as the Roman altar above. Among the charred remains in this deposit were a large number of lead figurines, black-glazed sherds, and some black-figured pottery. This lower altar, to which the deposit belongs, is either contemporary with the first building of the temple in the sixth century and the accompanying rise of the level, or at all events not much later.

The careless construction of the Roman remains above the course of *poros* blocks points to their connexion with the latest period of the sanctuary. The pavement in front of the temple, the row of bases, and the masonry of the later part of the theatre are all in the same poor style. As the work in question, however, hardly rises above the level of the Roman pavement, it seems that we have in it not much more than the concealed foundations of the Roman altar, going down to, and resting upon, the remains of the earlier Greek altar. This accounts for the fact that no burned *débris* was found with it. It is possible that the blocks from the earlier altar were re-used for this later one, the earlier altar being in fact simply raised to a higher level. This would also involve the disappearance

of much of the burned matter from the lower altar, and, modern pillage being out of the question, some such explanation is needed to account for its disappearance. The Roman altar itself, whether made of these blocks or not, has no doubt been removed in recent years, with so much more of the building-material from this site, for the construction of modern Sparta. This accounts for the scattering of any *débris* of sacrifices that may have accumulated round it.

The greater part of the rise of level between the top of the sand and the Roman pavement may be put down to the period of the rebuilding of the temple, and the Roman level is thus not likely to be much higher than the Hellenistic. The fragment of the painted lion from the earlier temple was found one-third way up it, and so much at least of the rise must belong to the period of the reconstruction. To this time belongs also the drain running in front of the temple. Some broken Greek figurines were found in the same stratum, and, as mentioned above, a certain number of the Hellenistic stamped tiles belonging to the roof of the rebuilt temple. Traces were found at various levels of floors, pointing to a raising of the level, which was, at all events in some measure, gradual.

The next step in the excavation, after clearing the arena down to the level of the lower altar, was to remove the layer of sand both from the arena and the temple, in order to explore the lower strata, which already in 1906 had yielded such a remarkable harvest of objects of the archaic period. If the sand was laid down and the temple first built in the sixth century, it follows that this gives a terminal date for these strata below. It was necessary at this point to remove the remains of the two altars described above. A number of photographs and the set of drawings reproduced in Fig. 11 were made, to serve as a detailed record.

In the account given last year of the archaic objects found below the Roman foundations, the deposit was said to consist of two parts, the lower, a layer marked by Geometric pottery, and above this another containing pottery of the Corinthian period.[1] This observation was made from the results of a trial-trench, cut right across the arena (marked 'Trench A' on the plan), and has on the whole been confirmed by the full excavation of these strata in the temple and arena, though the case is not quite so simple as it then appeared. The two sections given on

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 318 *sqq.*

Pl. III., one taken along the axial line of the temple, and the other at right angles to this through the centre of the arena, shew the conditions as ascertained by this year's work. The ware in the upper stratum has

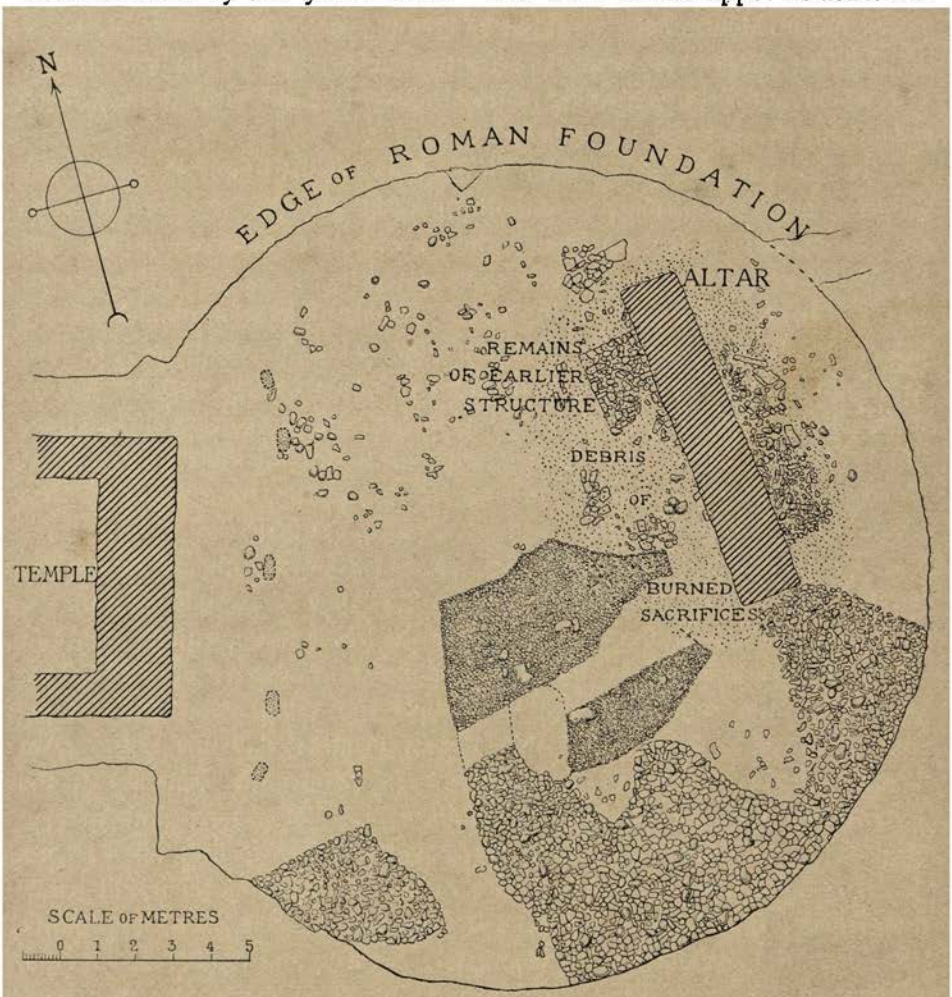


FIG. 12.—PLAN OF THE ARCHAIC REMAINS IN THE ARENA, SHEWING THE ALTAR AND SURROUNDING PAVEMENT.

proved not to be Corinthian, but mainly of local fabric, and the more general term Orientalising must now be used. As was seen last year, the lowest stratum is marked by Geometric pottery. The new fact that the excavation

of a wider area has brought out clearly, is that there is no sharp dividing line between the two, but rather an intermediate stratum, in which both fabrics are found, and mixed with them a certain amount of Proto-Corinthian ware. A more detailed account of these strata follows the description of the excavation of the region.

The structural remains found at this level consist of a large altar (Fig. 13), surrounded by the remains of a rough pavement of cobble-stones. The earth all round the altar and beneath it, as far down as the virgin soil, is full of the charred *débris* of sacrifices. The position of this

FIG. 13.—THE ARCHAIC ALTAR FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

is marked by shading on the plan and section given in Fig. 12 and Pl. III. Besides the objects found in the rest of the deposit, it was full of small fragments of burned bones.

The altar is 1·00 m. or, with a coping, preserved at the north end only, 1·20 m. high, 9·00 m. long, and 1·50 m. wide. It is constructed of rudely-dressed stones laid in irregular courses; the lower courses are of flat stones. Then follows a fairly regular course of large squarish blocks, and above

this the flat stones are used again, and form at the better preserved north end the projecting coping just mentioned.[1]

The section on the axial line *A–B*, on Pl. III., shews that the cobble pavement is not quite at the lowest level, but that, like the altar itself, it rests on some 0·30 m. of Geometric deposit. Whatever therefore the date of the altar may be, there were sacrifices at this spot even before it was built, and the contemporary pavement round it laid down. To this earlier period belongs the layer of small rough stones, seen in Fig. 13 and on the plan of the arena (Fig. 12) projecting from under the west side of the altar, 1·50 m. from its north end. The straight line, with which this layer terminates to the north and west, and the fact that it does not, like the pavement to the east, abut against the altar, but rather definitely passes underneath it, point to its being the lowest course of some still earlier structure and, in all probability, itself also an altar. As far as search has yet been made, no burned matter has been found below these stones, and we may therefore take this construction as the earliest yet found on the site.

The section through the axial line of the temple (Pl. III.) brings an interesting fact into prominence: all the three altars, the archaic, the Greek, and the Roman, occupy almost exactly the same position. The layer of stones, described above as being possibly the remains of a yet earlier altar, does not appear on the section, but its position under the other three can be seen in the plan in Pl. II., where it is marked in dotted lines; above it, though somewhat to the east, is the great archaic altar. Separated from this by the layer of sand put down to raise the level in the sixth century, but still in the same position, and with the same orientation, are the *poros* blocks, which are the sole remains of the altar used with the old temple then built. Based on these again are the remains of the Roman altar, used during the last years of the Hellenistic reconstruction of the temple. The sacred character of an altar, and its natural permanence, make it unlikely that there was any intermediate altar between these two, of which no trace has survived. The chronological diagram given in Fig. 9 (p. 61 above) presents this succession in graphic form.

[1] The southern end of this altar was found in 1906, in cutting the trial trench A. The contrast between the lower courses of flat stones and the bigger stones above gave the idea that the former were a foundation, and that the structure dated from the period of the Orientalising deposit. This is now seen to be wrong. The connexion with the pavement, and all the circumstances brought out by the complete excavation, make it clear that the altar was built in the Geometric period.

The sacrificial *débris* mentioned above as having been found below and on all sides of the altar contains the same objects as are found in the rest of the archaic deposit. It is noticeable that all the strata are much thicker, that is, rise to a much greater height, on the east than on the west side of the altar, where they are no thicker than in the rest of the arena. It was therefore the west side that was kept clear for the purposes of the cult, whilst on the other side refuse was allowed to accumulate.

The digging of this deposit brought out two further points, proving that the altar is contemporary with it, and the earliest walls of the temple, later: one is this unevenness of the strata on the two sides of the altar, higher on one side than on the other, contrasted with the way in which their levels are unaffected where they are met by the walls of the temple. The walls, being of a later date than the deposit, cut right through all the strata, whilst the altar, having been in existence whilst the deposit was accumulating, has made the strata drift up higher on one side than on the other. The other piece of evidence is, that the only place where there was any exception to the rule that the topmost stratum contained no pottery but Orientalising, and that to find Geometric a lower level must be reached, was in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple walls. Here a few Geometric sherds were found above the Orientalising; below these latter was the usual thick Geometric stratum. The explanation of the earlier Geometric sherds being found here above the later Orientalising, is that they were thrown up from below into the position in which they were found, when the trenches were dug for the foundations of the walls. The later date of the temple thus admits of no doubt.

The date to be assigned to the great altar can only be discussed after the description of the finds in the archaic deposit. Meanwhile it may be noted that, whilst for the period after the putting down of the sand (that is, for the latter half of the sixth century and onward) we have the remains of both temple and altar until the end of paganism, for the earlier period of the great archaic altar we have as yet no remains of a temple. The search for this earlier temple will be the main objective of next year's campaign, and there is some evidence for supposing that its remains are to be sought for underneath the Roman foundations to the east of the altars. In 1906 a hole was cut through this between Rays XI.—XII., as a part of the trial trench B, and a piece of wall, some archaic roof tiles, and a fragment of painted terracotta architectural ornament were found; this year more

such pieces of tiles were found between the altar and the edge of the Roman foundation. These tiles suggest a building contemporary with the archaic altar, and this is likely to be the temple. The reason for changing its position and rebuilding it a little further from the river was probably the same as that for raising the level of the sanctuary,—to avoid the danger of floods. Although the temple changed its position, the altar, the real centre of the cult, retained its old traditional place, hallowed by the sacred associations of many years.

The Archaic Deposit.

(PLATE IV.)

The whole thickness of the archaic deposit varies from about half a metre in the middle of the arena to rather more than a metre inside the temple and to the east of the altar. The sectional drawings on Pl. III. shew that the lower part, marked by Geometric pottery, is from one-half to two-thirds of the whole underlying the stratum of Orientalising ware. The intermediate stratum mentioned above, in which both are found mixed with sherds of Proto-Corinthian, is marked on these sections as being along the line between the two. Its thickness and definition were not sufficient for it to be more closely indicated. The presence of this intermediate stratum speaks for the continuity of the whole deposit, which is clearly brought out by Mr. Droop's study of the pottery in the following section; it also appears from the diagram in Fig. 9, which presents side by side the levels at which different classes of objects are found, and shews how the whole deposit is bound together into one continuous series.

The local distribution of the finds was very variable. In some places the deposit was very rich, in others the earth, especially in the upper layers, contained very few objects. Everywhere the intermediate stratum was the richest.

Before the rest of the deposit, now covered by the Roman foundation, has been explored, the meaning of this irregular distribution cannot be understood. For the present it must be enough to say that the richest areas were the space inside the temple, all the region outside its south-east corner, and the part to the east of the altar. The hole cut last year between Rays XI.–XII., in which the roof-tiles were found, was very

productive, as was also the strip along the bank of the river. The comparatively unbroken condition of the objects here not only gives good hope for the future, but also suggests that these finds come from some building in which they were stored, and not like the rest, from an accumulation of rubbish. It has already been suggested that this building may be the most ancient temple.

In digging this deposit, the whole area was divided into forty plots, six for the temple, and thirty-four for the arena. Each of these plots was further dug in three to six different layers, and the objects found in each layer of each section kept apart in a long series of wooden trays. Everything as it came out of the earth was put into the trays, and put back again into them after the preliminary washing. The pick was hardly ever used, all the earth being removed with knives. This method of digging is shewn in front of the temple in Fig. 6, and by the altar in Fig. 13. When the finds proved especially frequent, it was not considered enough to go over the earth thus with the knife, but it was afterwards taken down to the bed of the Eurotas and washed in sieves. In this way a number of fragments, especially of ivory objects, were recovered. A system by which the heaps of earth, sections of the deposit, and trays all had corresponding labels, enabled us to put the objects thus found into the proper trays. It was not until everything had been thus collected together into the trays, and full notes taken, that anything was thrown away. The sectional drawings on Pl. III., shewing the levels of the strata in this deposit, were constructed from these notes. All through the work a levelling instrument was constantly in use, for measuring the levels of the strata.

In these sectional drawings it was only possible to shew in a general way the composition of the deposit. A fuller picture is given by the upper part of the diagram in Fig. 9. The thick horizontal lines represent the proportion of the whole thickness of the deposit in which each class of object occurs. These ranges have been calculated from each of the sections into which the whole area was divided, and therefore rest on a large number of observations. The greater proportional thickness of the stratum of Orientalising ware inside the temple shews that here the deposit was laid down more rapidly in the later period than elsewhere, and in constructing the diagram, I have, therefore, taken an average between this and the arena. With the not unreasonable assumption that the rate of

deposit was fairly even, the lines in the diagram may be taken as giving some measure of the chronological relations of the different classes of objects, and as being proportional to the length of the period covered by each. Given, in fact, the two terminal dates of the deposit, these periods can be brought into the general chronology of the sanctuary.

The earlier date is difficult to fix, but we are not without some guide: *fibulae* of the kind shewn in Fig. 20*c*, made of a plate of bone or ivory, in imitation of the form of the 'spectacle' *fibulae* made of two coils of wire, have been found by Mr. Hogarth in the British Museum excavation at Ephesus. He has kindly told me that he dates these Ephesus finds to 700 B.C. The Spartan examples occurred about half-way down the deposit. The later date we have put to the middle of the sixth century, relying on such evidence as the inscribed die found in the layer of sand, and the fragment of coloured *poros* sculpture from the temple. This also agrees with the usual dating of Orientalising pottery, as it assigns the upper part of the deposit, in which this occurs, to the seventh and early sixth century. If we allow a like period of 150 years for the earlier half of the deposit, we arrive at the middle of the ninth century for the earliest date. Other Spartan sanctuaries go back earlier than this, for Mr. Droop's study of the pottery shews that the Geometric deposit at the Chalkioikos is, on the whole, earlier than this, and the sherds from the Amyclaion earlier still.

To this earliest date, the middle of the ninth century B.C., belong the remains which it is suggested above are those of the most ancient altar. The date when this gave way to the great archaic altar must be in the Geometric period, because the stratum containing this pottery is divided by the cobble pavement contemporary with the great altar. In the diagram in Fig. 9 this date is taken as about 800 B.C.

The number of objects from this deposit has been very greatly increased by this year's campaign. In the summary account given in last year's report, the more important were ranged under the heads of pottery, bronzes, lead figurines, terracotta figures and masks, and objects in ivory and bone. This year large additions have been made to all these classes, except the terracotta masks, of which hardly more than fragments were found. A fuller study of these is, therefore, deferred until the material is more complete. Of pottery and bronze, on the other hand, so much has now been found, that their characteristics plainly emerge, and it has been

possible for Mr. Droop to draw up the detailed account that follows below. Considerations of space make it necessary to defer a similar treatment of the lead figurines. The yield of these this year, though large, was not so enormous as in 1906, but a study of them in relation to their position in the stratification has enabled Mr. Wace to arrive at some important conclusions. As the diagram in Fig. 9 shews, the figurines begin at about the same level as the Orientalising pottery, and continue to the end of the deposit. They fall into two main classes, those well and solidly made and those of more flimsy make. These latter are found all through, whilst the better class are not found at the higher levels. This development is continued in the figurines found in the burnt deposit connected with the Greek altar above the sand. These differ somewhat from even the highest found below the sand, but some common types mark the continuity. It is noticeable that it is only in this deposit above the sand that figures of deer are common.

A large number of miscellaneous objects must wait for publication until the close of the excavation. This year it is only possible to publish the pottery, the bronzes, and some of the carved ivories. The number of these latter has now been greatly increased. The account that follows deals only with the more striking. There remain a large number of classes of frequently recurring objects, the publication of which must be deferred.

Something must be said of the external relations of Sparta in the light of these finds. The earliest of these indications is given by the presence of amber. This occurs in the lower levels of the deposit, almost ceasing soon after the first appearance of the Orientalising pottery. If we date it on the same system as the other objects, it falls into the latter half of the ninth century and disappears before the end of the eighth. It is found sparingly only, and either in the form of small, generally disc-shaped beads, pierced along a diameter, or used to decorate objects of bone, or ivory. It then appears either as inlaid discs, or on the bows of *fibulae*.

Its presence is important, in view of the rarity of amber on classical sites. It points to a trade connexion with the north, and that at an earlier period than the opening up of Greece to commerce with the East, and the beginning of Orientalising influence. Some such relation is recorded in the story of Herodotus, that traders came to Greece from the Adriatic.[1] It

[1] Herodotus, iv. 33.

also seems to point towards the northern origin of the Dorians. If these were, as Professor Ridgeway has shewn reason to believe, an Illyrian tribe, the quantity of amber found in Illyria is a point of importance.[1] The

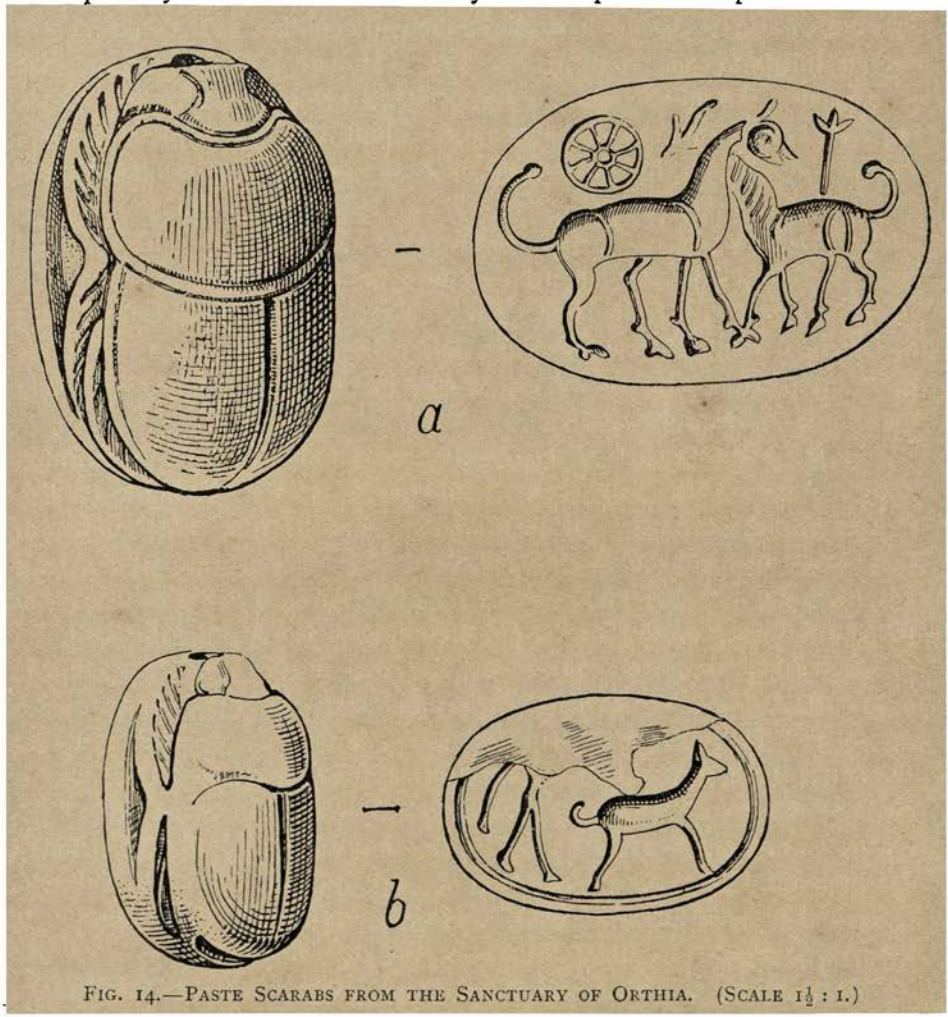


FIG. 14.—PASTE SCARABS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1½ : 1.)

diagram in Fig. 9 shews how the amber falls off shortly after the beginning of the period in which the Orientalising pottery points to trade with the East. Henceforth the foreign connexions of Sparta face the more

[1] Ridgeway, 'Who were the Dorians?' in *Anthropol. Essays Presented to E. B. Tylor*, pp. 295 ff.

advanced civilisations of the Orient. The northern tribe has taken up its full position in the Hellenic world.

From Egypt we have a great number of paste scarabs. These were originally covered with a blue glaze, but almost all traces of this have generally disappeared, leaving only the very friable body. Their range is rather earlier than that of the mass of the ivories, roughly the eighth century, although it must be remembered that such objects are often considerably older than the deposit in which they are found. Two

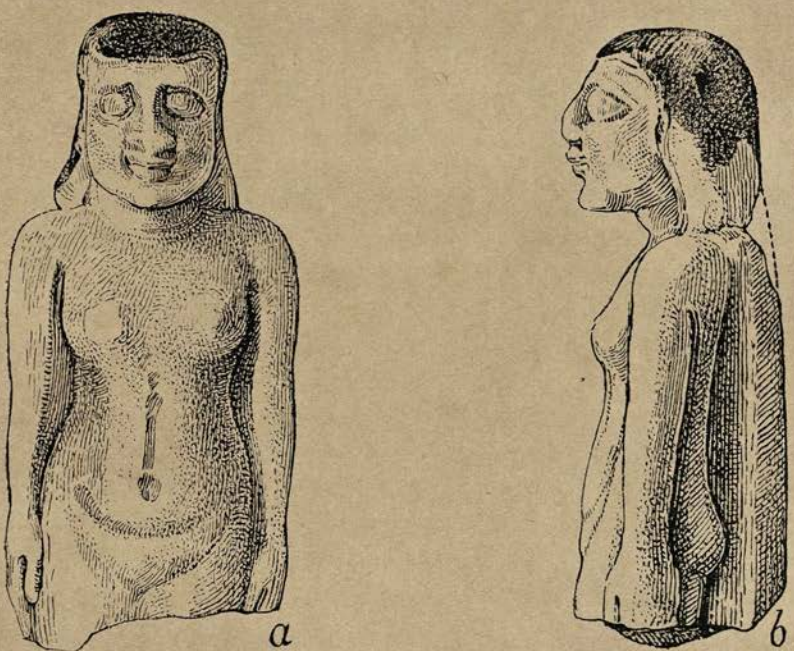


FIG. 15.—FEMALE FIGURE FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1½ : 1.)

examples are shewn in Fig. 14 and another in Fig. 16 *d*. The figure of a woman in Fig. 15 is made of the same paste, and must also be regarded as an Egyptian import. Imitated also from an Egyptian model are the horizontally outstretched wings of the bird on the scarabaeoid gem shewn in Fig. 16 *b*. Two more of these scarabaeoids were found (Fig. 16 *a*, *c*) in the arena. All three were well down in the lowest stratum containing only Geometric pottery. The stone is soft, *a* being dark red, and *c* green. The

cutting is peculiar, consisting entirely of lines incised by hand, and resulting in what is simply a line drawing on the stone. The Mycenaean gem

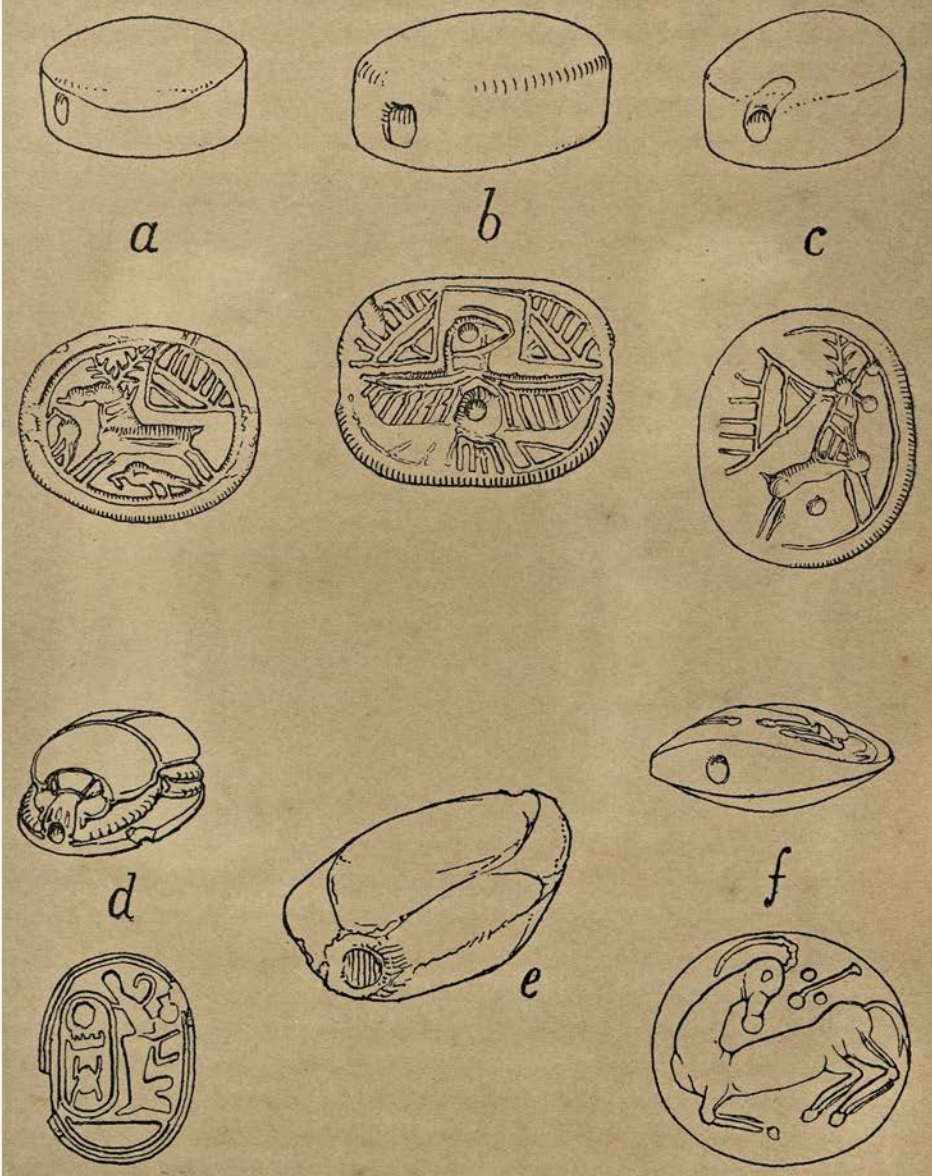


FIG. 16.—ENGRAVED STONES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 2 : 1.)

shewn in Fig. 16*f* was found inside the temple, and is the only prehistoric object yet found. It has, it is needless to say, no chronological value: such objects would be preserved as ornaments long after they had ceased to be made, just as peasants at the present day keep and value such gems.

The carved ivories also point to foreign influence, but, except in the case of the figures of couchant animals, this seems to have come from Ionia, and not from Egypt. The chronological diagram in Fig. 9 shews that they begin to occur already in the stratum of the Geometric pottery, but hardly come down so late as the period in which nothing but Orientalising pottery is found. The bulk of them belong to the intermediate period, when both occur together mixed with Proto-Corinthian. This should be assigned to the hundred years from about 750–650 B.C. Below this not much bone or ivory is found. Above it there were a very few fine ivories, but in general only certain classes of undecorated objects. This intermediate period is the richest in every way. The number of scarabs, and the presence of Proto-Corinthian, the earliest of the Orientalising fabrics, shew that it was a time when Sparta was becoming opened up to foreign trade with the East. The presence of ivory, though we shall see reason to believe that it was worked locally, points to the same conditions.

The Carved Ivories.

Fibula-Plaques (Figs. 17–19).

A number of rectangular ivory plaques have been found, carved with figure-subjects in relief, like the one published in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 328, Fig. 5 *c*. Fragments of several more have been found, but all the best examples have been drawn and are given here. They were mostly found in the very rich part of the deposit in front of, and at the south-east corner of the temple. They vary in size from the large plaque with the slaying of the Gorgon (Fig. 19), which is ·11 m. × ·0825 m., to the example in Fig. 17 *c*, which is only ·035 m. × ·0275 m. Their use is plain: they were fastened to the front of bronze *fibulae* of the safety-pin type, with a flattened bow. Fig. 17 *d* shews such a *fibula* with a bronze instead of an ivory plate, and below an example which has lost the ivory plate; the rivets on the bow fastened this in place. Before any complete example had been found, it was noticed that the plaques had two bronze rivets on the median line, and

sometimes a strip of bronze fastened behind; the presence of these may be taken as proof that such plaques were originally attached to *fibulae*.

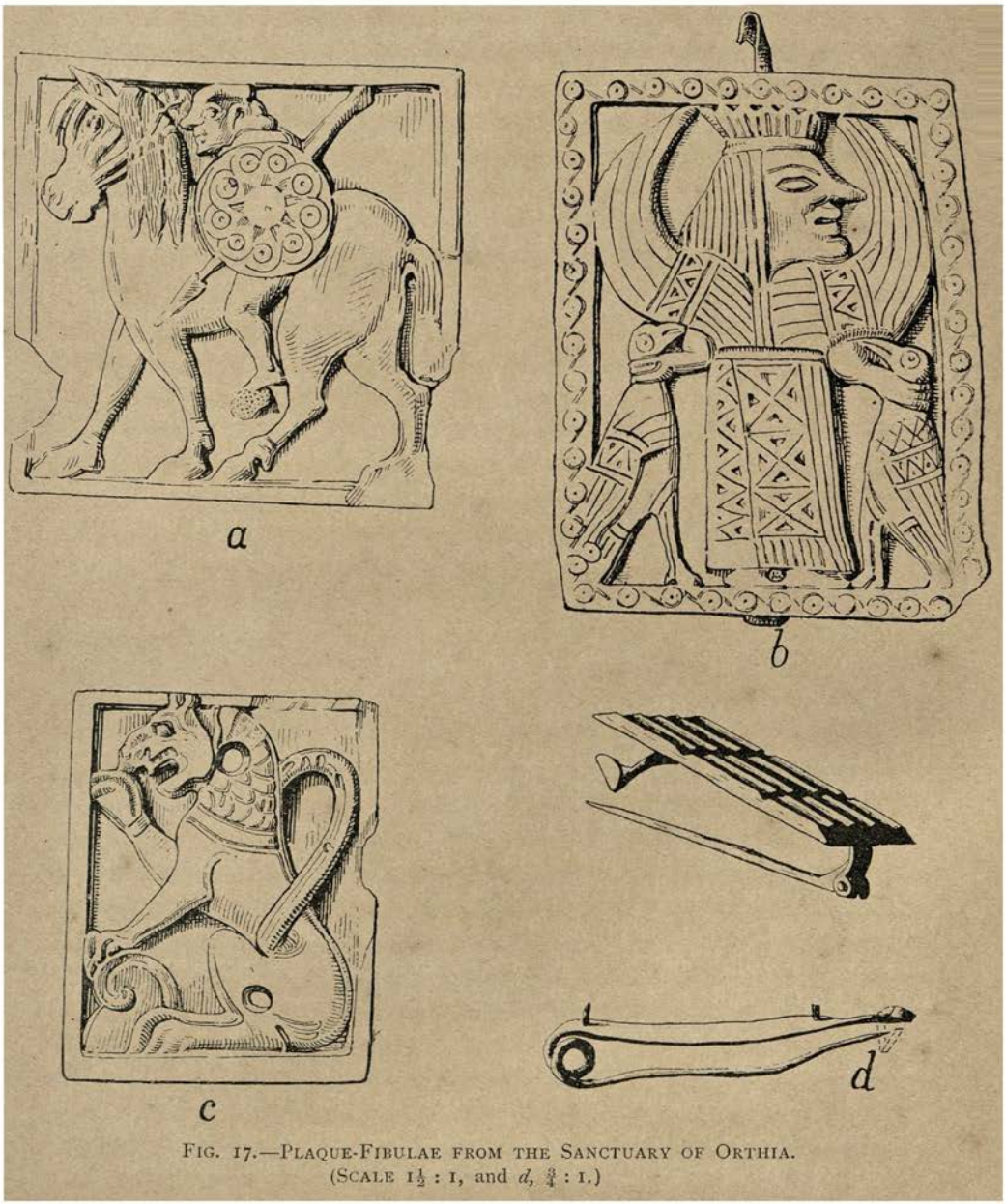


FIG. 17.—PLAQUE-FIBULAE FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA.
(SCALE 1½ : 1, and *d*, ¾ : 1.)

The reliefs are neatly and finely worked, but shew very little modelling. They are in fact little more than drawings with the background sunk. As in a drawing, objects are freely shewn one in front of another, but objects so superimposed are all in the same plane, and their position in front, or behind, is only marked by sinking the further plane, just where it passes behind the object in front. Nor does the shallowness of the relief, hardly more than two millimetres, allow of much modelling. Surface details are rendered by incised lines. These are largely used for patterns on drapery, and such details of texture as feathers. No traces of colour are left, except on the figure in Fig. 18 *b*, which has traces of a dark pigment, especially on the wings.

Although the ivory was of course imported, the fragment shewn in Fig. 28 *a* is evidence that the carving was done at Sparta. It can be recognised as a piece of an unfinished plaque, probably intended for a *fibula*, in spite of its size. The subject has only been drawn with bold incised lines, and the relief-cutting not yet begun. Like the finished examples, it was to have had a raised border, the lines for which had been marked out. It is interesting, both as a proof of the purpose of these lines, and as a point in technique, that the line running up the side and with the grain of ivory is drawn close to the edge, whilst the lines against the grain at the top and bottom are drawn some way back. The ivory would only be cut back to them, after the ground had been sunk, and there was no more danger of breaking the raised border by cutting against it, where it was not strengthened by running with the grain. This border and the way in which it is prepared for cutting make it certain that this plaque is not a drawing, but an unfinished relief.

A development can be traced in these plaques: as they get later, they become larger, and the convention that the design shall touch the border at as many points as possible is less regarded. Of those published here, Fig. 17 *a* and *b* are the earliest. Both come from the Geometric stratum, and may be put early in the eighth century. Next come Fig. 17 *c* and Fig. 18 *a* and *b* from the intermediate stratum, which yielded the greatest number of ivories. The unfinished fragment in Fig. 28 *a* is from the same stratum, the increased life and freedom in the design is very marked. Lastly the large plaque of the slaying of the Gorgon (Fig. 19) is one of the few ivories from the Orientalising stratum, and is one of the latest found. It can be attributed to the first half of the sixth century.

a

b

FIG. 18.—IVORY FIBULA-PLAQUES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE $1\frac{1}{2}$: 1.)

The following is a description of the plaques figured :—

Fig. 17 *a*. Plaque, ·04 m. square. A man on horseback, facing left and carrying a lance and round shield decorated with an incised pattern of rays and circles. In order to make the design touch the frame at as many points as possible, and thus fill the field well, the horseman's body is so much shortened as to bring the head on a level with that of the horse. The impossibility of the position is concealed by the large round shield. The horse is clumsily built, and has a thick forelock and long mane. The rivets to fasten the plaque to the *fibula* are preserved ; one pierces through the upper part of the shield, and the other appears below the horse's body.

Fig. 17 *b*. Plaque, ·04 m. wide × ·05 m. high. This is the only example yet found with the *fibula* itself preserved. The drawing shews the bend of the bow below and the catch above, appearing from behind the plaque. The raised border is wider than usual, and decorated with incised circles. The design is a winged female figure, which may be interpreted as the winged Artemis, with the body seen from the front and the face turned in profile to the right. The hair of the goddess falls straight over her shoulders from under the high head-dress, and in each hand she grasps the neck of a bird.

The archaic style of these two plaques (*a* and *b*) corresponds with their earlier date. The contrast in this respect between their stiff appearance and the free drawing of the unfinished fragment in Fig 28 *a* and the Gorgon plaque (Fig. 19) is very obvious.

Fig. 17 *c*. Plaque, ·0275 m. wide × ·035 m. high. A couchant lion, with one paw resting on some unknown object. Although later than the two previous examples, and less stiff in design, it resembles them in the way in which the design touches the frame everywhere. The rivets have entirely disappeared, and the holes, enlarged in front to give a good hold, are in this example by exception not placed on the median line.

Fig. 18 *a*. Plaque, ·06 m. wide × ·08 m. high. A woman full-face, holding two birds by the neck, whilst two more appear above them. The fold of the girded chiton is made to resemble a cape. The figure is probably intended for Artemis ; the thick lips are noticeable. No trace of rivets appears, and it is likely that this does not belong to a *fibula*.

Fig. 18 *b*. Plaque, ·0525 m. wide × ·0825 m. high. A winged, bearded man holding a pair of birds by the legs. Slight traces of a dark colour are

FIG. 19.—IVORY FIBULA-PLAQUE FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE $1\frac{1}{2}$: 1.)

preserved on the wings, hair, and border. The position in which this and the preceding plaque were found proves them to be later than the first two, and this lateness shews itself in their greater size, and in the fact that it is no longer felt necessary that the design shall touch the frame at every prominent point.

Fig. 19. Plaque, ·11 m. wide × ·0825 m. high. This is no doubt the latest of the plaques yet found, and, with the exception of the unfinished fragment shewn in Fig. 28 *a*, also the largest. It was found higher than the mass of the ivories, and well up in the Orientalising stratum, in the rich deposit in front of the temple. It is much broken, but enough is left for a reconstruction. The subject is a man killing a Gorgon, and the free space of ground left above the heads again shews that the convention of covering the full extent of the field with the design was no longer observed. The two rivets appear, one behind the man's ankle and the other beneath his left arm. The knowledge that they would occupy the central line of the plaque was a guide for the reconstruction of the design. A good deal is uncertain, especially the left side of the Gorgon's body, and it is quite likely that she had two wings. In elaboration this plaque is a great advance on the others, and the tendency to simplify the drawing by spreading the design out flat, and not to shew one object in front of another is quite a thing of the past. In the middle of the plaque the man's arm is in front of the Gorgon's wing, and the wing of the man's leg. There is also rather more modelling, especially on the Gorgon's head. The armour and drapery are indicated by a free use of incised lines.

Ivory Derivatives of 'Spectacle' Fibulae (Fig. 20).

The bronze 'spectacle' *fibula* is the prototype of a series of bone or ivory *fibulae*, in which a plate of bone, shaped like the bronze model, is riveted to the front of a bronze safety-pin. An example is shewn in Fig. 20 *b*, in which the plate is bronze, decorated with four knobs at the points corresponding to the centres of the coils in the wire prototype of which *a* is a specimen. A bone example was found with four small bone bosses still in position. The largest that has yet been found is shewn in Fig. 20 *c*. It is ·12 m. long. The place of the four bosses is taken by inlaid discs of amber, of which two are still in place. Fig. 20 *d*, which has a bone plate fastened with bronze rivets to an iron pin, is a further derivative from the type. For the two smaller discs, replacing the single turns of wire

between the large helices, it substitutes a straight bar. Bone or ivory *fibulae* of this type have been found at the Argive Heraeum,[1] and more

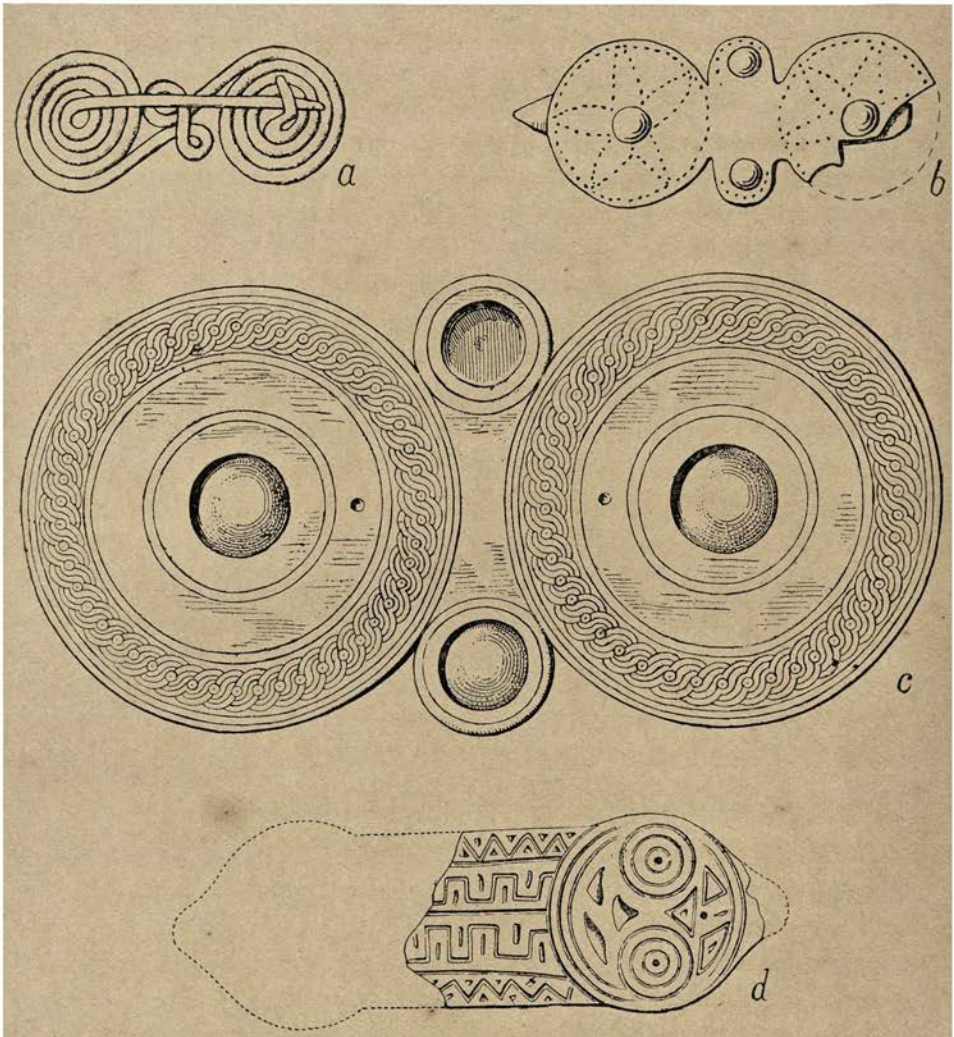


FIG. 20.—'SPECTACLE' FIBULAE IN BRONZE AND IVORY FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

recently specimens, exactly like the Spartan examples, have been yielded by the British Museum excavations at the Artemis temple at

[1] Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 353, Nos. 32–35, Pl. CXL.

Ephesus.[1] Here Mr. Hogarth kindly informs me that he dates them to

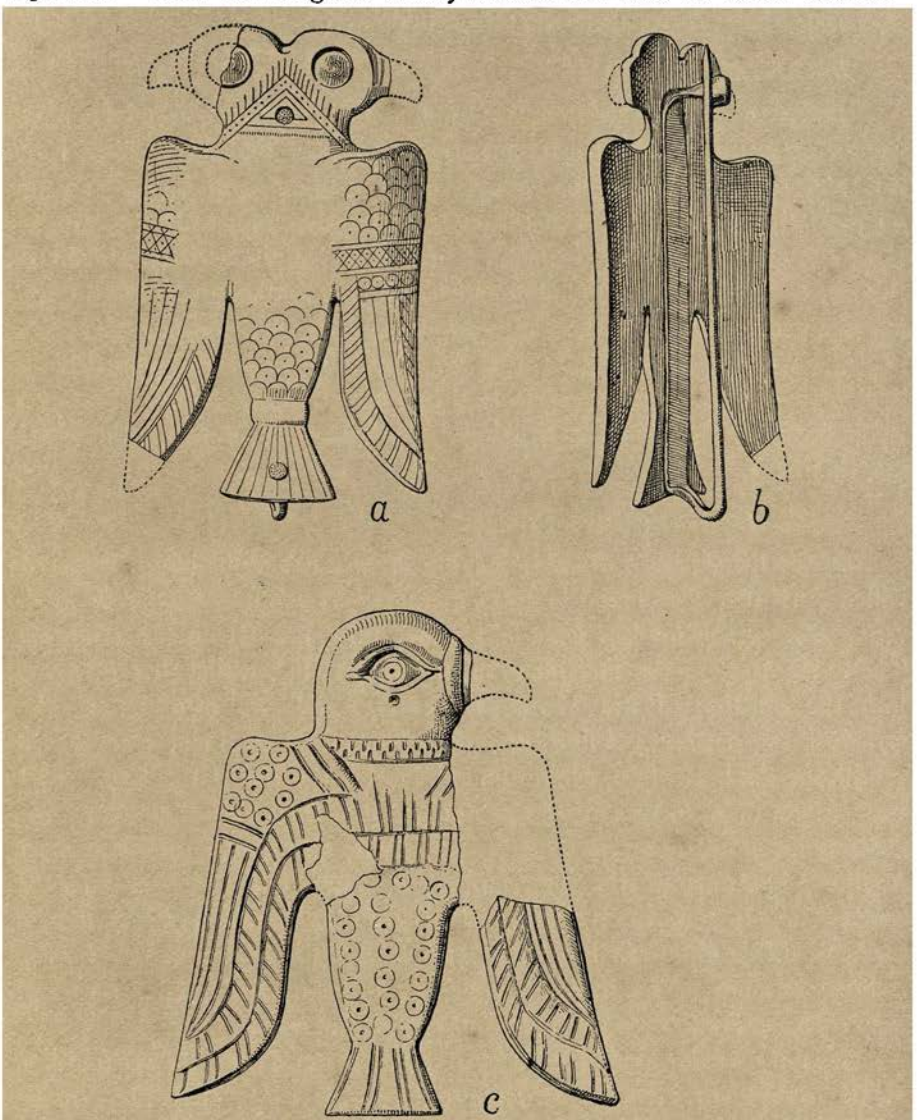


FIG. 21.—IVORY BIRD-FIBULAE FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

700 B.C. The twisted rope pattern on the big example from Sparta (Fig. 20 *c*) and the ray pattern on *b* both reappear at Ephesus. As the

[1] They are shewn on Pl. 32 of the Ephesus publication.

bronze-coil prototype is Greek and European, it is probable that these Ephesian *fibulae* derive from the Greek mainland.

Bird-Fibulae (Fig. 21).

These two *fibulae* were both found in the stratum marked by only Geometric pottery, and must be put about 800 B.C. The *fibula* itself is of the safety-pin type, like those above with the ivory plaques, but here the place of the square plaque is taken by a slightly convex plate carved to represent a bird, possibly an eagle. The surface is quite without modelling, the feathers being shewn by incised lines, the long feathers by parallel lines, and the short feathers on the body and upper part of the wings by circles (on *c*), or by a scale-pattern (on *a*). The bird in *a* is remarkable in having two heads, and its eyes formed by discs of amber inlaid. The two rivets fastening the pin appear plainly. Its back view is given in *b*. Total length ·063 m.

Couchant Animals (Figs. 22, 23).

Of the ivory figures of animals lying down on small oblong bases, of which a number were found in 1906, many more have now been recovered. A few were published last year as coming from the Geometric stratum.[1] The fuller study of the stratification now shews that, whilst they go down into the stratum of the Geometric pottery, and are rare among the Orientalising pottery, yet like the other ivories they are most common in the intermediate stratum, where the two fabrics are found together. This year more than forty have been found, and they are thus quite the commonest kind of carved ivory. As before, sheep and rams are most frequent, but now, to the other animals we must add the bear and the lioness. As in 1906, many examples have designs on the lower surface of the base, either a pattern of zigzag lines, or a figure of a man or a bird in shallow intaglio. Fig. 22 *b* has a sphinx in relief, but this is rare and may be set aside in discussing the purpose of the class.

Exactly similar objects have been found at the Argive Heraeum[2] and at the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.[3] In all cases they are pierced horizontally from back to front, through the lower part of the body just above the base, and were probably worn as pendants. But this use does

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 320, Fig. 2.
[2] Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 353, No. 87. Not figured.
[3] *Ephesus*, Pl. 26, 1*a*, *b*.

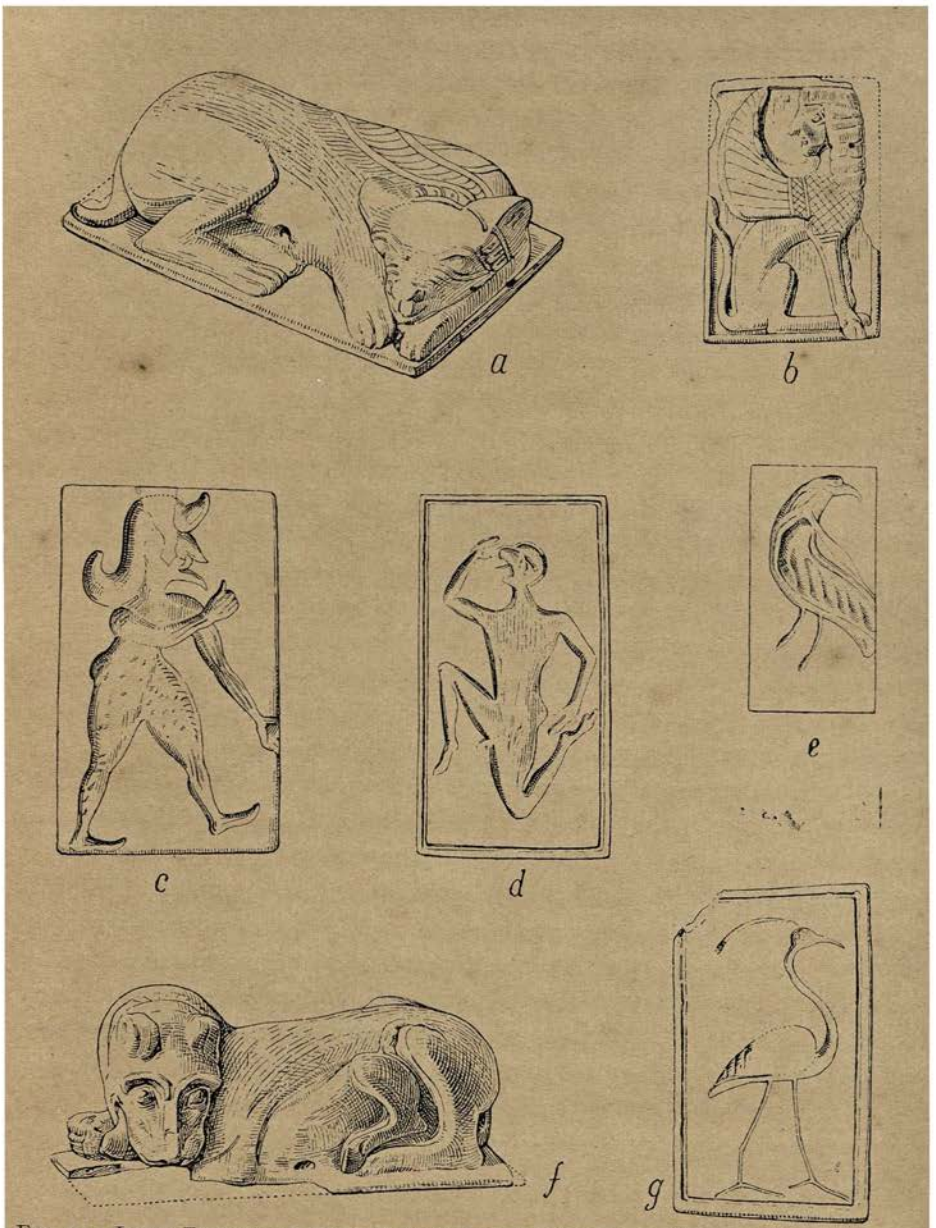


FIG. 22.—IVORY FIGURES OF ANIMALS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

not explain the decoration which so many examples have on the lower, and therefore concealed, surface of the base. A clue is given by a class of seals, three of which have been found at the Argive Heraeum.[1] The upper part of the seal is formed by a couchant beast, and the seal-engraving itself is on the lower surface of the base, upon which the figure rests. Like the Spartan ivories, these seals are pierced, and could thus serve as pendants. It is from such objects that I believe these figures of couchant animals are derived. Their use as seals has practically disappeared, leaving only the practice of occasionally cutting a shallow intaglio or incised pattern as a decoration for the base. Another seal of the same class, found at Kalauria,[2] is of interest, as pointing to Egyptian connexions. It is a scarabaeoid, with the upper part in the form of a hippopotamus, whilst the seal itself has a design of a bowman in a chariot riding down a prostrate foe. Koerte rightly notices the Egyptian style of this, and the hippopotamus also shews the same influence. Still more Egyptian is another similar stone published on the following page of the *Mittheilungen*, without provenance, but seen in the hands of a dealer at Athens. Above, it has a hippopotamus carved in the round, and on the lower surface the well-known Eye of Osiris. It is also noticeable that, as far as can be judged from a drawing, the Kalauria stone strongly recalls the linear style of the three Spartan scarabaeoids described above, one of which has a very Egyptian element in the design of the outstretched wings.[3]

There is a class of Egyptian seals with carved figures of animals on the upper surface,[4] and although they seem to be very much older than the archaic period in Greece, the Egyptian connexions of the Greek ivories and seals make it highly probable that they carry on the same tradition.

The examples figured offer some further peculiarities. On the body of the bear (Fig. 22 *a*) is a curious pattern, which looks almost like a wing. It is paralleled by the spiral pattern on the shoulder of the lioness in Fig. 23, which is equally removed from any natural feature of the

[1] Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 349, Nos. 39–41, Pl. CXXXVIII.

[2] Koerte, *Ath. Mitt.* 1895, pp. 300–2, Figs. 20, 21.

[3] As a further sign of Egyptian influence in the Spartan figures, it may be suggested that the long oblong face and peculiar ears of the animal in Fig. 22 *f* mark it as a hippopotamus, thus bringing this example very close to the Kalaurian seal, about whose Egyptian origin Koerte has no doubt. That it is here shewn devouring a calf, like a beast of prey, is due to Greek ignorance of the habits of the strange beast.

[4] These are described by Newberry, *Scarabs*, p. 85.

animal. This lioness is the finest specimen yet found. The great majority of examples have only the single figure of the couchant animal. A very few, like the one in Fig. 22 *f* above, shew the animal grasping or devouring a victim, but here alone have we a group with three figures. To the beast of prey and its victim the artist has added the avenger, who is shewn as a small figure in front kneeling and stabbing the lioness in the neck. The lolling tongue of the calf and the way in which the cheeks of the lioness are spread above the jaw by the action of biting are admirable touches of realism. The man's head was not recovered, but it is certain, from the position of his hair, which falls forward on one shoulder and rests back on the other, that it is rightly restored as facing

FIG. 23.—IVORY GROUP FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

outwards. The artist is more skilled in drawing than in sculpture. As a drawing the group, seen from in front, is correct, but as a piece of sculpture in the round it fails in the problem of arranging the bodies of the lioness and the calf in three dimensions. There is in fact no place for the body of the calf at all; only such parts of it are represented as would shew in a drawing taken from the front.

Four-sided Ivory and Bone Seals (Fig. 24).

The three best examples of this class of seals are here given. Their general shape approximates to a cube with a hole passing through the centre of two opposite faces, and the other four faces shaped into ovals and engraved. Some, like Fig. 24 *a* and *f*, are of ivory, others, like the second example Fig. 24 *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, are made of bone. In these the hole is simply the tubular hollow of the bone itself, and was filled with

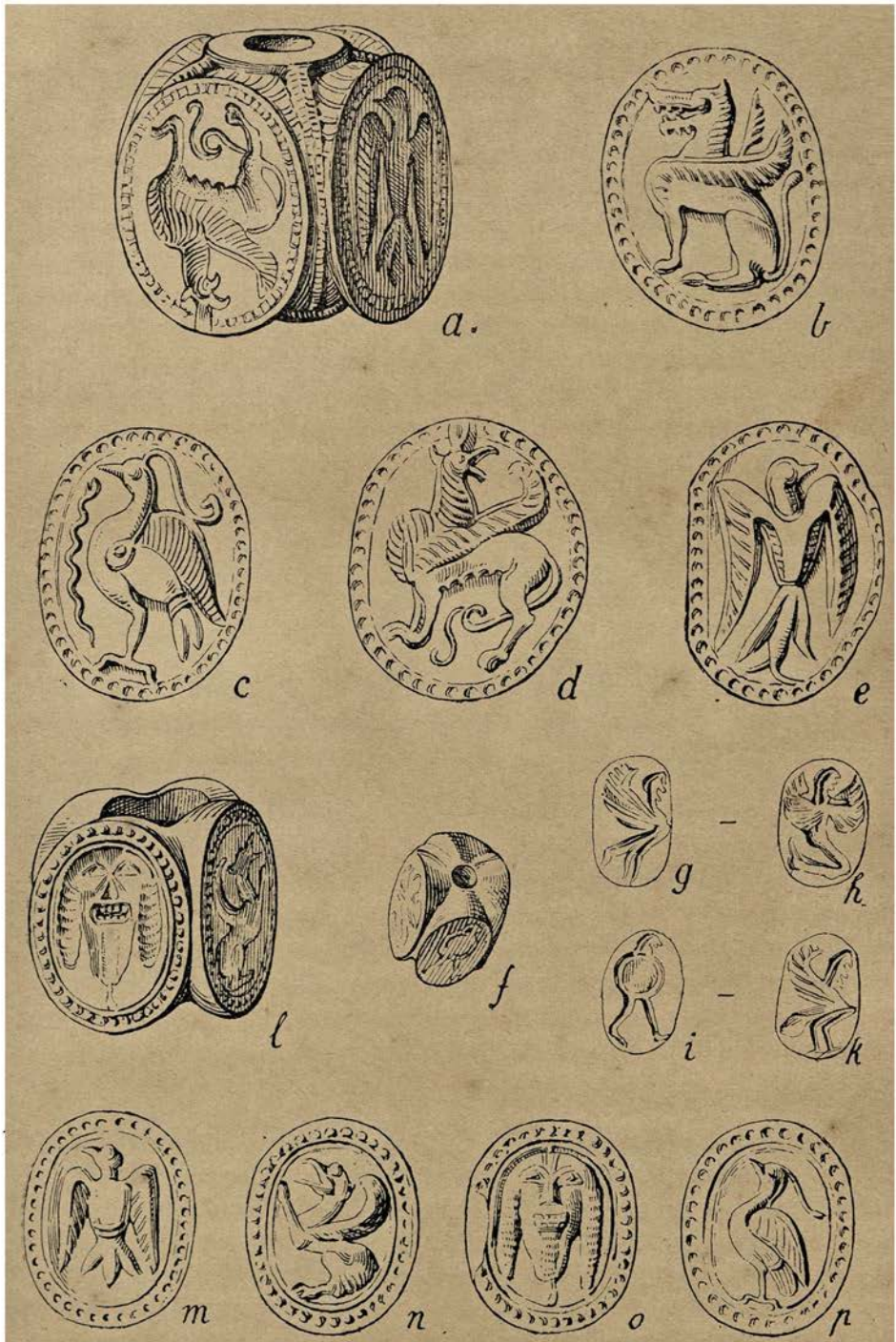


FIG. 124.—FOUR-SIDED IVORY SEALS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1½ : 1.)

a small plug, at all events at one end. In the example shewn this plug has fallen out. Similar seals were found at the Argive Heraeum.[1] The design, except in the very small example shewn in *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, is surrounded by a border, and consists as a rule of a figure of a bird, griffin, or sphinx. Exceptional are the face and the man with a shield in Fig. 24 *o* and *i*.

Circular Ivory Seals (Fig. 25).

A number of thick ivory discs have been found, which I regard as seals. The thickness is about one-third of the diameter. They are of two types: the first has an intaglio design on either side, the second on one side only, the other being occupied by a face in the round. The first type is shewn in Fig. 25 *c–g*, the second by *a* and *b*.

The seal in Fig. 25 *a*, *b* (diameter ·036 m.) has on the under side a winged griffin surrounded by a narrow border. The head in the round on the upper side would help to give a grip to the user.

The second example (*c*, *d*, *e*; diameter ·035 m.) has on one side a bearded Gorgon's mask, surrounded by a zigzag border. This is the actual seal. The other side has only a rosette pattern, and in the middle is an oblong hole, which probably served to secure a handle.

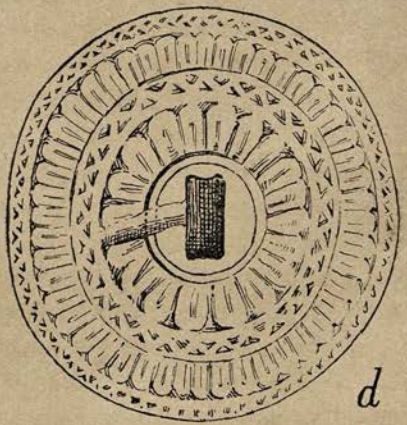
The third example (*f*, *g*; greatest diameter ·028 m.) has one face smaller than the other, one end of the cylinder being reduced in diameter by a rebate cut round the edge, as is shewn in the side view *f*, and is pierced along a diameter. On the smaller end is a swan, with the neck curved over the back, and on the larger a griffin. Such a seal could be held quite well, but it is very likely that the rim on the circumference in this and the second example (*c*, *d*, *e*) was to hold some mounting, which has now disappeared. This last seal is exactly the shape of several that were found at the Argive Heraeum.[2]

Ivory Combs (Fig. 26).

Combs of this type are not uncommon. Nine examples are recorded, some of them very fragmentary. They are generally decorated with geometrical patterns, ropes, or zigzags, like the example in Fig. 26 *c*, but figure subjects also occur. Fig. 26 *a* and *b* shew the two sides of the same

[1] Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 353, Nos. 27–29, Pl. CXL.

[2] Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 351, Nos. 1–5, Pl. CXXXIX. The suggestion that they are covers for vases does not commend itself to me.



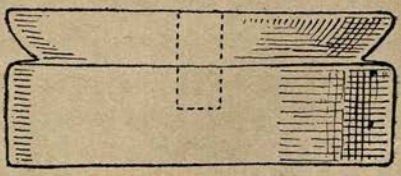


FIG. 25.—ROUND IVORY SEALS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE $1\frac{1}{2}$: 1.)

fragment: on one side is a kneeling man, struggling with a lion, on the other a griffin. The style of the work is that of the other ivory reliefs.

Ivory Statuettes (Fig. 27).

A type of which several examples have been found is represented by *a* and *d*; *c* resembles a figure published last year,[1] and *b* is hitherto unique.

FIG. 26.—IVORY COMBS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1½ : 1.)

It is interesting to note that *a* is only a degeneration of the type of *d*, in which the legs of the man are confused with the block upon which he is

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 328, Fig. 5 *b*.

sitting. The most important point about these figures is the hair. It is parted along the middle line of the head, and a band passing above the

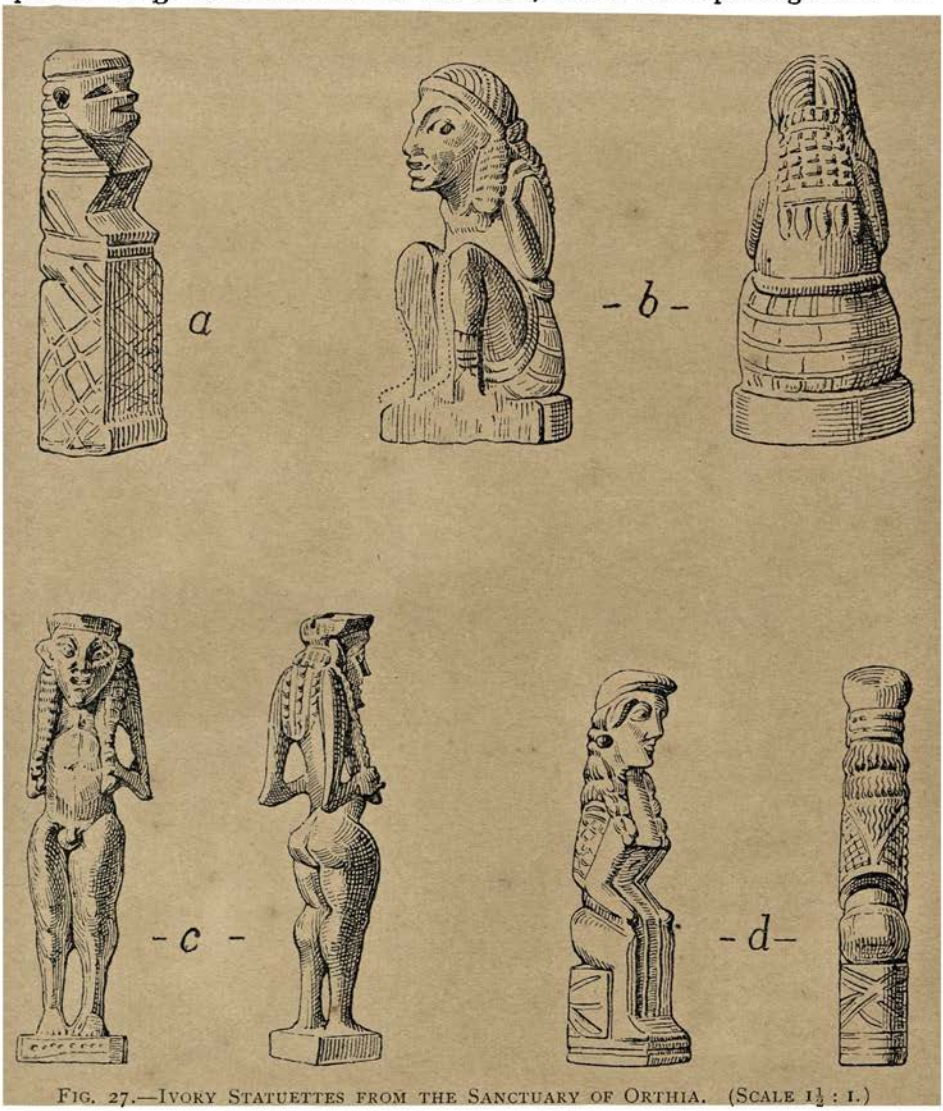


FIG. 27.—IVORY STATUETTES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1½ : 1.)

forehead confines the side-locks at about the level of the ears, and then crosses the mass of hair, that falls over the back. The falling masses are marked by horizontal, and sometimes also by vertical, lines. The earlier

figures have the hair cut off below in a sharp line. This is the style which Furtwängler ascribes to the seventh century, between the Geometric and the archaic style of the early fifth century.[1] Here belong the two statuettes *a* and *d*, the ivory plaque (Fig. 32), and the terracotta (Fig. 33), which are published below as copies of the *xoanon* of the goddess. All these were found in the intermediate stratum, in which Geometric and Orientalising ware were found together. This is assigned by the dating adopted in the chronological diagram in Fig. 9 to the first half of the seventh century, a date which agrees with Furtwängler's conclusions.

The other statuettes, *b* and *c*, and the figures on the throne shewn below in Fig. 28 have the masses of hair falling down the back and in front of the shoulders, and ending in separate locks. The throned figures were found in 1906, and their position in the deposit is not known, but the statuettes *b* and *c* both come from the stratum of Orientalising pottery, which our dating assigns to the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century. This also agrees with the results reached by Furtwängler, who puts this style of hair later than that without the separate locks, and contemporary with the archaic 'Apollo' statues.[2]

Group of two Men sitting upon a Throne (Fig. 28).

This was found in 1906 by the river under the Roman foundation. It is ·06 m. high, ·0425 m. wide, and ·0225 m. from back to front. It is practically complete and externally well preserved, except that one or two *laminae* have fallen from the faces and clasped hands. As is always the case with the larger ivories, its internal condition is not so good. The *laminae* of the ivory have warped and become separated, and the whole is now held together by cement. The group consists of two men sitting side by side upon a carved throne, underneath which are two animals. Their heads appear at the sides, and their hind quarters at the back. In the throne itself the tasselled cushion behind the figures is noticeable. The under-surface of the block (*a*) has a rosette worked in incised lines. The men wear long embroidered dresses, but the patterns are preserved only on the side. The manner of dressing the hair has already been noted. The hands are very large, the outer pair being clasped and the inner resting on the knees. Except for the two animals,

[1] *Sitzb. Kgl. Bayer. Ak.* 1906, p. 469.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 472.

they have no attributes, and the meaning of the group must remain uncertain.

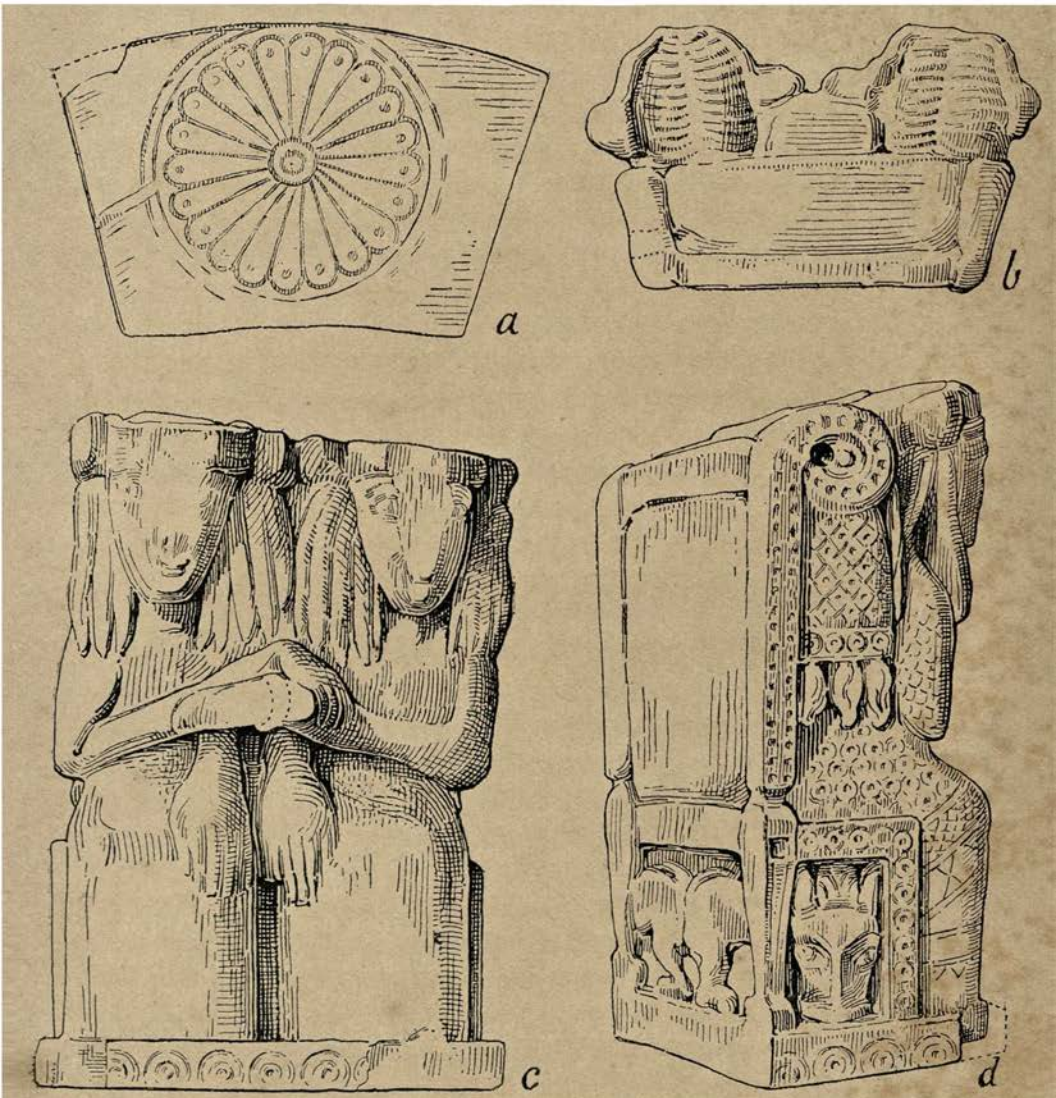


FIG. 28.—THRONED FIGURES IN IVORY FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1½ : 1.)

Drawings on Ivory (Fig. 29 and Fig. 30 *a*).

The three in Fig. 29 and the large fragment shewn in Fig. 30 *a* and discussed above are the only drawings that have been found. Figs. 29 *a*

and *c* were both found in 1906 by the river, whilst *b* is from the Orientalising stratum inside the temple.

Fig. 29 *a*. Plaque, ·025 m. wide × ·05 m., broken below. It shews a woman in a long sleeveless *chiton*, with a high head-dress. If it is the

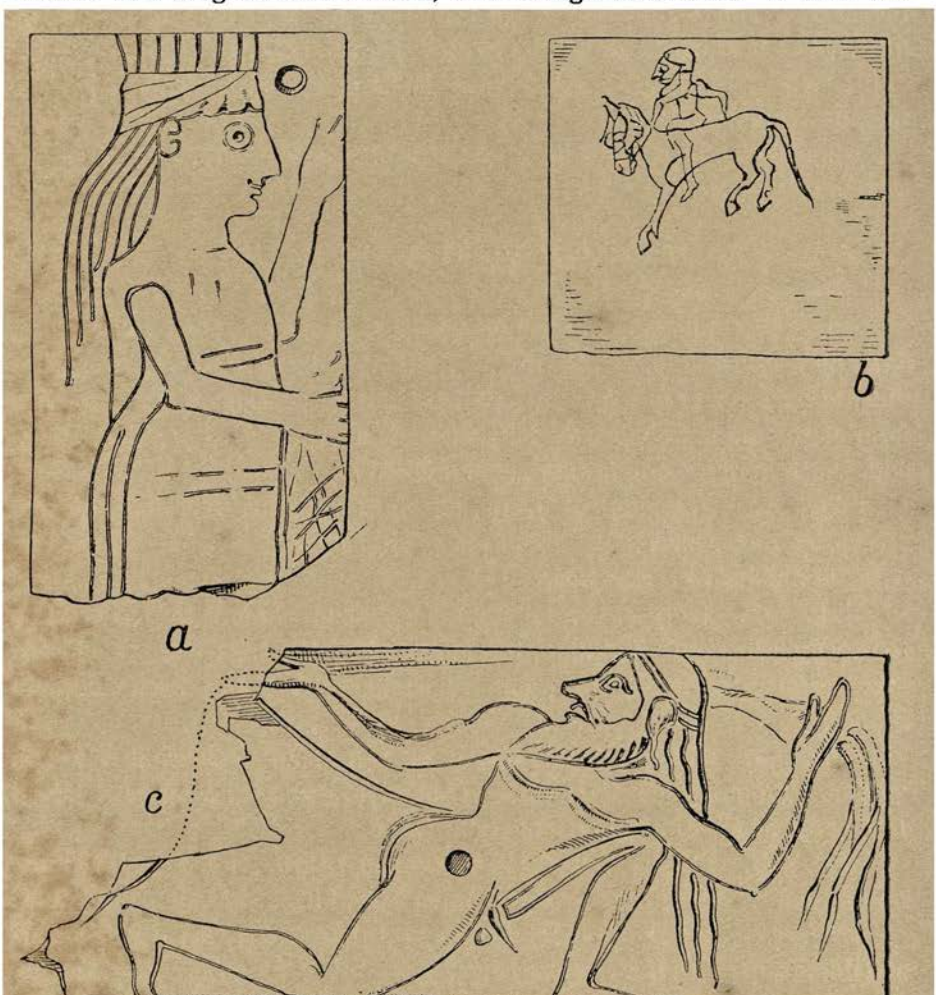


FIG. 29.—DRAWINGS ON IVORY FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1½ : 1.)

line-sketch for a relief, the finished work would have closely resembled the ivory reliefs from Sparta, which are now in the museum at Dhimitsana.[1]

[1] Richards, *J.H.S.* xii. p. 41.

The holes for attachment are the same in both, and the general style is the same, allowing for the greater stiffness of the work in relief. Both have the curious circular eye.

Fig. 29*b*. Plaque, ·03 m. × ·027 m., with a sketch of a man on horseback. In style it offers a great contrast to the flowing lines of the others, and is clearly a finished piece of work. The curious placing and expression of the figure give it a certain humorous appearance, which is probably intentional.

Fig. 29*c*. Plaque, ·032 m. × ·08 m., broken at one end. It represents a nude man crouching.

Miscellaneous Ivories (Figs. 30 and 31).

Fig. 30*a*. Described above.

Fig. 30*b*. Flat bone object, ·09 m. long, found in 1906. One of two examples. Probably a plectrum. Similar objects, to judge from the illustration, have been found at Ephesus,[1] but preserving much more the form of the natural bone, especially the notches and curves at the handle end, which in our examples are much stylised.

Fig. 30*c*. Fragment of bone, ·085 m. long and ·0175 m. high, representing a couchant lion. Found in 1906. The back shews the hollow curve of the inside of the bone.

Fig. 30*d*. Ivory pomegranate, ·03 m. long. Found in 1906. It is represented just after the flower has fallen, when the fruit has set and the seed-vessel is beginning to swell. A similar object has been found in bronze.

Fig. 30*e*. Horse's head and neck carved in the round. Length ·945 m. From inside the temple. It shews no sign of having been joined to a body, and is probably complete in itself.

Fig. 30*f*. Plaque, ·095 m. high, broken below, carved in low relief on one side, representing a woman in a cloak, which she holds out in front of her face. As in the drawing in Fig. 29*a* the style is that of the reliefs at Dhimitsana, with the same circular eye.

Fig. 31*a*. Oblong plaque, ·04 m. × ·0125 m., decorated with concentric circles, above which is a running figure in shallow intaglio. These plaques are very common, especially in the Orientalising period. The

[1] Figured on Pl. 34 of the Ephesus publication; especially No. 43. Nos. 40–42 do not shew these details so well.

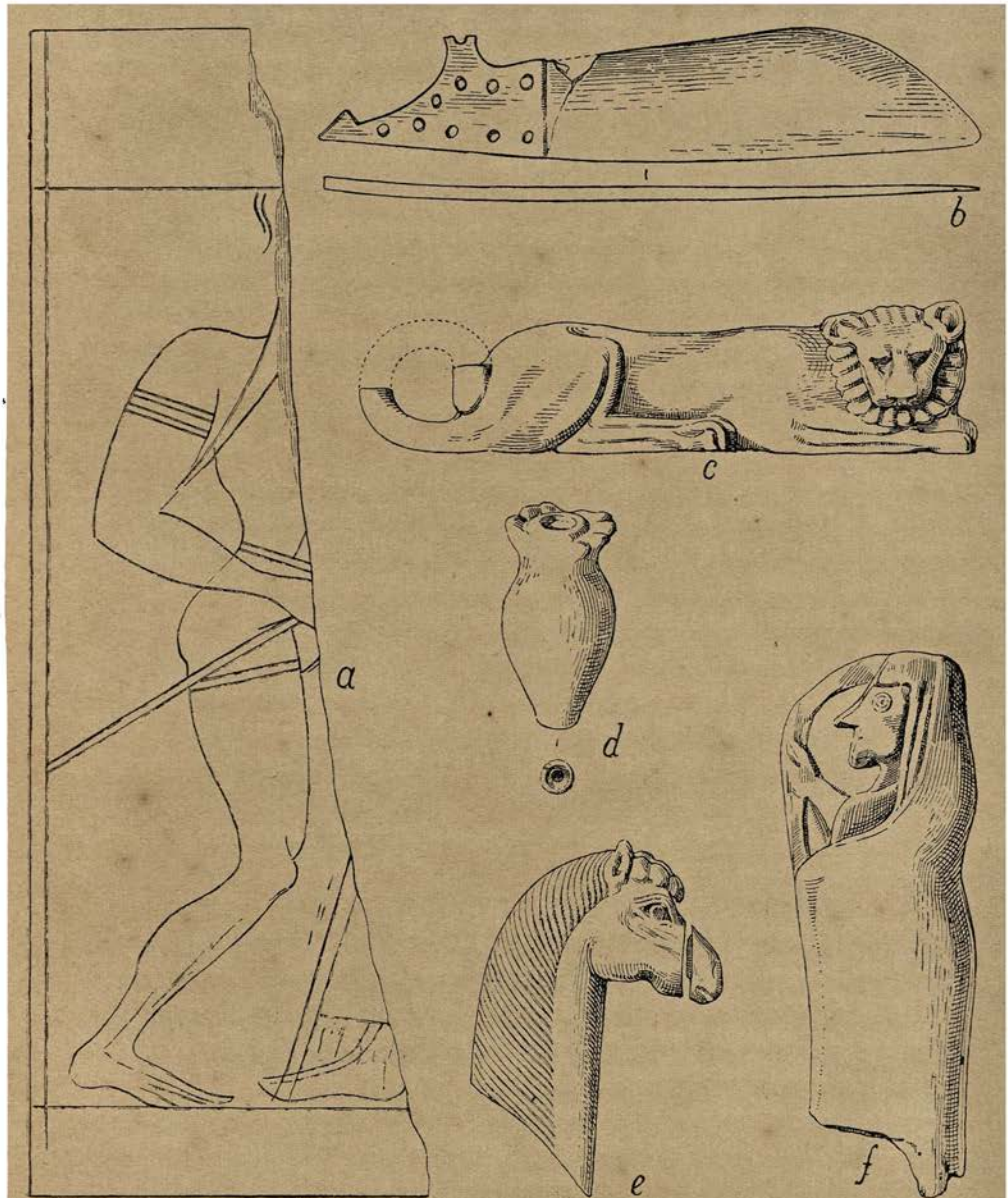


FIG. 30.—MISCELLANEOUS IVORIES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

decoration is generally confined to rosettes and circles, arranged as in this example, in panels. In many cases they are pointed at one end and pierced at the other, resembling one found at Ephesus.[1] Their use is unknown.

Fig. 31 *b*. The ivory head of a pin, formed of two animals' heads set back to back above a ball.

Fig. 31 *c*. Fragment of a plaque with the head of a sphinx.

Fig. 31 *d*. Flat piece of ivory carved on one side. Warrior's head with helmet with plumed crest and cheek-pieces. The warriors on the moulded pithos found at the Heroön by the river above the Orthia site afford a close parallel.[2]

Fig. 31 *e*. A bird's beak, worked on both sides.

Fig. 31 *f*. Ivory double axe, ·015 m. across. An example of a very common class of object. The zigzag pattern is characteristic.

Fig. 31 *g*. Fragment of a plaque, ·0825 m. high, broken on both sides. The relief is very low, and the details are hardly more than incised. It was found in the temple at the top of the Geometric stratum, and so is earlier than the other reliefs. This earlier date, probably the first half of the eighth century, suits the undeveloped style of the relief. It was possibly a *fibula*. The subject is a man standing up behind another, who lies on his back on what is probably a bier. A parallel is afforded by the funeral scenes on Geometric vases. The object in front of the standing figure is not clear.

Fig. 31 *h*, *i*. A frog, ·0225 m. long, and a turtle, found in 1906 with the tortoise already published.[3]

Ivory Relief of a Warship (Plate IV. 1, 2).

This is the finest ivory yet found. Like the relief of the slaying of the Gorgon, it is later than the bulk of the ivories, and was found in the Orientalising stratum, between the south-east angle of the temple and the Roman foundation. It may be attributed to the first half of the sixth century. The relief is on a plaque ·235 m. long, the greatest width of which is ·11 m. The upper edge is almost straight, the lower nearly the arc of a circle, the area of the plaque being a little less than a semicircle. Round the curved lower edge is a raised border, upon which is a series of sunken circles connected by oblique, tangential lines. These circles were

[1] *Ephesus*, Pl. 37, 1. [2] *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. IX. [3] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 328, Fig. 5 *a*.

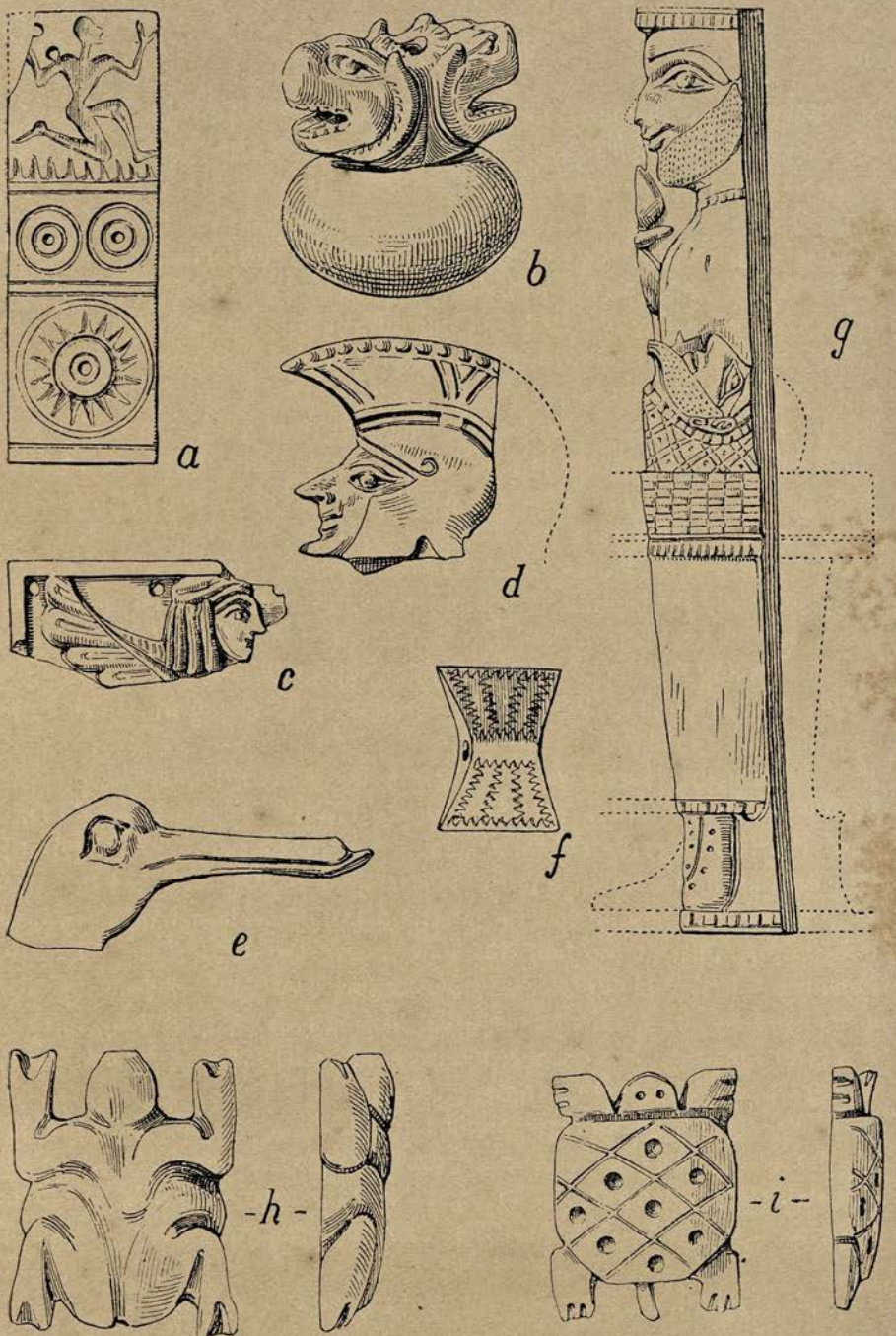


FIG. 31.—MISCELLANEOUS IVORIES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1½ : 1.)

no doubt filled with inlays, and, although amber has hardly been found so high up, and its period is so much earlier, it seems quite possible that these were amber, like the eyes of the bird-*fibula* (Fig. 21 *a*). Along the top there is only a raised border. The field thus bounded is filled with a picture of a ship in relief, with three large fish swimming below it. It is a warship, about to set sail, with three warriors seated on the deck, facing the stern, two forward and one aft, with a plumed helmet. Five round shields, decorated with geometrical patterns, hang over the edge of the deck. Of the crew, one is sitting on the raised prow fishing, with a fish hooked on his line, whilst another is crouching on the long beak below. The head of the steersman is seen facing forward—he is sitting under the high, curved stern. The other three sailors are working the rigging. One stands at the bow hauling at the forestay, whilst two more stand by the mast and raise the yard by means of the halyards. At the stern a bearded man, evidently the captain, is saying farewell to a woman, who is no doubt meant to be on land, although, owing to the exigencies of space, she is shewn standing on one of the steering paddles. The captain grasps her right wrist,[1] and she lays her left hand on his shoulder. Behind the woman is a large bird.

The rigging is very clearly shewn: we can distinguish two of the brailing-ropes for furling the sail, the two braces one at each end of the yard, the two halyards, the forestay, and the upper part of the backstay. The actions of the crew shew that the ship is setting sail. The man at the forestay has just hauled the mast up from its place in the *histodoke*, and the two men at the halyards have raised the yard. To add to the liveliness of the picture, these two actions are both shewn together, although they are in fact successive. To start the ship it only remains to unfurl the sail. The retrograde inscription on the prow, *Fορθαία*, shews that it was a votive offering to the goddess.

The closest contemporary parallel is the ship on the left hand of the spectator in the sea-fight on the Aristonoos *krater*,[2] although the numerous representations of ships of the same type on vases and *fibulae* of the Dipylon style are very useful. The general form, with raised stern and

[1] For the significance of this attitude see J. F. White, *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 133.

[2] Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, Pl. XVI. For ships on *fibulae* see *B.M. Cat. of Bronzes*, Fig. 85, and Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, Pl. 11. References for vases are given below, and are also collected in *Ath. Mitt.* xvii. p. 285.

prow and a ram, is the same in all. The vase-paintings generally shew oars, whilst the Spartan ship has only a sail, but it can hardly be doubted that oars could also be used on occasion. Of these there would be only one bank on each side, as there is no sign of the bireme arrangement. In this it agrees with the Dipylon ships. Some of these indeed shew two sets of oarsmen, one above the other, but the upper row I believe is always intended to represent those on the far side of the ship.[1]

The Dipylon ships generally have a deck running from stem to stern, at a higher level than the gunwale; this deck is supported by struts below, between which the oarsmen on the near side are sometimes shewn. Each man appears in a kind of frame, formed by the deck above, the gunwale below, and a deck-support on either side.[2] In accordance with the primitive system of drawing the deck is represented, not as it should be by a line, but by a rectangle, as if it were seen in plan. Above it are either the warriors and sailors, in what is their true position,[3] or else the further row of oarsmen,[4] who really are below it, but are represented thus in obedience to the convention that what is further from the spectator is to be drawn higher up than what is closer. The confusion between the further oarsmen and the actual occupants of the deck arises from the practice of using the higher level indiscriminately for both further and higher objects, *i.e.* placing further objects above nearer, as well as higher above lower. It thus becomes necessary to use other means to discriminate between them.

The Aristonoos *krater* shews an advance in drawing, in that the deck is represented in perspective correctly, by a line, and not as if in plan, by a rectangle. It is shewn in the same way on the Spartan ivory, where the line appears partly covered by the lower margin of the shields. The supports shew below this line, and with the gunwale below and the deck above, form the rectangles through which the rowers would be seen. The right-hand ship on the *krater* is like the Spartan one in shewing the supports of the deck, and a mast but no rowers: the other ship has four rowers. On all three examples the deck is occupied by the warriors. Three only of these are shewn on the ivory, but there are five shields.

[1] Murray's arguments in *J.H.S.* xix. p. 198, that the Dipylon ship, which he publishes there, is a bireme are not convincing. Much stronger on the other side is Pernice, *Jahrbuch*, xv. p. 92.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* xvii. p. 298, Figs. 5, 6, and p. 303, Fig. 9.

[3] *Mon. Grecs*, ii. p. 51, Fig. 3; *Arch. Zeit.* 1885, Taf. 8; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, Pl. 5, 1.

[4] Rayet et Collignon, *Céramique Grecque*, p. 29, Fig. 20, and *Mon. Grecs*, ii. Pl. 4.

These shields add much to the resemblance to the picture on the *krater*. There are four other occupants of the deck: two are the sailors at the halyards, another is the man hauling up the mast, and the fourth is the steersman. He occupies the same raised position on the deck as he does on some of the Dipylon vases.[1]

The same type of ship is seen on black-figured and red-figured vase-paintings, and it is these that best illustrate the rigging. The Dipylon sails seem, like the Egyptian, to have a second yard below. The Spartan ship almost certainly resembles these later vase-paintings in having only one yard. Two black-figured *kylikes* from Vulci afford the best parallels.[2] On these the war-ships are exactly the same, except for the more elaborate stern, and shew the rigging, sheets, stays, halyards, and braces, equally fully. The deck at a higher level than the rowers was a feature also of these ships, and was occupied in the same way by the soldiers.

A *lebes* from Boeotia of the Dipylon period, now in the British Museum, presents a parallel to the scene of parting at the stern between a man and a woman.[3] Murray considers that this is a scene at the beginning of a race held at a funeral as a part of the games, and that the captain is stepping on board to compete for the crown which the woman is holding in her hand. The Spartan ship cannot bear this interpretation. As the inscription shews, it is a votive offering, and it is natural to take the scene, therefore, as the departure for a voyage. Its resemblance to the Boeotian ship makes it at least likely that this also has the same meaning.

Representations of the Goddess.

On the ivory plaque shewn in Fig. 17 *b* we have the type of the winged Artemis which is so common among the lead figurines. The plaque in Fig. 18 *a* shews the goddess surrounded by four water-birds; these birds and those which she is holding in the lead figurine published last year,[4] shew the conception of Artemis as the water-goddess. Lastly, the

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, Pl. 5, 1; *Dar. and Sagl.* Fig. 5264. This construction, with the deck and its supports, appears in a clay model of a ship in the museum of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. I judge by the drawing in *Dar. and Sagl.*, Fig. 5269.

[2] Figured in Torr, *Ancient Ships*, Pl. IV. 17, 18, 19. For the decks see Torr, p. 49, who quotes Thucydides, i. 49: πολλοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας ἔχοντες ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων.

[3] Published by A. S. Murray, *J.H.S.* xix. p. 198, Pl. VIII.

[4] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 323, Fig. 3 *b*.

numerous representations of animals that have been found shew her under her aspect as the goddess of animal life, the *πότνια θηρῶν*. This last is shewn by the terracotta figure in Fig. 33 *b*, no doubt intended for the goddess, which shews a lion standing on his hind legs by her side, whilst she rests her right hand on his head, and with the left grasps his left front paw. A Geometric sherd[1] (Fig. 3 F, p. 124), on which are an animal and part of a figure, probably belongs to the same series.

All these conceptions go back in Greece to as early as the Geometric period. The winged Artemis has been discussed by Koerte in connexion with the Dorylaeum stele;[2] he maintains that the type is Greek and not Oriental, although he admits that the idea of a winged goddess may have come from the East. He denies, however, the connexion with the Persian Artemis, which is supported by Radet and Ouvré.[3] The popularity of this type during the Archaic period is probably due to its being an Oriental type, and consequently much copied, but the presence of a winged figure with birds on a coffer from Thebes in the Boeotian Geometric style shews that it was already known in Greece even earlier.[4]

In view of the rarity of monuments shewing Artemis as goddess of the waters, the water-birds which appear at Sparta as her attributes are of great interest. The situation of the sanctuary by the river, *ἐν λίμναις*, falls in with this aspect of the goddess. A Geometric vase from Boeotia,[5] which shews her with a fish on her dress and surrounded by animals, speaks for the antiquity of both this and also the *πότνια θηρῶν* type of the goddess.

The Gorgon-masks which Professor Bosanquet has shewn were used in the worship of Orthia,[6] and the numerous *gorgoneia* in lead and ivory suggest a comparison with the Rhodian plate in the British Museum,[7] which shews a bearded four-winged Gorgon grasping two water-birds. This combination of Gorgon and *πότνια θηρῶν* suggests that the Gorgons at this sanctuary may have some very close connexion with one of the aspects of the goddess herself. Especially noticeable is the bearded Gorgon on the seal shewn in Fig. 25 *c*.

[1] *Vide infra*, § 6. [2] *Ath. Mitt.* xx. pp. 1 *sqq.* [3] *B.C.H.* 1894, pp. 129–136.
[4] Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 289, Fig. 86.
[5] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii. Pl. XXIX. *a*.
[6] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 338. [7] *J.H.S.* 1885, Pl. LIX.; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 193.

The temple image was certainly so primitive as to be without the attributes which mark these types. Its general appearance is probably preserved to us by a carved ivory and a terracotta figure, both found this year in the archaic deposit.

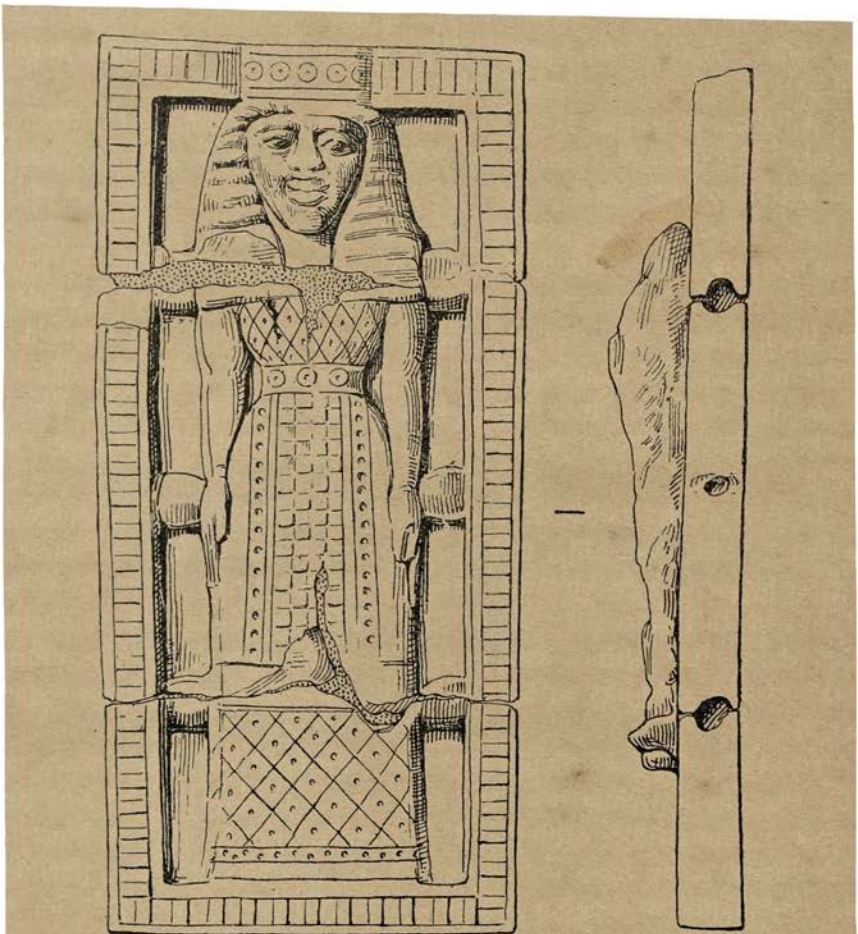


FIG. 32.—IVORY PLAQUE REPRESENTING THE *ξόανον* OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1½ : 1.)

The ivory (Fig. 32) is a plaque ·08 m. high, ·037 wide, and ·005 m. thick. It was found inside the temple, and represents, in much deeper relief than usual, a female figure with the arms hanging straight by the sides. On the head is a *polos* decorated with a pattern of circles. The

dress reaches to the feet, and is girt with a belt. The body, a band down the front, and the lower part of the skirt are covered with chequer

FIG. 33.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE $\frac{3}{4}$: 1.)

patterns of incised lines. Between the figure and the frame there are on each side three raised bars. These have no meaning in the design,

but are pieces left to take three rivets which passed from side to side of the plaque. The side view shews these rivet-holes, and there are two more in the bottom edge. The irregular mass that appears behind the plaque in the side-view is a brown substance, probably some very hard wood, fastened to the plaque by three rivets. The ivory was thus rivetted at the back and sides into a frame, probably wooden, with which its face in front was flush.

With this object should be compared the terracotta figure which has been reproduced from a water-colour drawing in Fig. 33 *a*. Its height is ·085 m. The position and dress, with the horizontal band of decoration round the bottom of the skirt, are exactly the same as those of the ivory. The heavy side-locks and thick lips are also the same. The only difference is that the terracotta has no *polos*.

If these two objects are compared with the image of Artemis dedicated by Nicandra of Naxos at Delos, it will be seen that the resemblance is very striking. Their resemblance to it and to one another suggests that they are copies of the temple-image of Orthia, the ancient *xoanon*, about whose origin there were such strange legends.

R. M. DAWKINS.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

§ 5.—The Early Bronzes.

THE bronze objects found at the temple of Artemis Orthia and (some few) on the Acropolis, by the site of the Chalkioikos, are interesting, perhaps not so much in themselves, as because the well stratified mass of pottery in which they lay gives at last fairly certain evidence for their chronological classification. Unfortunately they are in very bad condition.

Pins (Fig. 1).

The line of cleavage from the type of pin with many corrugations of about equal size (*a*, *c*, *d*, *l*) seems to come shortly after the close of the Geometric era, that is, probably, in the early years of the seventh century; for though they are found in greatest number in strata of purely Geometric pottery, yet many occur at the higher levels with pottery of Orientalising style. The later type (*g*, *h*, *i*) with heavy disc head and but two or three bulbs, and these large,[1] is hardly found without such pottery. A few pins (*e*, *f*) are found at depths, and of a style that seem to indicate a transition between the two.

The use of pins ending in spirals (*b*), or with a thin disc at some distance from the head (*k*), seems to have been abandoned before the close of the Geometric period, but at Sparta such types are rare.

[1] *v. Olympia, Bronzen*, Taf. XXV, 481–485. *The Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pls. LXXX.–LXXXIII.

Up till now no pins have been found at Sparta with the shaft bent and twisted. The practice, if practice there was,[1] of so twisting them does not seem to have prevailed there.

An iron shaft was not uncommon in pins of the earlier type: of these only the bronze heads are preserved. On the pins of later style an iron shaft seems to have been the exception, but the whole pin is occasionally

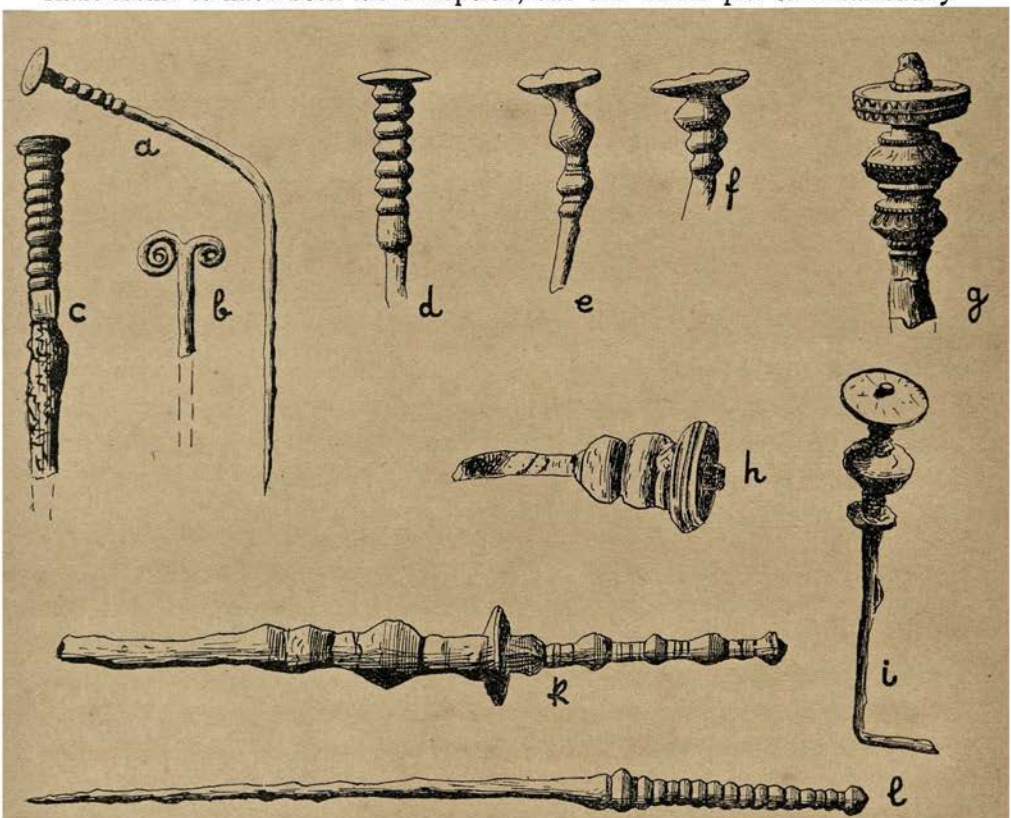


FIG. 1.—BRONZE PINS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 2 : 3.)

of iron. Several silver specimens have been found[2]; but with the prevalence of this style the use of pins in Laconia apparently declined; imitations in lead, however, are found. The fine specimen shown at *g*

[1] *v.* Thiersch, *Aegina*, p. 413.

[2] Cf. the fine inscribed specimen in the British Museum, *The Argive Heraeum*, Pl. CXXXVII.

was found on the Acropolis; it is of bronze, and the knob is wrought into a lion's head.[1]

GEOMETRIC STATUETTES OF ANIMALS (Fig. 2).

The well-known type of animal statuette, of which some fifteen examples have been found at Sparta, was probably the latest development

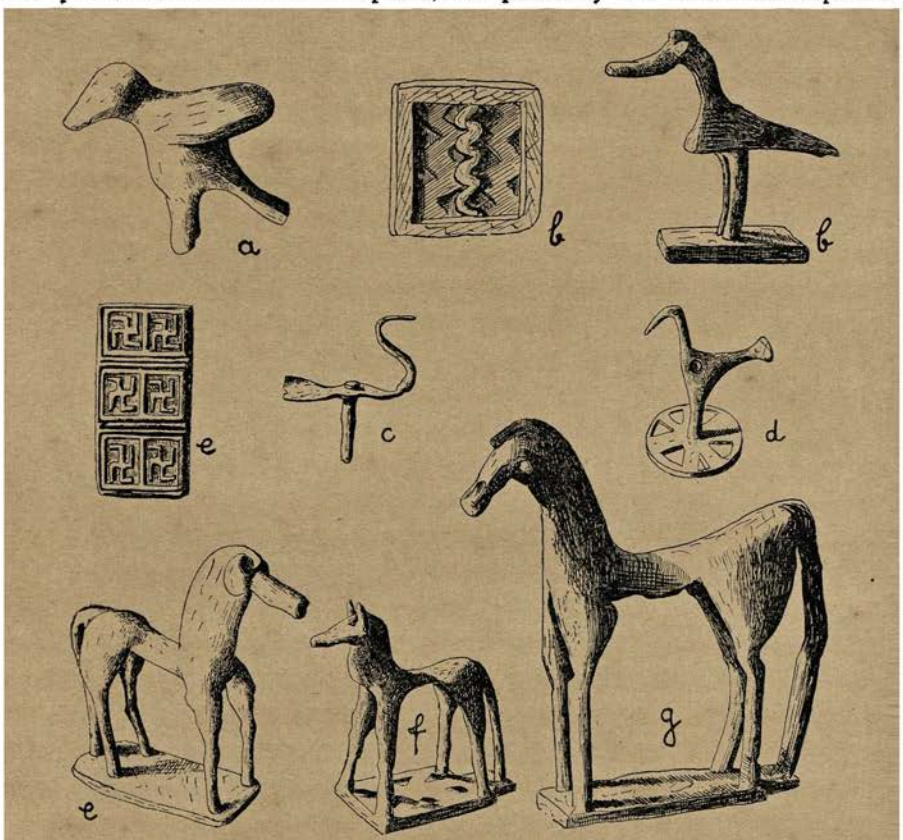


FIG. 2.—BRONZE STATUETTES OF ANIMALS. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

of Geometric art,[2] for in the lowest layers of Geometric ware there were none, and several lay solely among pottery of the subsequent period. An early type seems to be the bird made of two pieces of wire, of which one is

[1] For the use of these pins, *v.* Thiersch, *Aegina*, pp. 404 ff.

[2] *v.* Furtwängler, *Olympia, Bronzen*, p. 34.

flattened to indicate the tail (*c*). This was found on the Acropolis, where indeed the major part of the the Geometric ware seems to be of earlier date. The swastika (*e*) on the base of the horse is remarkable, for, though common enough elsewhere, this pattern does not occur at all on the Laconian pottery.

FIBULAE (Figs. 3, 4).

Of the *fibulae* illustrated, Fig. 3, *k* is the only example which was not found together with Geometric pottery, but it is likely that the types *j*, *k*, *l* are those which were preferred in the subsequent period, when, however, the use of the *fibulae*, as of pins, began to decline.

At Sparta the plate-*fibulae* (*h*, *m*) are very rare, while those with spirals (*b*, *d*, *e*) are found with great frequency,[1] all three types being equally common. Those with six spirals have not, I believe, hitherto been known. In every case the spring is entirely derived from the spiral, both pin and catch being simply continuations of the coiled wire.

The *fibulae* (*c*, *f*), with alternating pieces of bone and amber strung on a thin bronze bow, recall those of Villanova and Corneto.[2] At Sparta they belong to the closing years of the Geometric era. So also does *g*; this form is particularly quaint, for it is a clear copy of those ivory *fibulae*,[3] which themselves are clearly imitations of the 'spectacle' type *b*. That *i* forms part of a *fibula*, a development of the *sanguisuga* type, is shown by a comparison with a group of similar *fibulae* in the British Museum from Rhodes.[4] This type is also known in Italy.[5]

There can be little doubt that the objects shown in Fig. 4 are *fibulae*, although head and catch of the pin are lost from both. The type *b* with the possibly apotropaic intent of the lion's tail ending in a bearded snake is well known.[6] Two such, both much corroded, have been found at Sparta rather low in the Orientalising deposit, and belong probably to the earlier half of the seventh century. A date considerably later is

[1] *The Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 20, No. 46, Pl. XLII 9. The *fibula* which this figurine bears on each shoulder is, I suggest, a representation of a 'spectacle' *fibula* of the type *b*. The two small bosses represent the figure-of-eight twist, and the large bosses are, I think, spirals, not concentric circles.

[2] Cf. Reinach in *Daremberg and Saglio*, Fig. 2990.

[3] Cf. p. 83 ff. above.

[4] *Catalogue of Bronzes in the British Museum*, p. 150.

[5] Reinach in *Daremberg and Saglio*, Fig. 2988.

[6] *v. Olympia, Bronzen*, p. 966. *The Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. LXXXVIII. 946.

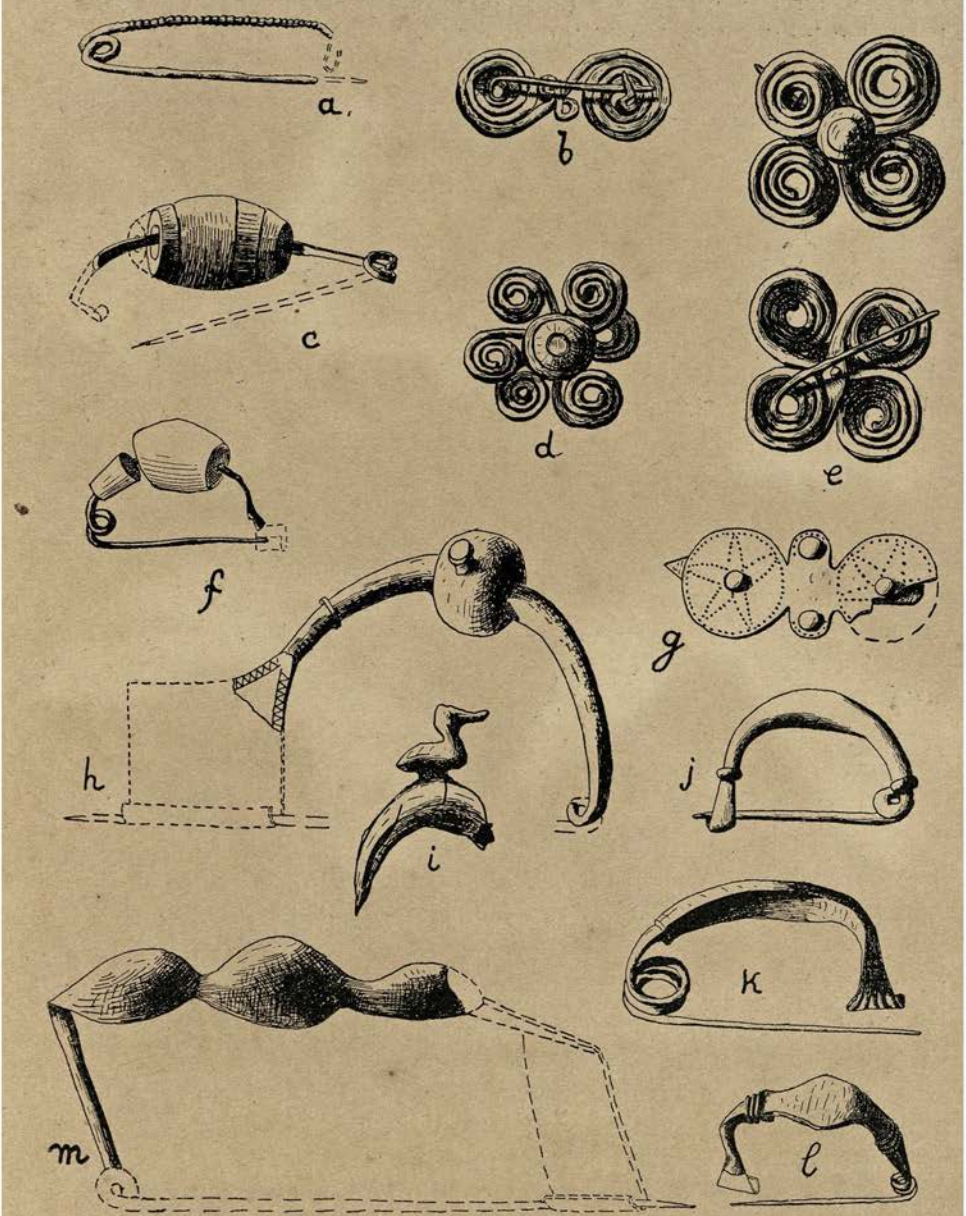


FIG. 3.—FIBULAE OF BRONZE, AMBER, AND IVORY. (SCALE 2 : 3.)

indicated for the other *fibula* (*aa*) not only by the higher level at which it lay, but by the style, in which the combination of a leonine and a human

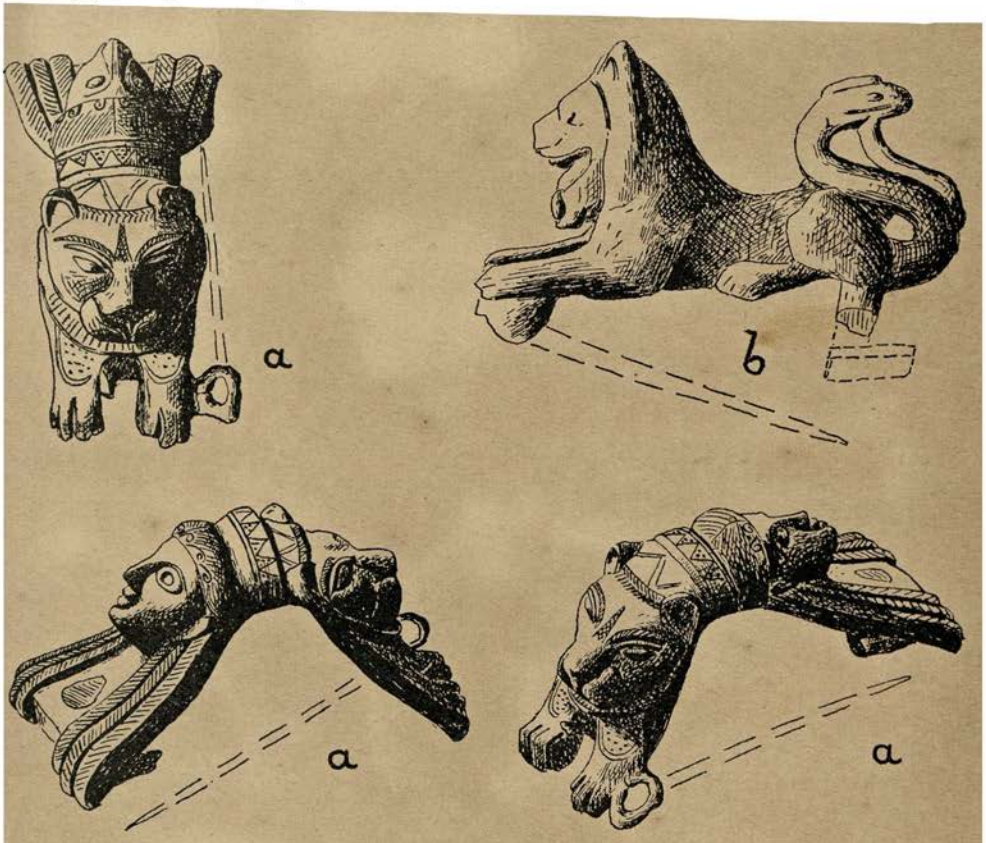


FIG. 4.—FIBULAE OF ORIENTALISING STYLE. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

head seems to spring from the same love of the grotesque which delighted in depicting the griffin and the sphinx.

MISCELLANEOUS (Figs. 5, 6).

The pendant shown double size in Fig. 5, *b* lay rather far down in the Orientalising deposit. It is pierced through just above the ball, and the relief pattern, as well as the tiny lion's head below, recalls the fine pin of Fig. 1 *g*, which is probably contemporary with it.

One of two ox-head pendants, a type which also occurs among the lead figurines is shown at *a*; they seem, in lead as well as in bronze, to belong to the lower levels of the Orientalising pottery. The head with

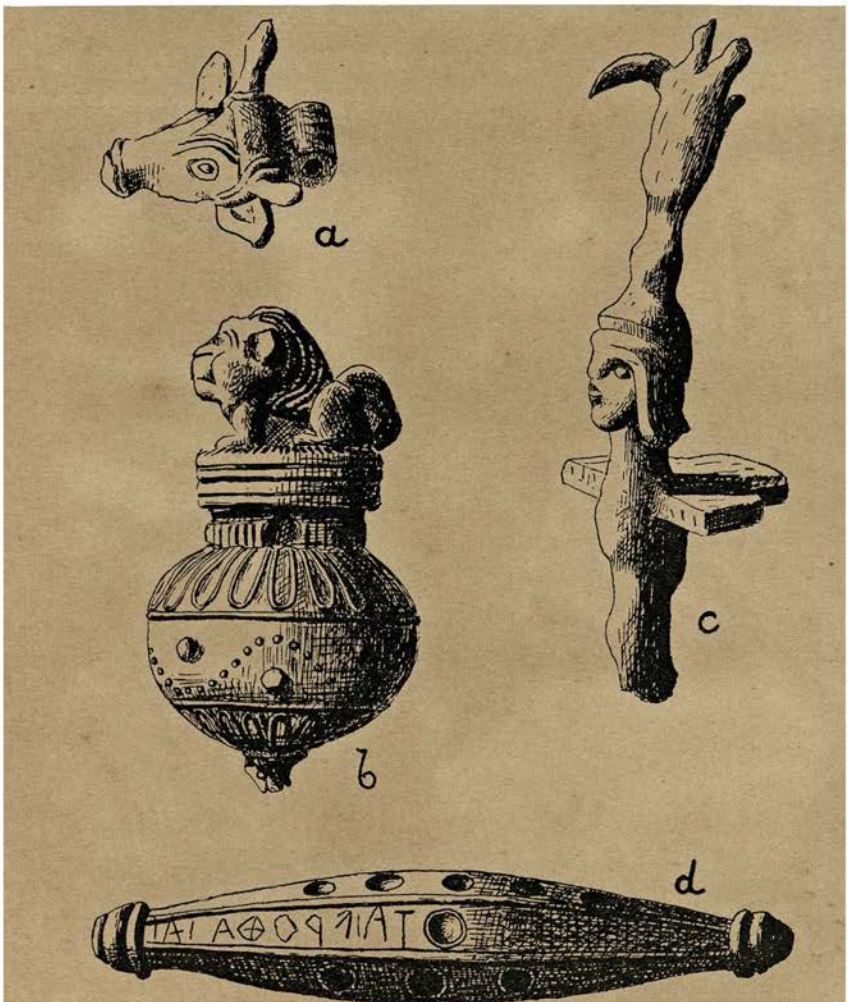


FIG. 5.—BRONZES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

plumed helmet shown at *c* was apparently fastened to some kind of base; it has a slightly Egyptian look, and is certainly quite foreign to the style of the Geometric ware among which it lay.

The six-sided die (*d*) was found in the sand in the arena,[1] and therefore belongs probably to the middle or latter half of the sixth century. The inscription, which reads:

IAIA⊕O⊲?IAT = τᾷ Fροθαίᾳ

(thus giving a new form of the name Orthia) seems to place it in the latter half of this century. A similar die, but smaller and uninscribed, was

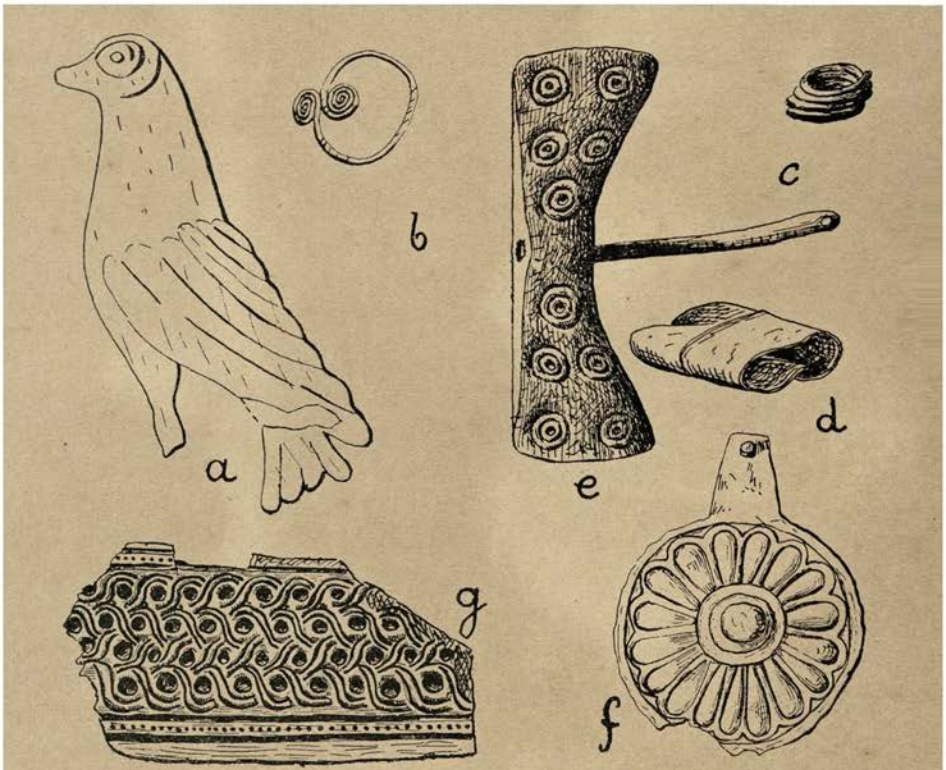


FIG. 6.—BRONZES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA. (SCALE 3 : 4.)

found at a much lower depth, indicating more than a century between the two. This type of die was rolled along the ground.

Two very natural birds in thin plate bronzes with slightly repoussé details were found with pottery of the Orientalising style; the one is a cock, but the other (Fig. 6, *a*) it is not easy to class ornithologically.

[1] Cf. p. 60 above.

Rosettes (*f*) and strips of bronze with repoussé plait pattern (*g*)[1] are likewise characteristic of the deposit of Orientalising ware.

In the Geometric layers, on the other hand, rings ending in spirals (*b*)[2] (in one specimen each end splits into two spirals), coils of wire (*c*) and fragments of bands or coatings of all sizes, generally pierced with one or two holes at the ends, and often twisted up[3] (*d*), are of frequent occurrence, while several miniature double axes (*e*), similar to those in ivory, have been found with ware of that period.

Mention should be made also of a large number of rings, mostly of size to fit the finger, sometimes broad and flat, and if narrow, often with a bevelled exterior, and of a mass of small strips rolled into beads, doubtless intended to be strung as necklaces. Of these the majority belong to the Geometric era. Handles and fragments of bronze vessels are more frequent at the higher levels, but are in a hopeless state of rottenness. Indeed the greater part of this deposit of votive offerings has come near to destruction owing to the dampness of the soil, caused by the low-lying ground and near neighbourhood of the river.

J. P. DROOP.

[1] Cf. *Olympia, Bronzen*, Pl. XLII. 736.
[2] Cf. *The Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. XCI. 1509; *Jahrb. d. Inst.* iii. p. 363, l and m.
[3] Cf. *The Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. CII.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

§ 6.—The Early Pottery.

Geometric.

The earliest pottery yet discovered by the excavations at Sparta is of the Geometric (post-Mycenaean) style.

In 1906 a thick deposit of this ware was revealed by the trial trenches at the site of the temple of Artemis Orthia, and it was also found in the trial pits at the Heroön by the river bank.[1] In 1907 the further excavations at the Orthia site produced a sufficient quantity to allow of a definite report on the nature of this style in Laconia: a task which has been greatly helped by the discovery of a fresh deposit of the pottery on the Acropolis by the site of the Chalkioikos.

Wide[2] was the first to note the existence of a distinctive Laconian Geometric style, while a further and more definite note of its characteristics was made by Mr. Wace in the Catalogue of the Sparta Museum.[3]

Wide's remark on the simplicity of the style in Laconia is on the whole borne out by the fresh material. Figure scenes are rare in the extreme, and the patterns used are all in their lowest terms, the bands of decoration being hardly ever broken into panels, while the brush has been applied in most cases with the greatest carelessness. To form an idea of the scheme of decoration is the more difficult in that the material consists

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 288 ff. [2] Wide, *Geometrische Vasen*, p. 23. [3] *S.M.C.* p. 223.

only of sherds, and those for the most part but small. No whole vases have been found, and it has been possible to reconstruct very few, even in part, for the sherds, especially at the Orthia site, are very much scattered, and worn at the edges. The whole deposit has the appearance of a rubbish heap; nor are the remains at the Acropolis, though less worn, in much better case as far as concerns the fitting together of sherds.

The Patterns.

The essential simplicity of the ornament is best seen perhaps in the fact that about 60% of the total yield of sherds show only parallel straight lines; when vertical these are generally either short, and grouped in rows along the rim, or they flank the handles, bounding a line of other ornament. The only noticeable feature of the horizontal lines is the habit of alternating between a thin and a thick line. This, I think, is characteristic of the style (Fig. 1, *e*). The only patterns that occur at all regularly (Fig. 1) are (in order of frequency) zigzags, rows of lozenges, irregular blotchy lines usually arranged in slanting parallel rows, cross-hatching, simple maeanders, rows of dots and chequers. The use of added white paint is comparatively rare, and is confined either to a zigzag, or to a row of dots placed over a thick black line (Fig. 1, *p*, *q*, *u*). There is also a considerable quantity of plain black ware.

The Fabric.

Greater variety is presented by the fabric of the pottery. From the first a difference had been noticed in that some of the sherds had a slip. This slip exists in two varieties: the most striking is that which is quite white and very friable; more common perhaps is the thinner, and more adhesive, slip of a light biscuit colour.

The clay is fine, and in colour generally a strong pink, but sometimes, and especially with the last mentioned slip, it is also biscuit coloured. The colour varies even in the thickness of individual sherds. The same clay, but of a harder consistency, was also used extensively in both shades without a slip. A third variety of ware without a slip has a hard grey clay; this however has been found in very small quantities.

Mr. Wace[1] first called attention to the metallic sheen of the black pigment used in Laconia during this period. The most striking examples

[1] *Loc. cit.*

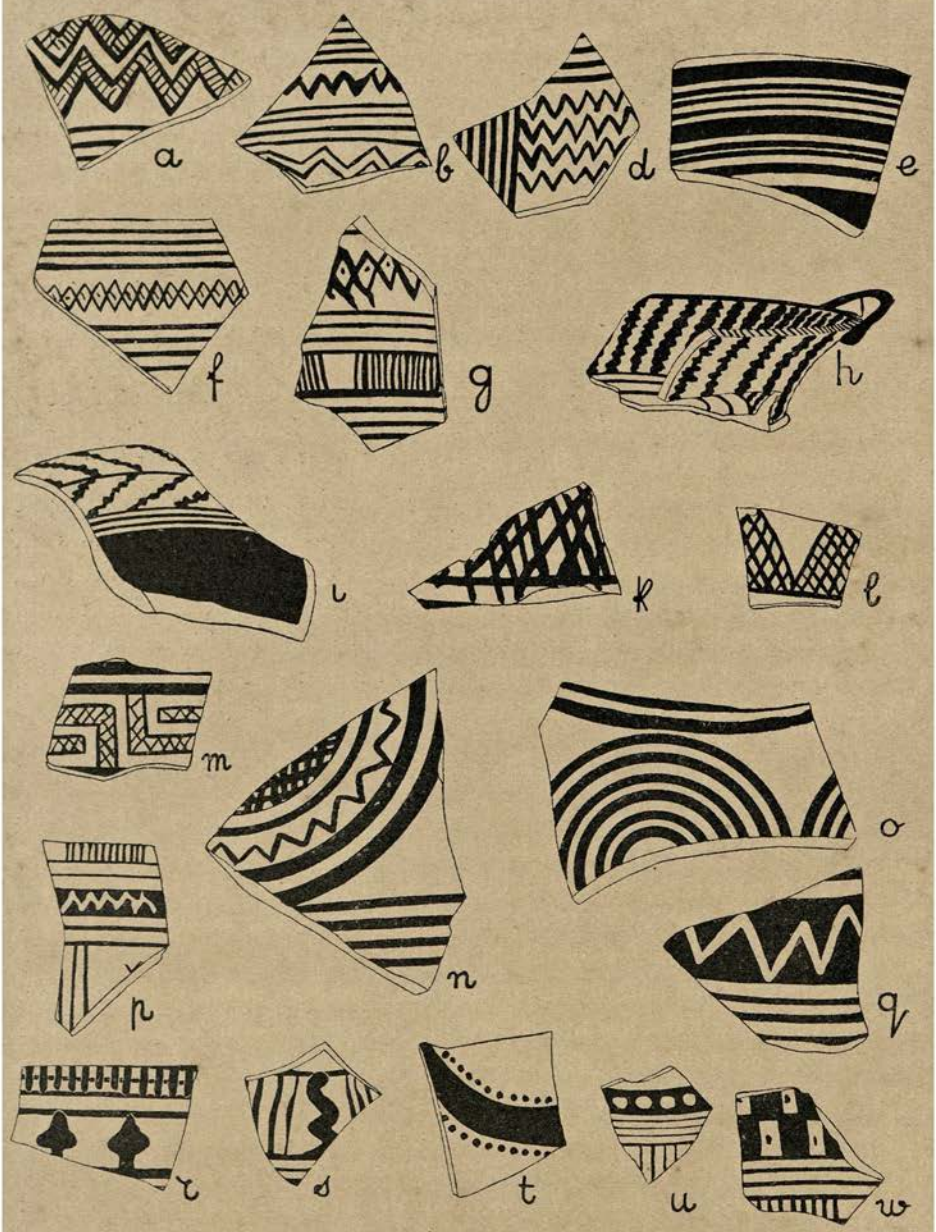


FIG. 1.—PATTERNS ON GEOMETRIC POTTERY. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

of it are, however, confined to the ware without slip, especially to that with the clay hard and red, where the paint is often applied particularly coarsely; otherwise the paint is dull black thinning to brown, and is at times even a red-brown. Yet the metallic gleam, though not universal, remains a distinctive characteristic of Laconia.

The Shapes.

As for shapes, it is hard to speak very definitely with no authority but a mass of small sherds. Yet those restored in Fig. 2 are certainly vouched for, and have been chosen as typical. Larger vases, such as hydriae and amphorae, no doubt existed, but no such fragments remain as to permit of better portraiture than may be found in any illustration given by Wide. The so-called kothon (Fig. 2, *a*) occurs very seldom. A noteworthy point is the frequency of pierced semicircular projections instead of handles, on the smaller bowls (Fig. 2, *k*).

So much for the general characteristics of the style.[1] There are, however, some distinctions to be noted between the pottery from the Acropolis and that from the site of Artemis Orthia.

The chief difference lies in the large proportion of slipless ware on the Acropolis; whereas by the river it forms not more than 7% of the whole, on the hill it amounts to more than 80%. It is of course a natural consequence of this that the sherds with hard red clay and shining glaze are far more numerous on the Acropolis, being about 13% of the whole.

In the matter of patterns it is to be remarked that on the Acropolis only about 50% of the sherds show a decoration in parallel lines alone, while these form nearly 70% of the yield at the Orthia site; but it is the pattern of concentric circles (Fig. 1, *n*, *o*) that most clearly marks a difference between the two sites. So rare at the temple of Artemis as to be almost negligible, on the Acropolis the circles come next to parallel lines in frequency. All the other patterns mentioned above occur at both sites with about the same frequency, zigzags, rows of lozenges and irregular blotchy lines (Fig. 1, *a–i*) being much the more common. Both sites also are alike in the scarcity which they show of such patterns as triangles (generally hatched), thick upright serpentine lines, chevrons and splotches of paint (Fig. 1, *l*, *s*, *r*); while the quatrefoil, and the 'running

[1] There are some sherds of Geometric ware in the museum of Taranto, found in the excavations of the *Scoglio del Tonno*, which bear all the marks of the Laconian style.

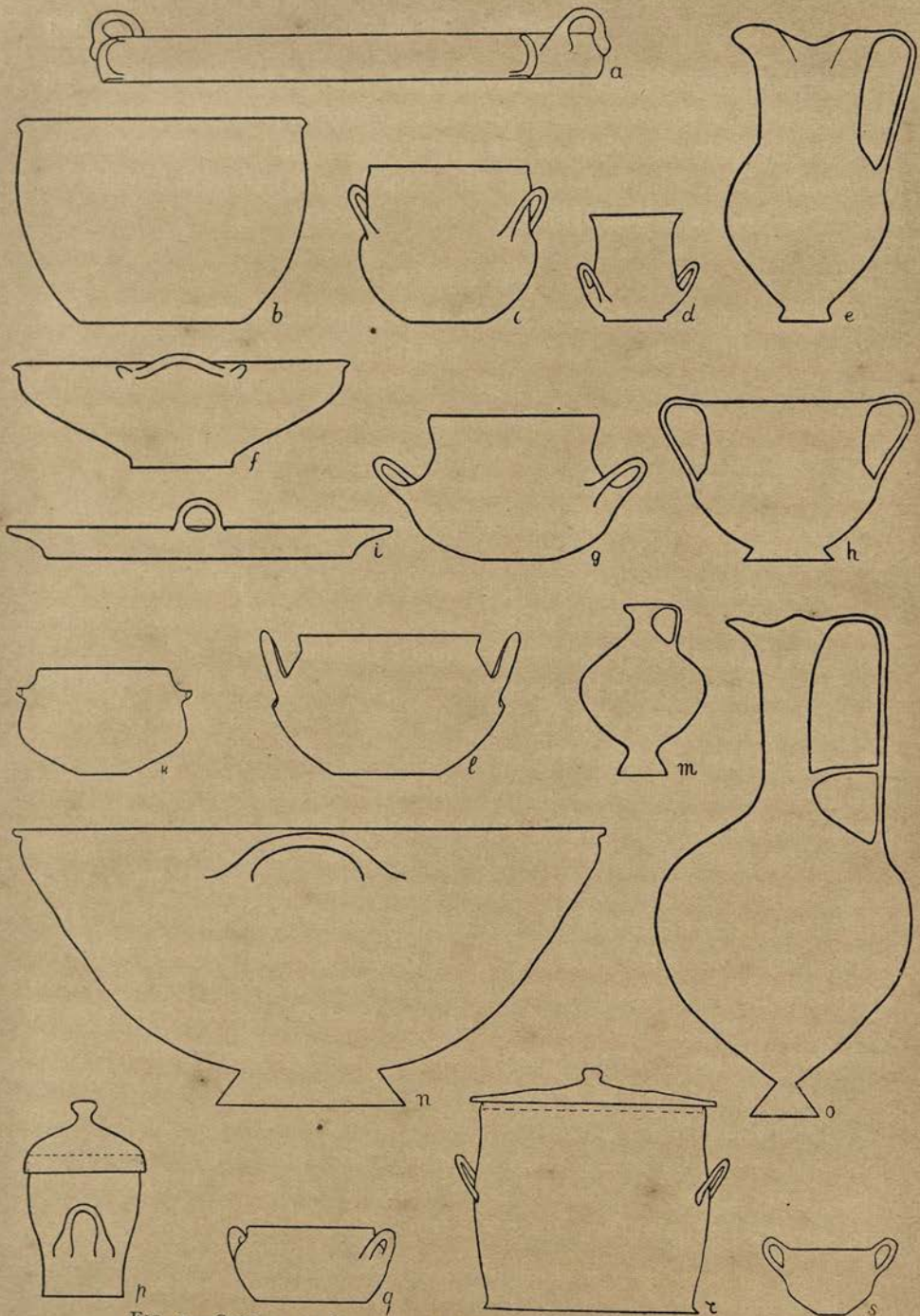


FIG. 2.—SHAPES OF GEOMETRIC POTTERY. (SCALE ABOUT 1 : 4.)

dog' pattern occur only in isolated examples. Neither the swastika nor the circles joined by tangent lines, ever occur. The only sherds showing any kind of panelling are from the Orthia site, but there are not more than two or three.

Fragments of large jugs, or amphorae (which often have the circle pattern) seem more frequent on the Acropolis, and the same is true perhaps of large coarse bowls. The pyxis (Fig. 2, *r*, *p*), on the other hand, is not a common shape there, but at the Orthia site it is found more often than any other, fragments of the bottoms and lids of this kind of vase being most familiar.

In view of another fact, that at the Orthia site a large quantity of pottery belonging to the period of Oriental influence succeeds to the Geometric ware, while very little indeed of such has been found on the Acropolis, is it possible to draw any conclusion from the differences just described?

The Amyclaion site, where first in Laconia Geometric pottery was found, also has very little slipped ware. On the other hand the hard red clay and coarsely applied gleaming paint form a very large proportion of its yield, so much so that that may well be called the 'Amyclaion' style. The fact that Minoan pottery[1] has been found here makes it conceivable that the 'Amyclaion' style is the earliest form taken by the Geometric ware in Laconia. Then the larger proportion of such sherds on the Acropolis, indicates that this deposit may show an intermediate period between that at the Amyclaion and that at the site of Artemis Orthia. An explanation of this would be that towards the end of the Geometric period offerings on the Acropolis dwindled, while their numbers swelled at the Sanctuary of Orthia. This supposition is perhaps borne out by the scarcity of Orientalising ware as yet found on the Acropolis. Orientalising pottery is not unknown at the Amyclaion, yet the bulk of the Geometric pottery seems early. Possibly the building of the famous throne swept away the remains of the succeeding periods.

The evidence for these suppositions is not of the best, yet it is hard to suppose that the clear differences between the deposits on the Acropolis and at the temple of Artemis Orthia are merely local, seeing that less than a mile separates the two sites.

[1] *S.M.C.* p. 225.

The earliest division of the period would then show red hard clay, and gleaming paint laid coarsely on, with a greater fondness for hatching, and for a pattern of triangles, than was shown subsequently; this is the style of the Amyclaion ware. This was succeeded by a rather finer ware, and less coarse style of painting. Concentric circles then found favour on the larger vessels; this marks the deposit at the Chalkioikos. Subsequently the desire for a lighter ground and greater contrast with the paint caused the use of slip to become almost universal; the circles fell out of fashion, and a decided preference was shown for the pyxis form; this is the stage represented at the Sanctuary of Orthia.

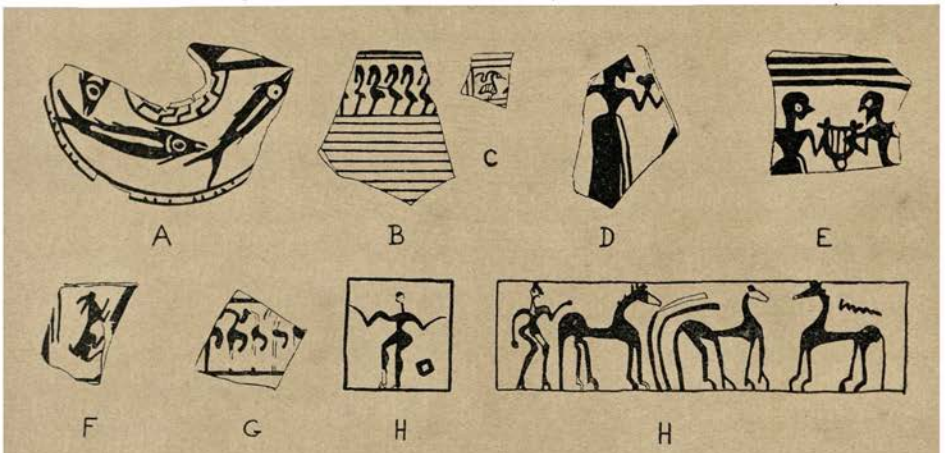


FIG. 3.—GEOMETRIC AND PROTO-CORINTHIAN WARE. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

Fig. 1 shows a selection of patterns arranged in order of frequency, taking both deposits together, from the top of the page downwards. Some of the very scarce sherds with figures are shown in Fig. 3 (from the Orthia site Geometric level, except B and C). It is noticeable that, contrary to what would be expected, most of these (A, D, E, F, and H) occur on the ware without slip. Can it be that they belong to the earlier manner? It is hard at first to think the vase A can be Geometric, but it finds a parallel on a larger scale in a sherd from the Amyclaion in the Sparta Museum.[1] The interesting point is that the interior markings seem to be made by incision. F is interesting as a possible example of Artemis *πότνια θηρῶν* in the Geometric period. There is undoubtedly a figure to the right.

[1] *S.M.C.* p. 245, 798 (2).

Fig. 4 shows the result of a successful piece of patchwork. This amphora is one of the largest vases of which remains have been found at

FIG. 4.—A GEOMETRIC AMPHORA. (SCALE ABOUT 1 : 5.)

the temple of Artemis Orthia, and seems rather exceptional in the variety of its decoration, but the most interesting point lies in the handles.

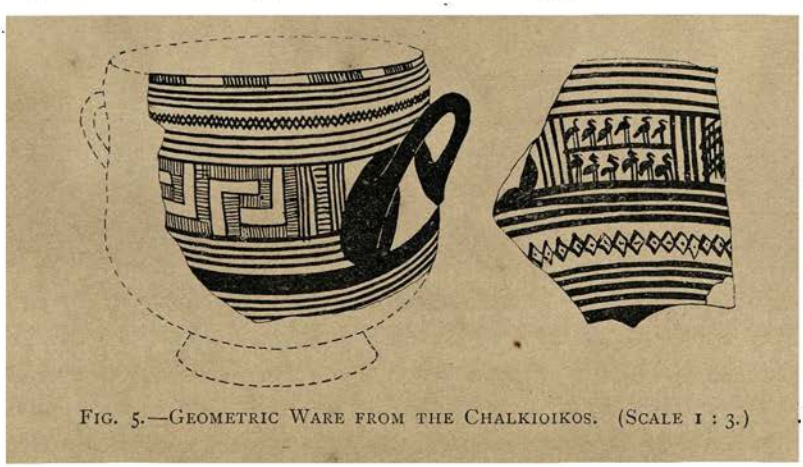


FIG. 5.—GEOMETRIC WARE FROM THE CHALKIOIKOS. (SCALE 1 : 3.)

It is not a case of a double handle. The handle reaching to the rim on the left had no smaller handle under it, and the uppermost point to the

right is actually the rim ; so that there, too, there was no second handle Such an inequality must have produced a very odd effect. The vase has slip, and is probably rather late.

The two fragments from the Acropolis shown in Fig. 5 are without slip.

SUB-GEOMETRIC.

There are some sherds, chiefly in the deposit at the Sanctuary of Orthia, which present a somewhat different aspect. They come mostly

FIG. 6.—SUB-GEOMETRIC WARE. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

from good-sized vases and have the white friable slip ; if it be possible, extra carelessness marks them off from the bulk of the pottery. Besides parallel lines, chequers, and a more complicated form of maeander, a new pattern of squares containing dots seems to be a favourite. The comparatively high levels at which they occur (often with sherds of Orientalising style) and the definite touches of a later influence on some of them are reasons for assigning them to a Sub-Geometric period, corresponding perhaps to the Proto-Attic. The later date of some at least

of them is proved by the style of the heads which ornament them in relief (Fig. 6, C). These much resemble the terracotta figurines found at the same levels. A and E in Fig. 6 are sherds found in 1906 at the Heroön by the river, and at the Orthia site near the temple; both seem of much the same period. A may be local, but is in very bad condition, the slip having frayed very much. E is certainly not local, and seems perhaps later, for it has purple (shown in Fig. 6 by shading). The profile heads are very reminiscent of the Melian class.[1] So to a less extent are those on the fragments B and D, which must be put down to this period. B is one of the few later sherds found on the Acropolis, while D is from the Orthia site.

PROTO-CORINTHIAN.

During the Geometric period foreign trade seems hardly to have touched Sparta; no traces remain of imported ware except for one notable exception. This consists of a small, but well distributed proportion of the fine ware first called by Furtwängler Proto-Corinthian. The sherds are of very fine clay, usually of a pale buff colour, without slip, and very thin, the general thickness being about a millimetre and a half. The paint, which washes off easily, is, as a rule, a light brown-red, though sometimes it is a pale brown, and, rarely, a dull black. It is applied usually in parallel horizontal lines of extraordinary fineness and finish. Rows of short vertical lines often bound the rim, and a ray pattern rising from the base is regular. Upright zigzags also occur. Few of the vases of which sherds have been found can have stood more than ·08 m. high, and their form was apparently restricted at Sparta to the skyphos, the pyxis, the aryballos, rarely the conical high-necked jug.[2]

Neither in fabric, nor in style, can this pottery be said to be local to Sparta, and it appears to have been imported during the Geometric period, but towards its close; for, up till now, one sherd only has been found on the Acropolis (Fig. 3, B), and at the Orthia site out of sixty-three trays in which it occurs, in thirty-two it was found with Geometric ware alone, in twenty-four with a mixture of Geometric and Orientalising

[1] *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 46; Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, i. p. 301.
[2] *v.* Hoppin, *The Argive Heraeum*, ii. p. 126.

ware, while only in seven trays does it occur without any accompanying Geometric.

In my opinion it is a style more akin to the Geometric than to any other. The birds shown in Fig. 3, B and C (B from the Acropolis, C from the Orthia site) are, I think, definite on this point. The potters who worked in this style when they made, as they must have made, large vases, made Geometric ware. The constant ray pattern is the first trace of the influence which produced the later Orientalising style. Now the evidence of the excavations suggests that this ware was first imported into Sparta before that influence had touched the Spartan potters. It seems reasonable, then, to look for its place of origin on a spot likely to feel an outside influence at an earlier date than Sparta. The Argolid might be such a spot: from the quantity of the ware found at the Heraeum, it is possible, but it does not appear for what reason the Argolid was particularly susceptible to the new influence. Corinth, a locality more likely to feel such influence, is excluded by the fact that only one fragment of Corinthian ware was found at the site of Artemis Orthia. The name Proto-Corinthian, which suggests a period rather than a locality, seems therefore, still the best.

ORIENTALISING.

The best sherds of the Orientalising period, those richest in figures, birds and animals, were found in 1906 in Trench B, underneath part of the Roman amphitheatre. Last season's excavations were directed towards clearing this building, and subsequently digging down in the arena, and within the temple, so that the region round Trench B was left untouched. Later the possible deductions from the finds of 1906 will be discussed, but it is too early to speak definitely of the pottery found in this, which is apparently the richest region (at least in the later, more developed ware), until next season's excavations have produced more material; but in 1907 the temple and arena produced abundant material for the study of the earlier period of Oriental influence, and two contemporary styles, both apparently local, stand out.

A. The one contains a good proportion of vases with hard clay covered simply with black, or dark brown paint, while others are decorated with bands and thin lines of purple and white, added over the black. The thin lines are usually near the rim, while the broader bands lie generally on

the body of the vase. The vases are mostly small (none stood apparently more than ·12 m. high) and show three main shapes (Fig. 7, *a*, *b*, *c*). They may be looked upon as the prototypes of those miniature votive vases which were first found in any quantity at Angelona,[1] and were turned up in vast

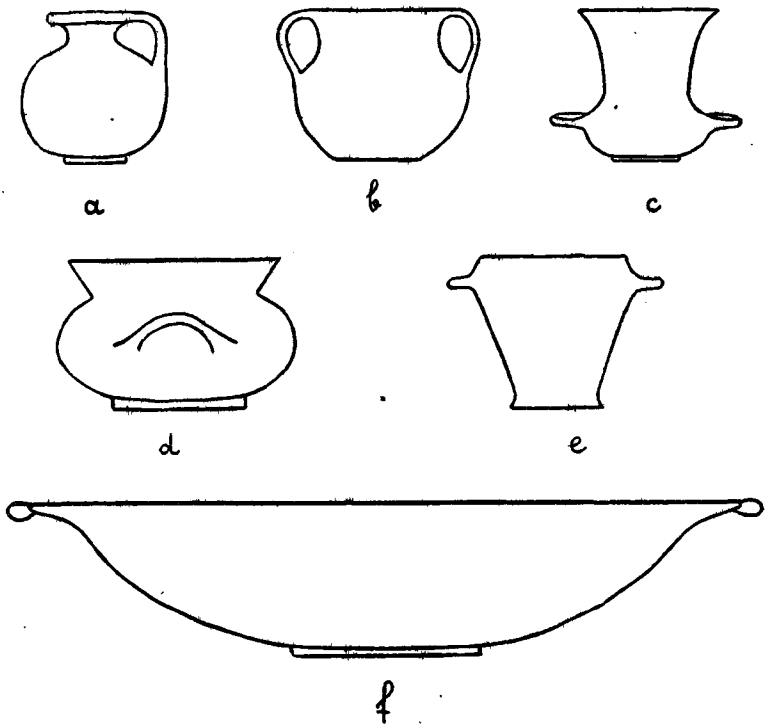


FIG. 7.—SHAPES OF ORIENTALISING WARE.

numbers last season in the *temenos* on the road to Megalopolis.[2] At the Orthia site both are found together at the same levels.

[1] *B.S.A.* xi. p. 83.

[2] *v.* § 9, pp. 170 ff., Fig. 2. Quite 10,000 were found here, both of black glazed, and unglazed ware. Some of the better specimens show added white. There were in all 39 types, of which 23 are represented by unique specimens. The type *C* furnishes nearly 50 per cent., the types *A* and *B* 20 per cent., and 17 per cent. of the whole. Here the types *D* and *F* have few representatives, but *F*, which never is glazed, is found more often at the Orthia site. The stratification there shows that they began with the seventh century, but it was not possible to find any trace of change or development among the masses deposited in the vineyard. The clay is the pink local product.

B. The other style is also confined to small vases (Fig. 7, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*). It seems probable that as the new influence first shows its effects in the small Proto-Corinthian vases, so here, when this style began, the Geometric style still continued for the larger ware, though modified gradually into the Sub-Geometric. In any case the change of style was not utterly sudden, and naturally a period of transition exists, in which these two styles are found together with Geometric and Sub-Geometric ware.

The same pink clay and white friable slip found in the Geometric ware are characteristic of this style. The slip is perhaps rather thinner, and at times more creamy, but substantially it is the same, and with the clay, fully establishes the local character of the ware. It is a change of style merely, not of fabric.

The typical skyphos (Fig. 7, *e*) has its base decorated with a purple circle, within which, if space permit, is a cross pattern of four triangular arms, and a square centre. The projecting flange of the base is black, and above comes a purple band, above which black rays run up the sides almost to the shoulder, where they are bounded by a second purple band. The actual shoulder is black, and the rim is decorated with two rows of small dots, between which are two stout lines joined by black squares. This rim pattern is particularly characteristic, but is known also on Cyrenaic ware.[1] The shape *c* has rays rather thinner and only over the belly. Above the waist comes a broad black band bounded above and below by purple. The rim pattern is the same as on the skyphos.[2]

Many fragments have been found of bowls (Fig. 7, *f*). These are low, and ranged perhaps from ·20 m. to ·30 m. in diameter. The ware is thicker, averaging about ·005 m. in thickness as against ·002 m. to ·003 m. in the other shapes. Ribbed bolster-like projections seem generally to have served for handles. At this stage the inside is regularly black, and the broad rim is ribbed and channelled on its upper surface. The outside has the usual slip, and decoration in black and purple, in which the only noteworthy point is the number and delicacy of the rays which cover most of the surface, bounded by a line and a purple band, at the foot and rim. When figures occur they supplant the ray pattern, and are chiefly birds of

[1] *E.g.* Böhlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Necropolen*, p. 126, Pl. X. 6, 9.

[2] It is interesting to note that two such vases exist complete in the Museum of Syracuse, Sala XII. They are from Megara Hyblaea.

the swan species. Incised lines are freely used, except on one example, and added purple. One piece shows a deer. There are no rosettes, or ground ornament of any kind.

The sherds shown in Fig. 8 (*a*, *c*, and *d*) are all of local origin, as

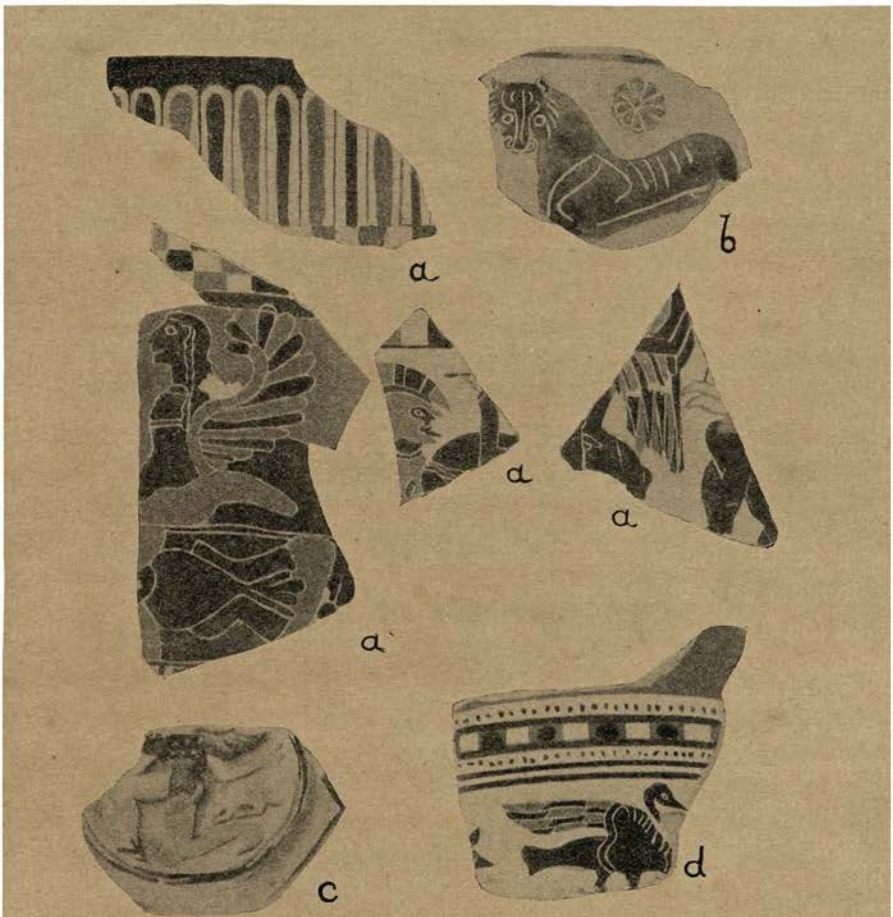


FIG. 8.—ORIENTALISING POTTERY. (SCALE 3 : 4.)

the clay and slip show. The sphinx vase (*a*) is, however, quite exceptional; the fragments were found in the temple dispersed among sherds not only of the classes A and B, but also of Geometric ware. The rim shows a tongue pattern in brown, black and purple, inside as well as out. The sherds form the upper part of a vase of the shape *c* (Fig. 7). The

inside below the rim is covered with a brown paint. Outside, below a band of chequers in purple, white, and black, was a procession of warriors. Their helmets in red-purple and features (part of another head is not illustrated) recall those on the pithos found in 1906 at the Heroön,[1] and also a common type of lead figurine. Part of the right-hand warrior's draperies are drawn in added white, while the cloak of the other is in purple and black. Incised lines mark out the details. More interesting is the sphinx on another part of the vase, perhaps over the handles; she is drawn in incised lines, and the ground was then filled up with added purple, leaving her figure in the brown-black paint, with which this part was covered. The design below the sphinx is not clearly distinguishable.

The sherd illustrated at *c* (found in a similarly mixed stratum in the temple) was part of a little round cup, which is likewise unique. On it, within a circular panel, which itself stood out from the vase, is modelled a winged figure in rapid motion accompanied by a mouse. The whole was covered with slip, and painted in the usual manner. The figure's wings are purple, and she wears an upper garment of black, below which appears a purple tunic. Unfortunately the fragment is very much worn. In view of the many winged figures among the lead figurines, this perhaps is to be considered an Artemis rather than a Gorgon. The sherd might perhaps be thought to add confirmation to Wide's interpretation of the epithet *μυσία* (on the lines of Apollo *σμινθεύς*) as applied to Artemis at a shrine on the way from Sparta to Arcadia.[2]

The bird on the fragment *d* is very typical of the style. Fig. 9 shows a fragment with a lion and part of a deer; the pale grey clay, and lack of slip make this sherd a puzzle.

Another characteristic rim pattern which seems confined to vases of the shape *c* (Fig. 7), (a very common shape) consists of a purple line from which a row of black leaves branches out above and below. This pattern is, however, I am inclined to think, a slightly later development, for it was found mostly in 1906 in Trench B, and under the bank in the region marked 'New Wall' on the plan of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia,[3] at levels where was no Geometric ware at all. Here, too, a tongue and dart pattern appears not only both inside and outside the rim of this shape of

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. IX.
[2] Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 118. I owe this suggestion to Mr. Wace.
[3] *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. VIII.

vase, but also on the rims of the bowls (Fig. 7, *f*), smooth now, and with slip; while the inside is ringed, at least round the edge, with purple and black. One piece even shows traces of a figure scene. With these developments, as I am inclined to think them, the slip appears to become thinner, harder, and yellower; more serviceable, but less attractive than that of the typical

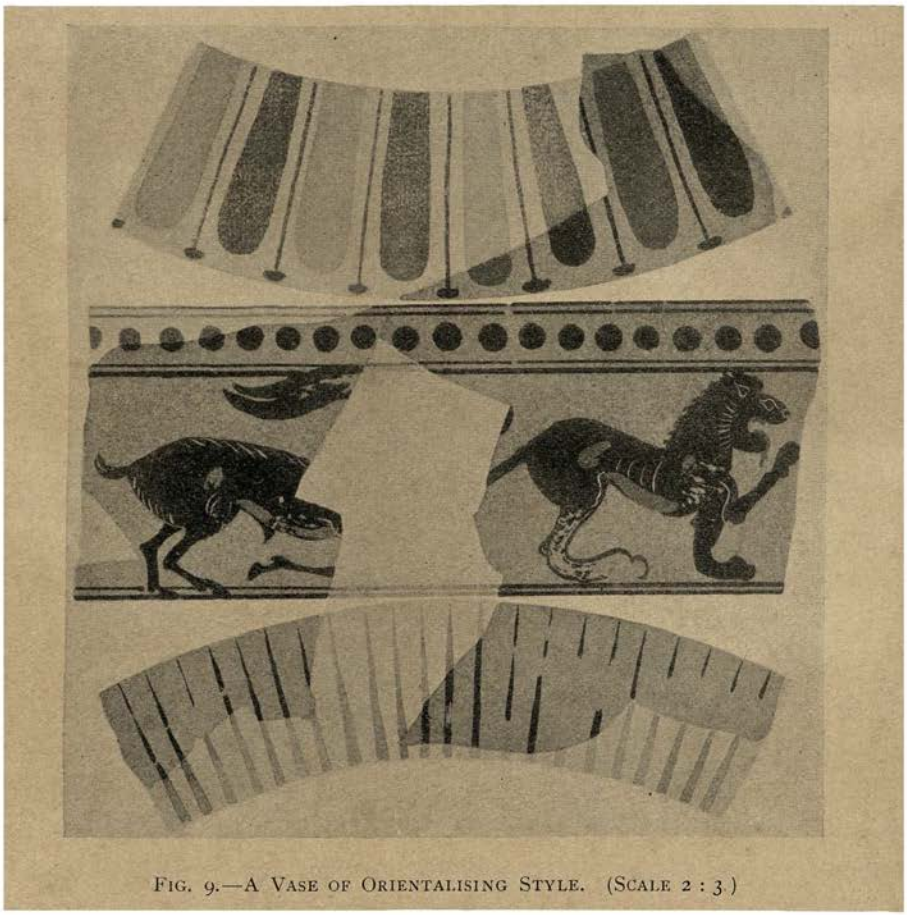


FIG. 9.—A VASE OF ORIENTALISING STYLE. (SCALE 2 : 3.)

ware. Further excavation in the region of Trench B should give more information on the relation between the two.

The pottery from Trench B, and the upper part of Trench A is very interesting. In the first place there is the ware just described, which differs from, yet is evidently connected with, the typical ware B, as the

results from the temple and the arena have revealed it; the fragment with the deer, mentioned above which belongs to this fabric, was found here. Next there is a small group of sherds with reddish clay, no slip, and figures, animals and birds, with added purple, and incised lines. The style is similar to that of the birds on the typical ware, but the fabric is different. May these be looked on as still local, yet considerably later in date, well down perhaps into the sixth century? Finally there are a certain number of

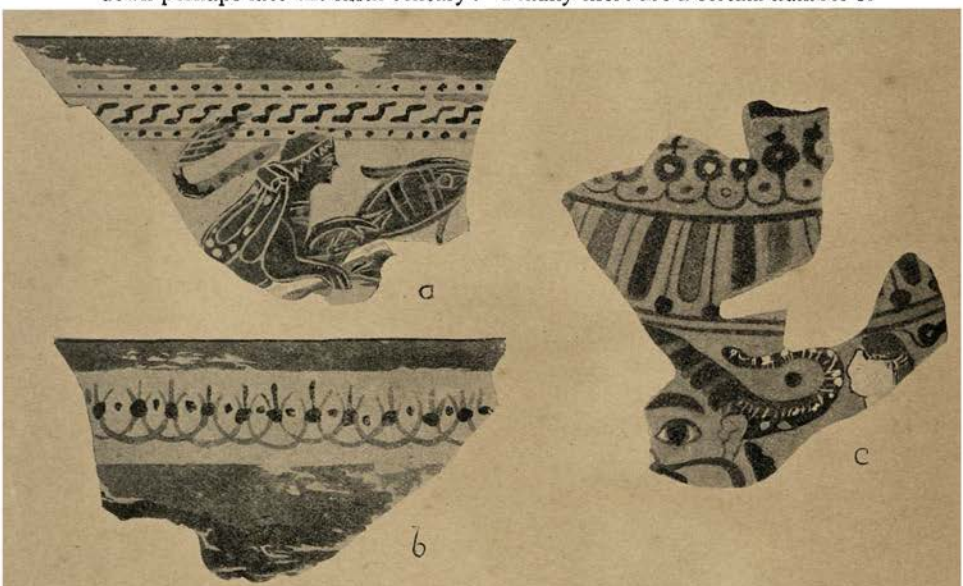


FIG. 10.—VASE SHERDS OF CYRENAIC STYLE. (SCALE 2 : 3.)

sherds (some few were also found in the arena and temple last season) which bear the lotus and pomegranate pattern so well-known on Cyrenaic ware. Two of these have figure scenes (Fig. 10). That with a Gorgon's head and white-faced figure on the right, judged from the general style and especially from the drawing of eye and ear, is undoubtedly Cyrenaic. So also is the other (of which the inner side is also shown) with a figure carrying what appears to be a fish. These seem, however, of later date than most of the pottery under consideration, but other of the sherds with these patterns look earlier.

It is no new thing to find Cyrenaic ware associated with Sparta, which indeed has been suggested as the original home of the style, though opinion has now turned definitely in favour of Cyrene.[1] But both the black and the purple paint, and the slip, too, in what I regard as its later form, of the typical ware B, very much resemble the Cyrenaic fabric; the rim patterns both of leaves and of dots are another point of resemblance, and the style of the birds is very similar. Moreover the Arkesilas vase has a rim pattern of white and purple lines on black, not unlike the style described under A.

Now the local origin of the style B is proved by the continuity of the clay and slip with the preceding Geometric ware. The question arises whether it is possible to consider the Cyrenaic ware as, after all, local to Sparta. No definite answer can yet be given, for the Cyrenaic ware has not, up till now, been found in sufficient quantity to justify the claim. Yet, in spite of the absence, on the typical local ware, of the lotus and pomegranate patterns most characteristic of the Cyrenaic style, the resemblance between the two is striking.

It is too early to formulate a theory, but it does not seem impossible, in view of the legends concerning the foundation of Cyrene, that this resemblance is to be explained by supposing that the Cyrenaic style was originally founded on that prevailing at Sparta. Close trade relations would explain the presence of Cyrenaic ware proper at a later date, and also the points of likeness discernible between it and such Spartan works of art as the archaic hero-reliefs, which, together with the peculiar sigma on the Arkesilas vase, first led to the thought that Laconia might be the birth-place of the style.

One fragment only of Corinthian ware has been found. It shows a lion with the head full face. In the field is an incised rosette. (Fig. 8, *c*).

To talk of dates in the matter of pottery is always hard, but it seems reasonable to consider the deposit at the Orthia site as ranging over two centuries and a half to three centuries. Thus the lowest deposit of pottery would mark the close of the Geometric era extending over the eighth century, the end of which would be marked by the introduction of the Proto-Corinthian ware. The early years of the seventh

[1] Cf. Studniczka, *Kyrene*, pp. 9 ff.; Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, pp. 181 ff.; Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 77.

century would be marked by the Sub-Geometric period and the beginning of the Orientalising style, which lasted perhaps for nearly a hundred years, developing in the earlier half of the sixth century into the style of which the few sherds with reddish clay are the only examples yet discovered. To this period also the imported Cyrenaic ware must be assigned.

It is very possible that the deposit of Geometric ware on the Acropolis goes back even into the tenth century. These conclusions, drawn from an independent study of the pottery, agree very well with the indications given by the excavations as a whole, described above by Mr. Dawkins in § 4.

J. P. DROOP.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

§ 7.—THE HIERON OF ATHENA CHALKIOIKOS.

(PLATE V.)

HISTORY AND NATURE OF THE SANCTUARY.

SUIDAS,[1] under the heading *Χαλκίοικος*, explains as follows: 'The Athena in Sparta; either because she has a brazen house; or on account of her (its?) stability; or because it was founded by Chalcidian exiles from Euboea.' Hesychius[2] adds as synonyms *χαλκηδάνη*, *χαλκίναος*. In Euripides[3] we find *χαλκόπυλος* as an epithet of the goddess. These variants are in themselves sufficient to contradict Suidas' two alternatives. The noteworthy feature about the sanctuary was its bronze decoration, and thus the name is descriptive of the sanctuary rather than of the goddess. It is not a cult-name, and represents no religious aspect of the goddess; in fact there is good reason to suppose that it is not even the original name of the sanctuary that crowned the Acropolis of Sparta, but one acquired at a subsequent restoration. The earliest writer using the name is Thucydides.[4] In the Damonon inscription,[5] on the other hand, which must be dated before 430 B.C., Athena is called *Πολιοῦχος*, or Guardian of the City, a title which has a much older sound, and is given by Pausanias[6] as an alternative

[1] *Lexicon, sub voce.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Troades*, 1112, and *schol.*; also *schol. ad Hel.* 228, 245.

[4] i. 134. [5] *I.G.A.* 79; *S.M.C.* 440 and pp. 175 ff. *infra.*

[6] iii. 17. 2. The epithet *χαλκίοικος* seems to have been at first variable (cf. the references to Euripides and Aristoph. *Lysistrata*, 1300, 1320), and only subsequently to have been definitely adopted.

name. In imperial times we can distinguish two separate cults of Poliouchos and Chalkioikos.[1]

The sanctuary is described by Pausanias[2] in his account of Sparta: according to him it was founded by Tyndareus and his sons, but remained incomplete until the time of Gitiadas, a local artist, who made the image of the goddess and the sanctuary itself. The date of the sanctuary, therefore, as known in classical times, depends on the date of Gitiadas, a question which once loomed large as the subject of controversy. Our data are provided by two passages of Pausanias[3]: in one of these he says that tripods with statues beneath them, were set up in Amyclae after the capture of Ithome in the First Messenian war; in the other, that two of these tripods were the work of Gitiadas, and one of Kallon of Aegina. We know from an inscription[4] that Kallon worked on the Acropolis of Athens about 500 B.C. The accepted date of the end of the First Messenian war is about 700 B.C. To account for this discrepancy some authorities[5] postulated a blunder in the text of Pausanias, while others[6] held that Kallon's tripod was added at a later date. The more generally accepted view, however, is that of Schubart[7] and Brunn,[8] that Pausanias confused the capture of Ithome in the First Messenian war with the same event in the Third, and that the date of the tripods, and consequently that of Gitiadas, fell about the middle of the fifth century.

Attractive in itself, this view involves, however, grave difficulties. Kallon was a member of the school of Dipoinos and Skyllis, and belongs to the late sixth century in art history; Quintilian[9] says of him 'Duriora Callonis, minus rigida Calamidis, molliora adhuc Myronis.' It is difficult to imagine him a contemporary of the Pheidian Zeus. Still less does the work of Gitiadas appear to belong to the artistic *milieu* of the fifth century; the reliefs of the Chalkioikos, as described by Pausanias, compare closely with the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, the work of Bathykles the Magnesian,

[1] Cf. an inscription (*S.M.C.* 544) referring to separate priesthoods.

[2] iii. 17. 2. [3] iv. 14. 2; iii. 18. 8. [4] Loewy, *I.G.B.* p. 22, No. 27.

[5] Walz, *Heidelb. Jahrb.* 1845, p. 397; Schorn, *Studien der gr. Künstler*, p. 195; Thiersch, *Epochen der bild. Kunst*, ii. p. 33; Sillig, *Cat. Artificum*; Hirt, *Böttiger's Amalthea*, i. 261; Müller, *Aeginet.* 101.

[6] Welcker, *Kl. Schrift.* 1833, iii. 533; Bursian, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* lxxiii. 513.

[7] Schubart, *Zeitschr. f. Alt. Wiss.* 1845, 2.

[8] Brunn, *Gesch. der gr. Künstler*, i. 87.

[9] xii. 10. 7. Cf. also Paus. vii. 18. 10, where he is coupled with Kanachos, and ii. 32. 5, where he is called a pupil of Tektaios and Angelion.

or with the chest of Kypselos, or the François vase. His place seems rather to be among the Orientalising craftsmen, whose work at Sparta fell in the late seventh and early sixth centuries, and is abundantly illustrated by the finds from the Orthia Sanctuary. Moreover the evidence of excavation makes the fifth century date of Gitiadas impossible. Exactly corresponding to the story of Pausanias, we find in the sanctuary two clearly-defined strata: an early Geometric stratum, and a second 'classical' stratum starting with b.-f. pottery sherds and a few remains of the Orientalising period, and containing bronze statuettes that cannot be later than the middle of the sixth century. We connect these strata respectively with the original foundation and with the restoration of Gitiadas, so that the latter's date must be put back at least a century.

Neither Gitiadas nor Kallon, therefore, could have made tripods at Amyclae at the end of the First or of the Third Messenian War. It is more possible that the offering of the tripods had some connection with the Second Messenian War, which probably came to an end about 630 B.C., but even so, the offering must have been made at least eighty years after the end of the war, if both Kallon and Gitiadas were concerned in their construction.[1]

Another question arises from Pausanias' account of the bronze reliefs in the sanctuary. Gardner and Imhoof-Blumer[2] suggest that they were on the dress of the goddess, while Murray[3] and Overbeck[4] held that they decorated the walls of the shrine. The coin on which the former theory is based does not really afford very strong evidence, since the dress worn by the statue appears similar to that of the lead figurines found at the Orthia Sanctuary,[5] which are clearly wearing ordinary dresses. A small bronze statuette of Athena from the Chalkioikos (Fig. 3) resembling a *xoanon* in shape, shews no traces of bands of relief. On the other hand we discovered a large number of bronze plates, mostly in the last stages of decay, and a great quantity of heavy bronze nails, some still in position through the plates, which seem to prove that bronze plates were applied to

[1] Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt. grec.* i. 228, and Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Sculpt.* i. 71, are both inclined to favour a mid-sixth century date for Gitiadas, and to connect him with Bathykles and the orientalists. It certainly seems much more probable that the tripods were made by Gitiadas after the Second Messenian War, and the Chalkioikos built afterwards in the beginning of the sixth century. In that case Kallon's tripod was added later.

[2] *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 58, Pl. N 13. [3] *Hist. Gr. Sculpt.*[2] i. 38, 88.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 228. [5] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 323, Fig. 3 *a* and *c*.

the walls of the shrine. None of these shew traces of relief, but doubtless the sculptured pieces only covered a portion of the whole surface, and would be the first to attract the eye of the spoiler. Examples of such decoration are not infrequent in the Orient. Perrot[1] instances the Gates of Balawat, and in Greece itself we have the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae.[2] The custom naturally arises, as Murray[3] has pointed out, from the habit of overlaying wood, and is not likely to have originated in a stone country; its use in the Hieron of Athena is a good example of that strong Asiatic influence in early Spartan art so remarkable in the finds from the Orthia Sanctuary.

The *locus classicus* for the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos in Greek literature is the tragic story of Pausanias as told by Thucydides[4]: the flight of the fugitive king to the *οἴκημα*, or little shrine, standing in the sacred enclosure; the mother's condemnation; the walling-up of the door and slow agony of the dying man; finally the removal from the enclosure to prevent pollution.[5] Afterwards there was the parallel story of Agis.[6] In later times we have frequent mention of the enclosure as a parade-ground, or rallying-place from the reign of Archidamus[7] in the fifth, and Agesilaus[8] in the fourth century, to the later troubles of the disastrous reign of Nabis. Polybius[9] mentions an annual festival at the Chalkioikos with a procession of armed youths and a sacrifice by the Ephors. This is probably the *Ἀθάναια* referred to in the inscription of Damonon,[10] in which case horse-races were held in connection with it. After the Roman conquest of Sparta we have no further news of the sanctuary until the visit of Pausanias,[11] who saw it intact in the second century A.D.; it was still the chief sanctuary of Sparta, and some imperial inscriptions[12] contain notes enjoining duplicates to be set up in it. At a later period its place must have been usurped by the revived cult of Artemis Orthia. At some period later than the date of Constantine, it fell into complete decay, for we find the enclosure being levelled and houses built upon it.[13]

[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, ii. 620, Pl. XII. Fig. 307.

[2] Paus. (x. 5. 11) mentions other bronze-covered buildings in Greece: the chamber of Akrisios, and the third temple of Delphi. He also speaks of two bronze chambers at Olympia (vi. 19. 2).

[3] *loc. cit. supra.* [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Other references are to be found in Polyaenus, viii. 51; Plut. *Parall.* 10; Diod. xi. 45; Aelian, *V.H.* 9. 41; Corn. Nep. *Paus.* iv. 5; Chrysermus Corinthius, *Persica* ii.

[6] Plut *Agis*, 16. [7] Plut. *Apoph. Lac. Archid.* 6. [8] *Ibid. Ages.* 8.

[9] Polyb. iv. 22, 35; Livy xxxv. 36. [10] *I.G.A.* 79; cf. also p. 179.

[11] iii. 17. 2. [12] *S.M.C.* 440, 217 B; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 442. [13] Cf. *infra.* p. 145.

There are also stories of the sanctuary earlier than the time of king Pausanias: Lycurgus[1] was another of those who fled to Athena for refuge, and there is the fine story of the escape of Aristomenes[2] from his captors, and dedication of their shields in the sanctuary. The sanctuary of these stories cannot have been the Chalkioikos of Gitiadas, but the earlier Poliouchos shrine, which must have existed on the Acropolis hill from the earliest occupation of the site.[3]

Unfortunately our excavations, so far as they have proceeded, throw little light on the shrine itself. Of the original building we have practically nothing left except the south wall of the enclosure and parts of the west and east walls.[4] From the account of Thucydides,[5] however, we gather that the shrine itself was a small roofed building large enough to accommodate the statue of the goddess and not much more. His words are as follows:—'Pausanias ran towards the sanctuary (*τὸ ἱερόν*), since the enclosure (*τὸ τέμενος*) was near. He then entered into the small building (*οἴκημα*) which belonged to the sanctuary (*ὃ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ*) that he might not be exposed to the open sky: when he was dying they led him out of the sanctuary (*ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*).' A writer so careful as Thucydides in the use of words affords excellent authority for the different meanings of these three words, *οἴκημα, ἱερόν, τέμενος*. On this subject there is a most instructive note in Arnold's[6] commentary on this passage, illustrating the difference between *ναός, ἱερόν*, and *τέμενος*, by means of passages from Herodotus.[7] The *ναός* was the actual building, in this case deserving only the term *οἴκημα*, though we find the word *ναός* used in some passages.[8] The *ἱερόν* was the *ναός* and its enclosure, the sacred place which need not contain an actual *ναός* but was sacred in itself. The *τέμενος* was, strictly speaking, a much larger area including, in some cases, dependent farms and groves, the domain of the temple. The words are not always strictly distinguished,[9] but in the passage of Thucydides they bear their true meaning. The sanctuary of Athena, then, was represented by a small building containing

[1] Plut. *Lyc.* 5; *Apoph. Lac. Lyc.* 7; *Parall.* 10.

[2] Paus. iv. 15. 5; Polyaenus, ii. 31. 3.

[3] Other references are collected in Frazer, *Pausanias*, note *ad loc.*

[4] Two Doric capitals were found, one in the excavation and one built into a Byzantine wall, but their connection with the *οἴκημα* of the sanctuary is uncertain.

[5] *loc. cit.*

[6] Arnold, *Thucydides, ad loc.*

[7] ii. 112. 3; iv. 161. 4; vi. 79.

[8] Paus. iv. 15. 2, story of Aristomenes; Plut. *Parall.* 10.

[9] In the passage from the *Parallela* quoted above, there is an erroneous use of *τέμενος*.

the image, situated, with an altar, as we learn from elsewhere,[1] in an enclosure, and forming altogether the sacred *ἱερόν*. Outside was a *τέμενος* of indefinite extent in which, as we know from Pausanias, several other dependent shrines and *ἱερά* existed.[2]

The usual phrase for the sanctuary of Athena at Sparta is the Hieron, as for that of Asklepios at Epidaurus, *i.e.* the sacred spot was not primarily a temple, but an enclosure in which the various votive offerings were set up.[3]

ACCOUNT OF THE EXCAVATION.

The Hieron of Athena lies on the western spur of the Acropolis hill above the ancient theatre; the descent on three sides is very steep, and approach was only possible from the east. The *τέμενος* must have occupied the whole of this summit, but we are unable to determine its eastern limit. On the summit of the hill there is no soil at all, and only on the west and south, where the construction of the theatre and the Byzantine wall has formed a barrier to denudation, is there any accumulation of earth. The western pocket of earth thus formed is of a later date and less promising, but between the summit of the hill and the retaining-wall of the theatre a good deal has been uncovered, and more remains to be done.

Work commenced on April 3rd with 4 men; on the 6th we had 16 men employed; on the 16th the number was reduced to 12. Three more days with 4 men completed the season's work on the site. The plan (Fig. 1) shews the extent of the work. A large retaining-wall, 25·20 m. long, running from west to east was first excavated, and parts of two returns running northward from the extremities. These walls (shewn in black on the plan), of which the western branch is represented by very fragmentary remains, are part of a rectangular enclosure, the rest of which has disappeared owing partly to the shallowness of the soil, and partly to the diligence of wandering masons.

The southern arm of the wall, which is in one place preserved to

[1] Plut. *Apoph. Lac. Ages.* 8.

[2] Cf. Paus. iii. 17. 2 and Plut. *Apoph. Lac. Lycurg.* 7, *ἱδρύσατο ἐν τῷ τῆς χ. τεμένει ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς, Ὀπτιλλέτιν προσαγορεύσας.*

[3] *e.g.* Polyaen. ii. 15.

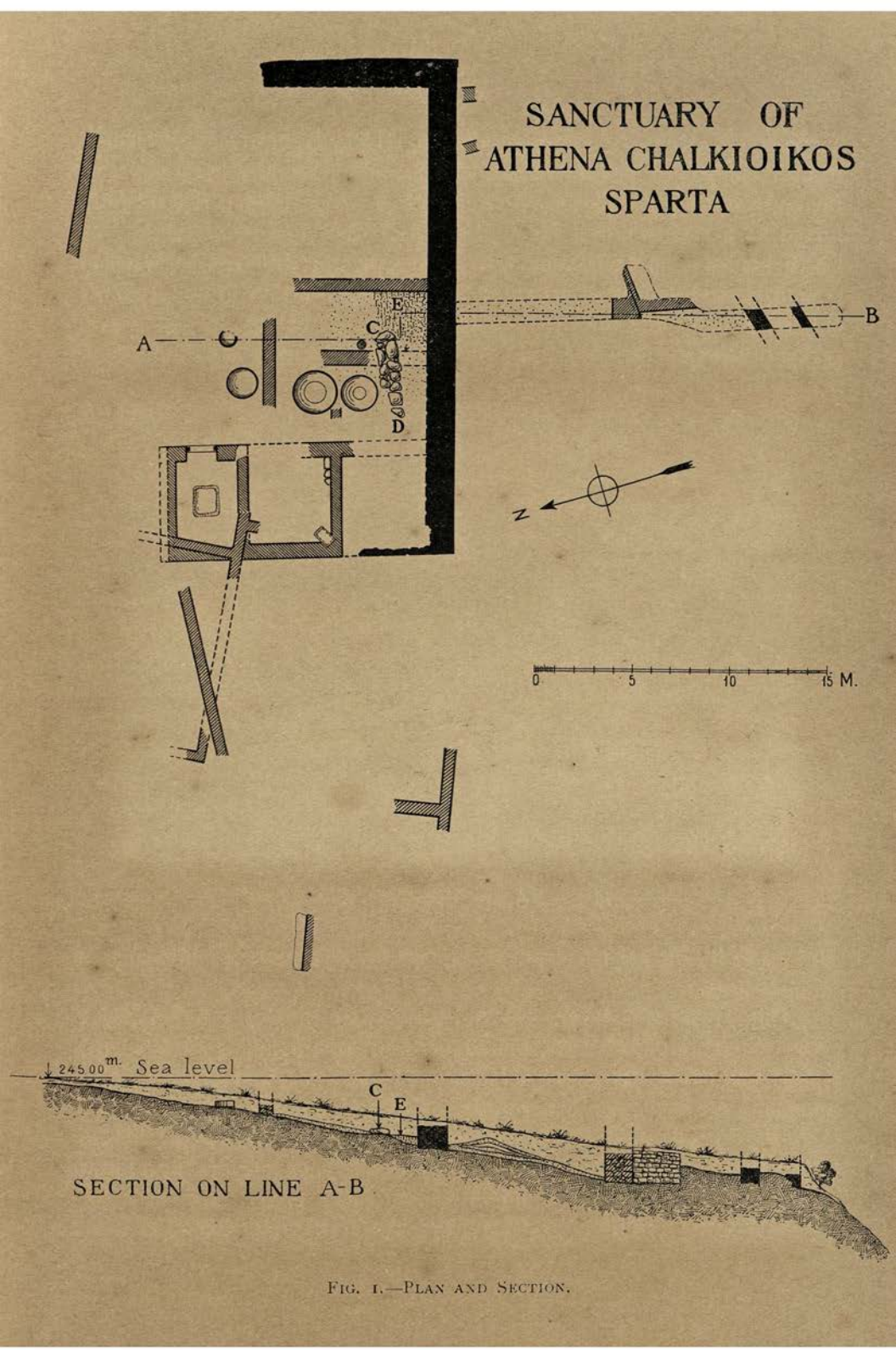


FIG. 1.—PLAN AND SECTION.

a height of 1·45 m., is shewn in Fig. 2. It is built of large roughly-trimmed polygonal blocks without mortar, and resembles in construction the sixth century temple of Artemis Orthia. At a later period this wall served as a retaining-wall for a platform on the summit of the hill, on which houses were built, and it is largely due to this that any ancient remains have been preserved at all. Originally, however, it was probably only a boundary-wall for the sacred enclosure. It belongs to the second period of the sanctuary, the restoration of Gitiadas, but is dug down about

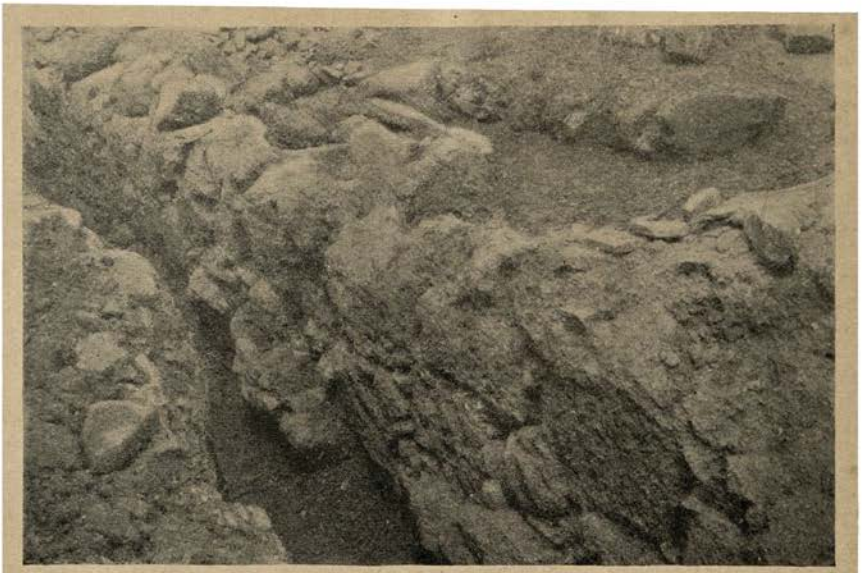


FIG. 2.—SOUTH WALL OF SANCTUARY (OUTER FACE).

·30 m. into the Geometric layer, which stretches down to the retaining-wall of the theatre.

This Geometric layer, which is indicated in Fig. 1 by a dotted surface, consists of black carbonized earth full of fragments of Geometric pottery and occasional pieces of bronze. Inside the sanctuary-wall these fragments are small, and the stratum is thin and not very sharply divided from the 'classical' stratum above it, but outside the wall it is sharply divided from the red earth above it, which is practically devoid of any objects at all. Here, too, the pottery fragments are much larger. At one point, inside the wall (E in the plan), there is a deposit of grey carbonized earth

containing nothing but bone-fragments. This must be the débris of an altar, and from its depth we can assume that the altar belonged to the earlier sanctuary. The extent of this Geometric stratum has not yet been determined, but the sherds found are very numerous and appear to be earlier in date than the Geometric pottery from the Orthia sanctuary.

The second or 'classical' period of the sanctuary is marked by the upper stratum of reddish or brownish earth, which extends all over the area contained by the wall, but only attains a considerable depth in the pocket found inside the wall.

The northern part of the enclosure produced practically nothing but terracotta heads and statuettes of a late Roman type; among them several examples of an Artemis clad in a skin with a dog by her side, which have also been found near the Orthia Sanctuary. The centre was mostly occupied by tile-fragments, among them several tile-stamps of importance,[1] including five bearing the name of Athena Chalkioikos, which gave the first evidence of our successful search. A bronze statuette of Athena was also found in this region, and some smaller bronze fragments. The main source of the discoveries described or enumerated below was, however, the space immediately inside the enclosure-wall. The stratum was as deep in places as one metre, and rested in the western part on virgin soil, in the eastern on the Geometric stratum. It can be dated by the objects found in it as early as the middle of the sixth century, and probably represents a portion of the accumulated débris of the sanctuary from the time of the restoration of Gitiadas to a late Roman period.

This latest period is represented by the various walls and plaster-floors with pot store-chambers, which now occupy the surface of the site. These are shewn by hatching in the plan. The walls are built with mortar, and contain fragments of ancient marbles, *e.g.* the continuation of the Damonon inscription described below.[2] A *terminus post quem* for this last period is provided by numerous Constantinian coins found near the surface; possibly a Christian settlement grew up on the ruins of the sanctuary of Athena. The enclosing wall was at this time embanked from within, and a platform made covering the few remains of the ancient sanctuary that we have found.

Only one of the walls shewn in the plan in Fig. 1 seems to be ancient. This is marked C–D, and lies well within the Geometric stratum,

[1] Cf. pp. 29–34, 37, 40. [2] Cf. p. 17.

and near the mass of grey altar-débris. It is built of rough stones without mortar, and may form part of the earliest altar of Athena.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL FINDS IN UPPER STRATUM.

1. *Statuette of a Trumpeter* (Fig. 3). Found at a depth of ·80 m. Height ·131 m.: head ·02 m., trunk ·042 m., legs ·069 m.; length of foot ·017 m.; breadth: shoulders ·035 m., hips ·022 m.

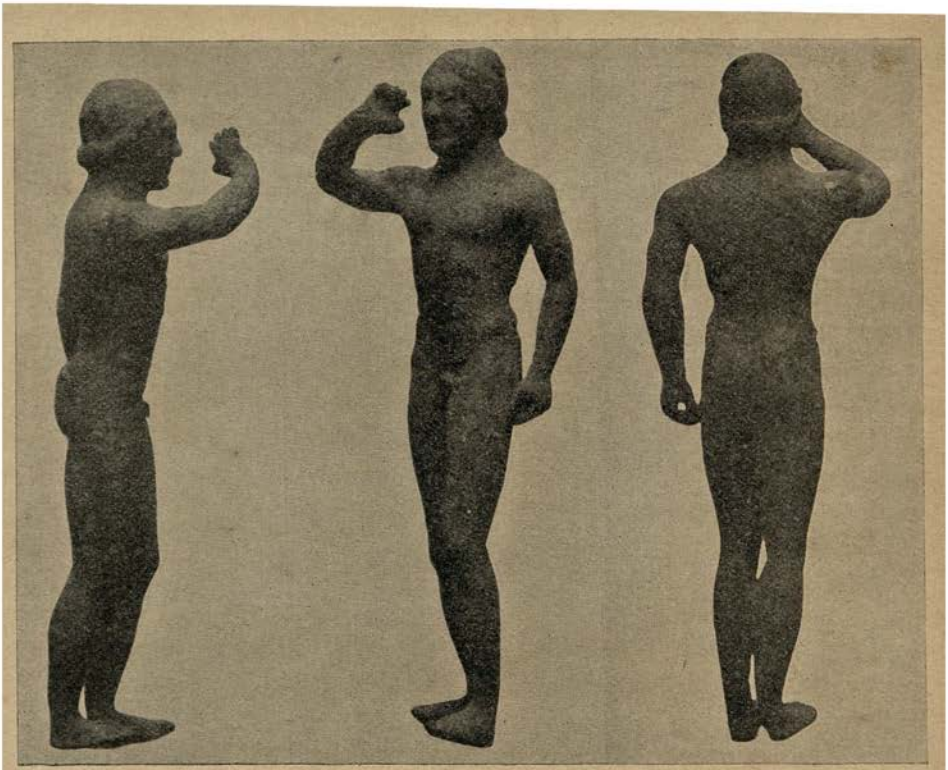


FIG. 3.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF A TRUMPETER.

The figure stands upright with both knees slightly bent, and the left foot a little to the front. The feet, which have no marks of attachment to a base, are bent slightly upwards. The left arm hangs by the side, the hand holding a tubular object, now missing (diam. ·0015) in a downward

and outward direction. The right arm is bent upwards to the mouth, where it held a larger tubular object (diam. ·003) pointing a little upwards. This could only be a drinking-vessel, or some form of trumpet, and, as the lips are tightly compressed, it would seem to be the latter. The trumpeter is bareheaded, with hair gathered in a roll round the back of his head and in a crimped fringe in front. The surface of the head is quite plain. The left ear is rather larger and higher than the right. Traces of a knobby wreath or plait of hair appear about the fringe. The forehead is receding, making an angle with the nose, which is prominent at the end. The face has a bony structure with marked brows and cheekbones and chin; the lips are thick, and the mouth droops at the corners. The neck is short and thick and the shoulders disproportionately broad. The surface of back, chest, and stomach shews careful rendering of the muscles, while the inflation of the chest and flatness of stomach suggest the action of blowing. The figure exhibits marked gluteal depressions, and exaggeration of the muscles of the calf. The surface is blue-green in colour, and the patina is a little worn, but not so much as to interfere with the fine effect of this little masterpiece of Spartan Art. In style the figure resembles the sculptures of the Olympia pediments, and can be dated without hesitation in the middle of the fifth century.

The presence of a trumpeter as a dedication in Sparta is perplexing, because the Spartans marched to battle to the sound of flutes, and made no use of trumpets for martial music.[1] In archaic Greek art also the representation of a trumpeter is exceedingly rare.[2] There is a much damaged statuette in the British Museum,[3] representing a man playing on a long instrument of trumpet type, but I know of no close parallel to the Spartan statuette.

2. *Statuette of Athena* (Fig. 4). Height ·122 m.

Found at a depth of ·50 m. Top of head, toes, and most of arms missing. The goddess stands upright, with legs close together and arms stretched outwards, probably holding spear and shield. She wears a large helmet covering the nape of the neck, and a long close-fitting tunic girt

[1] Thuc. v. 70; Aristot. in Gell. i. 11. 19; Plut. *de Musis*, 1140 C, *Inst. Lac.* 238 B, *Lycurgus* 21; Dio Chrys. xxxii. 380 M; Polyaenus, i. 10; Lucian, *de Salt.* 10; *schol. ad* Pind. *P.* ii. 127; Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 16. 37; Val. Max. ii. 6. 2.

[2] There are several trumpeters on r.-f. Attic vases of this date.

[3] *Cat. of Bronzes*, No. 223.

round the waist. There is also an incised line under the bosom, which is shewn by a slight swelling. Two locks fall on each shoulder, and the rest of the hair in an oblong mass on her back, marked by horizontal incisions. The tunic is decorated, in front only, with small incised circles, in three regular vertical rows. The eyes are two deeply incised circles, and the mouth two parallel incised lines. The patina is a light green, and is in perfect preservation. The archaic character of the figure is shewn not only by the rough workmanship, but by the shape, which resembles the early

FIG. 4.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF ATHENA. (SCALE 3 : 5.)

xoana figures, such as the so-called Samian torso from the Acropolis of Athens.[1] The figure is treated strictly as the combination of four planes, and the profile of the back is shewn without any consideration of the covering drapery. The front, on the other hand, betrays no appreciation of the body behind the drapery. There is thus a mixture of style in the treatment, which suggests an early archaism. It is possible that we have in this statuette a copy of the actual statue of Gitiadas, who, working in the

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1888, Pl. 6.

early sixth century, would yet make a hieratic statue in imitation of the earlier *xoanon*. The top of the head is flat as if cut off.

3. *Statuette of Aphrodite* (*?*) (Fig. 5). Height ·135 m.; height without headdress ·119 m.; head without head-dress ·022 m. Found at a depth of ·60 m. The left hand is split into four pieces.

The goddess stands upright with legs close together and arms by her side as far as the elbow, then bent upwards on the bosom, and carrying

FIG. 5.—BRONZE STATUETTE OF APHRODITE (?). (SCALE 3 : 5.)

spherical objects which are perhaps apples. She is clad in a tight-fitting Doric *peplos* girt round the waist, with 6 vertical folds behind; the overfall covers the bosom in front, while the back piece falls over the arms, and covers the shoulders, giving the appearance of a tippet from behind. She wears a necklace, and a headdress consisting of a cylindrical object lying on a basket, the whole ·016 m. high. The hair falls in a pointed mass to the waist behind with wide horizontal divisions, and is confined by a

semicircular band in front, below which six spiral curls lie on the forehead. The eyes are raised ovals with incised pupils under raised eyebrows, the nose is long, and the mouth has full lips curved upwards in 'the archaic smile.' Chin and ears are heavy. The body is shaped like a pillar with two small holes at the ankles, and a large hole beneath the figure for attachment to a base. The patina is blue-green, the surface well preserved. There is no decoration on the dress. The figure belongs to the late archaic period, perhaps the middle of the sixth century, and seems clearly Ionian in style, making a most striking contrast with the Athena just described. The soft heavy features and archaic smile, as well as the head-dress and the fruit-motive, stamp its oriental character. The statuette shews some resemblance to the statue of Cheramyes in the Louvre.[1]

Besides these three statuettes, we also found a statuette of Athena, ·086 m. high, belonging to a later period; of a negress, ·088 m. high, also of later origin; of an armed Aphrodite, ·12 m. high, perhaps of the fourth century; and an archaic male statuette, ·072 m. high. There were also three bulls, a lion, a horse, and an owl in bronze, and a series of bronze bells, some inscribed with dedications to Athena. The smaller bronze finds included pins, rings, handles, ornaments, and the usual apparatus of a Greek sanctuary. In the Geometric stratum were found a horse, a bird, and several *fibulae*, besides smaller fragments.

A Panathenaic Amphora was our most important find in pottery (Plate V.).

Found at a depth of ·40 m. to ·60 m.

Height (restored) about ·53 m.; diameter of neck ·16 m.; largest diameter of vase, ·34 m.; diameter of foot about ·10 m. *Missing*: one handle and parts of inscr.; black panel under missing handle; lower part of vase with exception of one piece of ray-pattern and two pieces of foot.

This b.-f. vase was found in fragments, but after careful restoration, about two-thirds of it have been put together, including nearly the whole of the four-horse chariot which forms one of the scenes. The vase is of the finest workmanship, and bears comparison with any now in the museums of Europe in material, in preservation, and in painting. One side shews the traditional representation of Athena Promachos clad in long tunic and aegis, and bearing spear and shield. On the latter is a siren in

[1] E. Gardner, *Handbook*, p. 112, Fig. 11.

white colour. The goddess faces to the left, and stands with left foot advanced between two pillars with Doric capitals, on which stand cocks. Along the left-hand pillar runs the inscription ΤΟΝΑΘ]ΕΝΕΘΕΝΑΘΛΟ[Ν written vertically, but not *κιονηδόν*. Athena's dress has no ornament, but the folds are indicated by incised wavy lines. The shield has a rim with a decoration of dots. The comb and wattles of the cocks are purple. The crest of Athena's helmet was probably cut off by the rim below the neck of the vase.

On the other side there is a spirited rendering of a four-horsed chariot just arriving at the goal, which is shewn by a white pillar with blunt top on a square white base. The four horses are grouped in a way traditional in b.-f. vases of the period, and the chariot, which is hidden all save the wheels and the front rail, is shewn in perspective. The charioteer is clad in a long white sleeveless tunic with purple cross-bands over the shoulders. Though in profile, his eye is fully shewn. He grasps the reins and a long goad in his left hand. His outstretched right hand is hidden behind the horses' necks. Owing to some confusion in the artist's mind the goad and reins appear to be passing behind his body, and have no visible connection with the reins shewn on the horses' necks. The charioteer's hair and beard and the horses' manes are decorated with stripes of purple, and there are purple dots on the breast collars. It is noticeable that the artist, perhaps to produce a better composition of the legs, has endowed one of the horses with a fifth foot. The neck of the vase is decorated with the usual double honeysuckle pattern, with alternate black and purple tongues below. A band of black rays decorates the lowest part of the vase above the foot, which consists of a simple curve.

This vase has one unique feature of great interest in the form of a scratched inscription in large letters below the painted scenes. Unfortunately the break occurs across the middle of the inscription, but this much can be read with certainty.

Τ . . . ΤΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΙ . . . τ . . . *τἀθαναῖαι* (Plate V.).

There is room for about three letters between the two τ's. The inscription must have been scratched on the vase by the winner after his return from Athens, on the occasion of the dedication of the vase in the Brazen House. It was in every way suitable that Athena's prize from Athens should be dedicated in her house at Sparta, but it is remarkable,

since there are only a few instances known of Panathenaic amphorae being dedicated in a temple. They are usually found in tombs.[1]

The clay is most carefully kneaded, the pink surface being absolutely even, and the black having turned in firing into a lustrous dark green.

Comparing its execution and style with the vases in the British Museum, it would seem to fall in date between B 133 and B 135 of the catalogue numbers.[2] The latter, with the *biga* in profile, seems a little older. B 131 and B 136 seem rather later. In execution B 133 is very close. We may therefore date the vase, in all probability, in the second half of the 6th century, a date which agrees with the evidence of the inscription.

Other Panathenaic Amphora Fragments.

The fragments of this vase were all found in one spot near D in the plan. Two other fragments of somewhat similar material were found a few yards to the N.W. One of these has a piece of aegis, and the other, part of a pillar. They therefore belong to a Panathenaic amphora, but as the first vase possesses the duplicate piece of aegis, and as it is impossible to locate the pillar fragment in it, they clearly come from a second vase.

Other fragments were found outside the sanctuary wall to the E. Among these we found the following fragments of a third vase similar in size, thickness and material to the first: parts of Athena's feet; waist with purple girdle and back bit of aegis; N of inscription by left hand column; arms and part of dress of white-clad bearded charioteer with purple cross-bands, holding reins in two hands and heavy curved goad; parts of three horses' heads; large wheel of chariot seen full, and A of scratched inscription below it; three large bits all black, and smaller black pieces; one handle. As the wheel is in profile, this third vase may be rather earlier than the first. It is interesting to find traces of a similar scratched inscription.

A fourth vase is represented by three fragments of much thicker clay:

[1] *J.H.S.* ix. 1888, p. 222, a fragment found in the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos; *B.S.A.* 1896–7, p. 193, fragments at Eleusis; *Fouilles de Delphes*, v. part 2, p. 158, Figs. 655, 656, small fragments at Delphi. The fragments found on the Acropolis at Athens were probably dedications also.

[2] *Catalogue of Vases*, Vol. ii. pp. 99, 100.

handle with part of left pillar and cock; front left foot of Athena; black piece from below.

Of a fifth vase two fragments remain, much thinner than the others; right-hand cock and pillar fragment; small fragment.

A sixth vase is distinguished by its very coarse black glaze; one fragment with roughly cut inscription AI.

The seventh vase is distinguished by bad firing, which has left all the red parts grey: piece of Athena's shield with neck, part of aegis and plait of hair; two horses' heads; two bits of wheel of chariot shewing body of chariot, and piece of white tunic of charioteer driving to right; piece of thick palmette.

These seven vases can be easily distinguished. 3 and 4 both shew Athena's left foot. 7 again is separate, as 3 has its own wheels, while 4 is much thicker than 7. The glaze of 6 is quite unique, and 1 and 2 were found in a different place. 5 is so thin as to be in a class of its own. All the fragments, however, seem to be on the same scale as No. 1, and we can therefore restore at least seven amphorae of about the same size. Each had probably its scratched inscription. They all seem to belong to the latter part of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century.

From these vases we can assume that it was the custom of the Spartans not to keep their prize vases like the Greeks of Cyrene and Magna Graecia, but to dedicate them in their own Athena temple.

Other pottery fragments comprised b.-f., r.-f., black-glazed, and Hellenistic ware, but no very large pieces were found, except the greater part of a b.-f. kantharos with a decoration of ivy-leaves. Of the Orientalising period a very few sherds were found above the Geometric, outside the inclosure, but inside, the only representatives of the period were a considerable number of miniature vases. A large number of black-glazed sherds bore scratched inscriptions, mainly dedications to Athena. We also found a series of terracotta votive bells, doubtless a cheap variety of the bronze type.

Bone and Ivory.—1 knife handle, 1 disc with incised circles, 4 needles, 2 strips with ribbed decoration, 1 small bone tube, 2 fragments of bone rings, 1 bone reel, 2 ivory dice.

Lead Figurines.—83 wreaths, 1 woman, 3 warriors, 1 sceptre (?), 1 palm branch, 15 animals (mostly deer).

Iron.—Half a double axe, ·125 m. long, ·08 m. greatest breadth; spear-head, ·15 m. long, ·027 m. greatest breadth.

Marble.—Part of a child's torso, and lower part of a statuette (·46 in. high) of Athena. These are both of Roman date.

Miscellaneous.—Steatite whorl; small bar of electrum; small Byzantine lead seal; 3 glass beads.

The architectural fragments include two large Doric capitals and two pieces of painted and incised terracotta, probably an antefix and part of the *sima*, of the sanctuary.

GUY DICKINS.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

§ 8.—THE TOMBS.

(PLATES VI., VII.)

BETWEEN the Acropolis hill of Sparta and the northern limits of the modern town lies a stretch of level ground, the greater part of which is covered with olive trees. In the middle of this area (General Plan, **K 14** and **15**) are a series of four tombs, of which two found undisturbed and one empty belong to the Hellenistic age, while one, now unfortunately almost totally destroyed, appears to have had a greater antiquity. This line of tombs lies along the southern limit of what we suppose to be the site of the Agora, and is thus in the heart of the ancient town. The conspicuous ancient building known as the Tomb of Leonidas lies a short distance away, and the discovery of tombs so close to it, and of a form not greatly dissimilar, opens once more the question of its purpose. It will be necessary to make further trials in this neighbourhood, which may be an extensive necropolis.

At Sparta burial within the walls was permissible, a circumstance unusual in Greece but paralleled in other towns of Dorian origin. Plutarch informs us of Lycurgus[1]: *ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνήματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε.* The same custom is noted by Polybius[2] in the case of Sparta's colony Tarentum. Timoleon was buried in the agora of Syracuse,[3] and Brasidas in that of Amphipolis,[4]

[1] *Lycurgus*, 27. [2] viii. 30. [3] Plut. *Timoleon*, 39. [4] Thuc. v. 11.

an Athenian colony, it is true, but then in the act of abjuring its Athenian sympathies. At Megara a similar freedom was enjoyed.[1] It appears that in the earliest times intramural burial was practised at Athens also,[2] while on the other hand at Dorian Sicyon,[3] it was strictly forbidden.

The ordinary Greek view of the pollution caused by cemeteries, especially in regard to neighbouring sanctuaries, is well illustrated by

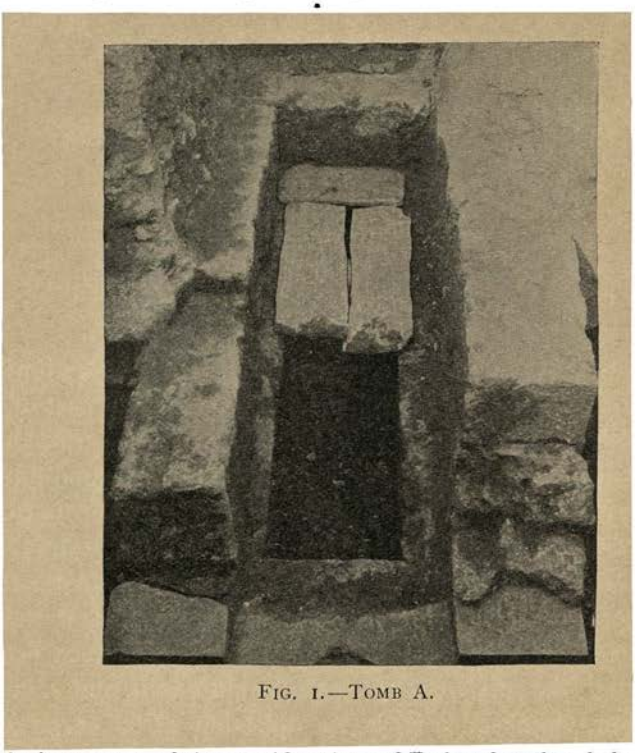


FIG. 1.—TOMB A.

Thucydides' account of the purification of Delos by the Athenians.[4] As a rule, Greek burial-places were outside the walls of the towns, *e.g.* the Kerameikos at Athens, the necropoleis of Tanagra, Myrina, and Cyrene, or the lonely rock-tombs of Lycia.

Ancient burials found previously in our excavations at Sparta[5] have

[1] Paus. i. 43. 3. [2] Plato, *Minos*, 315 D.

[3] Plut. *Aratus*, 53, *νόμου ὄντος ἀρχαίου, μηδένα θάπτεσθαι τειχέων ἐντός, ἰσχυρᾶς τε τῷ νόμῳ δεισιδαιμονίας προσούσης.*

[4] Thuc. iii. 104; cf. also Cic. *ad Fam.* iv. 12, the well-known passage relating to the burial of M. Marcellus. [5] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 281, 293.

been jar-burials, or simple interments under covering slabs, and the elaborate architecture of the tombs now in question is rather surprising. Plates VI., VII. with plans, sections, and elevations, and the illustrations accompanying this article give a good idea of their massive construction.

Tomb A is built against a sloping bank of hard virgin soil; its threshold is at a depth of two metres below the present surface, and it is clear from its elaborate façade that it originally fronted on an ancient road or open space. The sides, on the other hand, shew little finish, and were probably invisible. The tomb would therefore have originally appeared as built into a wall of earth.

A number of tiles found outside and below it, suggest that it had once a tiled roof, in which case it must have been intended to present the appearance of a small Heroön. In the south gate of the Byzantine fortress, not far from these tombs, we found a small pediment made of a single block of stone about one metre long, with three small holes at either end for the fastening of *acroteria*, and an inset on the top of the gable for the same purpose. In the museum [1] exist several *anthemia*, with the corresponding piece cut out underneath, obviously intended to fit into such pediments. It is highly probable that our tombs had similar pediments, and that the many *anthemia* in the museum originally were used for this purpose. The tombs at Megara appear to have been similarly constructed,[2] *τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι, λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπῖδα κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς ἀετοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιγράφουσιν οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' αὑτοῦ καὶ οὐ πατρόθεν ὑπειπόντες κελεύουσι τὸν νεκρὸν χαίρειν.*[2] Herodotus [3] mentions a Heroön also at Segesta.

At Sparta, we learn from Plutarch,[4] no man's name might be inscribed on his tomb unless he died in war, no woman's unless she had been a priestess.

The Spartan tombs, despite some points of resemblance, must be clearly distinguished from the rock-graves of Cyrene or Etruria, which developed into the *columbaria* of Roman cemeteries. These were real houses of the dead into which the living could enter, with shelves inside for the reception of the small sarcophagi holding the cremated remains. At Sparta, on the other hand, the tombs were used for ordinary

[1] Cf. Tod and Wace, *S.M.C.* No. 665. [2] Paus. ii. 7. 2. [3] v. 47.
[4] *Lycurgus*, 27.

inhumation; they contained two or three burials, but the corpses were stretched out without coffins, and surrounded by the objects buried with them, thus occupying the whole of the available space. Once filled, the monuments could not to be entered by the living.

The best preserved of the tombs discovered is Tomb A (Plate VI. and Figs. 1 and 3). This is oblong in form, and built of large blocks of a dark soft stone; there is no floor and the lower corpse rests on the virgin soil. The orientation is E.N E. and W.S.W., the head lying at the eastern end.

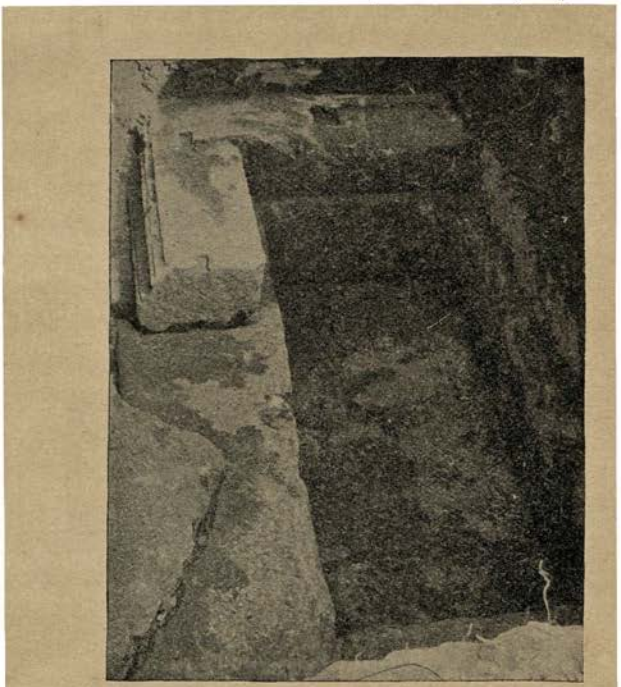


FIG. 2.—TOMB B.

Three courses of the southern long wall are preserved, and two of the northern; there is no bonding by cramps or mortar, and it seems likely that the whole tomb was imbedded in a bank of earth. The façade consists of a very large block of stone as foundation, filling the entire width of the tomb and carefully dressed in front; upon it lie two courses of marble slabs, the lower adorned with a simple moulding; two more small marble slabs rest on the edges of the top marble course, serving presumably as

socles for the antae of the walls, which were probably coated with stucco. Between them was the threshold, the two marble slabs that form it being secured by an iron cramp. There are no traces of a hole for the door-post. The upper courses of the side walls are set back a little from the lower course; on the shelves thus formed rest stone slabs separating the upper and lower burials. A description of the contents of the tomb follows. The skeletons and vases of the upper burial were disordered, but this was due to the fall of the earth consequent on the destruction of the roof, and not to rifling. In front of the tomb was a solid bottle-shaped stone pillar

FIG. 3.—TOMB A. CONTENTS OF UPPER BURIAL.

like part of a balustrade, ·525 m. high; its connection with the tomb is doubtful.

Tomb B was discovered empty, and the complete absence of bones or sherds suggests that this was due rather to its never having been used than to robbery. It was perhaps never even completed, as no tiles were found near it. This tomb is of a different type from Tomb A (Plate VII. and Fig. 2), being much wider, and having no marble courses; on the other hand the moulding of the stone courses that take their place is continued round, on to the long side on the north. The orientation is E.S.E. and W.N.W. with the entrance on the eastern side, where we find a large square hole for the door-post. The large cramp-holes in the wall-

courses shew that the wall was intended to carry more strain. This tomb therefore probably stood free, and was not imbedded in the earth. It also

FIG. 4.—WESTERN END OF TOMB C.

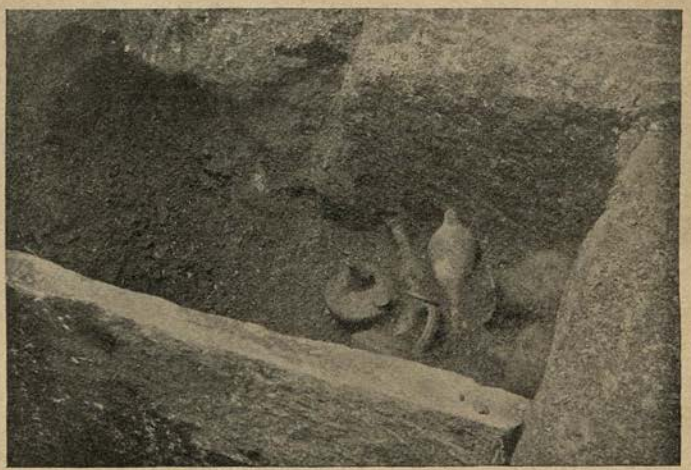


FIG. 5.—SOUTH-WESTERN COMPARTMENT OF TOMB C.

has a floor of large slabs extending under and beyond the walls. The threshold was 2·60 m. below the surface.

Tomb C (Plate VII. and Figs. 4 and 5) shews a further variety in construction, since it is a double tomb; in other respects, however, it closely resembles Tomb A: its orientation is the same, but here the entrance is on the opposite or eastern side; it also has marble courses in its façade, and an upper and lower burial separated by slabs. There is a further division of the upper burial by a thin cross-slab at the western end. The western end is embedded in virgin soil like the eastern end of A, and there are no traces of bonding; the contents also, and the tiles were similar. The threshold is 2·50 m. below the surface.

The northern wall of this tomb has entirely disappeared, and with it the contents of both upper and lower burials of the northern division. Probably this was due to the chance discovery of the top of the wall and the subsequent removal of all the stones, but this leaves the preservation of the rest of the tomb unexplained, since the disturbance of the upper burial in the southern division is due not to rifling, but, as in the case of A, to the fall of earth from above. Both B and C shewed traces of a covering of stucco inside, previous to the interments.

In another pit near Tomb B traces of a fourth tomb were found: this had walls of rough blocks, and seemed to belong to an early period, but later Roman and Byzantine foundations built above it had almost totally destroyed it. Between and above the blocks of the tomb were found vases of all periods, Geometric, Orientalising, red-figured, and Hellenistic, with lamps, Megarian bowls, and loom-weights.

No grave-reliefs of the usual kind were discovered in or near the tombs. A relief fragment found above Tomb C appears to belong rather to a dedication to the Dioscuri. Above Tomb A part of a small marble statue of Aphrodite was unearthed, but it is of Roman workmanship, and can have no connection with the tomb.

A marble child's head of very late Roman style was found at a point near the path in **L 16**, and some human bones suggested the existence of another tomb; but there is the shaft of an ancient well here, and the various objects found were probably thrown down it. Among these was an earthenware bowl with very inferior black glaze.

The vases contained in these tombs are all of the Hellenistic period. In Tomb A there was an upper (Tomb A I.)[1] and a lower burial (Tomb

[1] The different burials are referred to by these numbers in the description of the vases below.

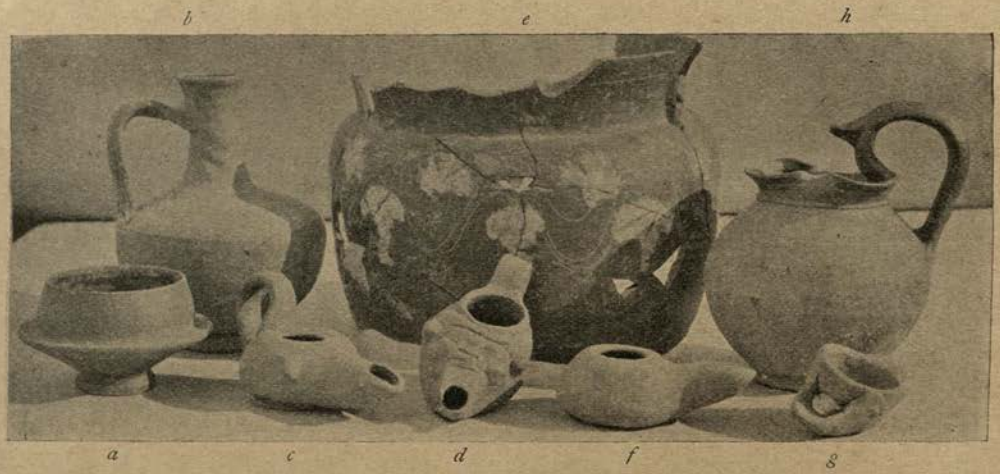


FIG. 6.—POTTERY FROM TOMBS A AND C. (SCALE 1 : $3\frac{1}{2}$.)

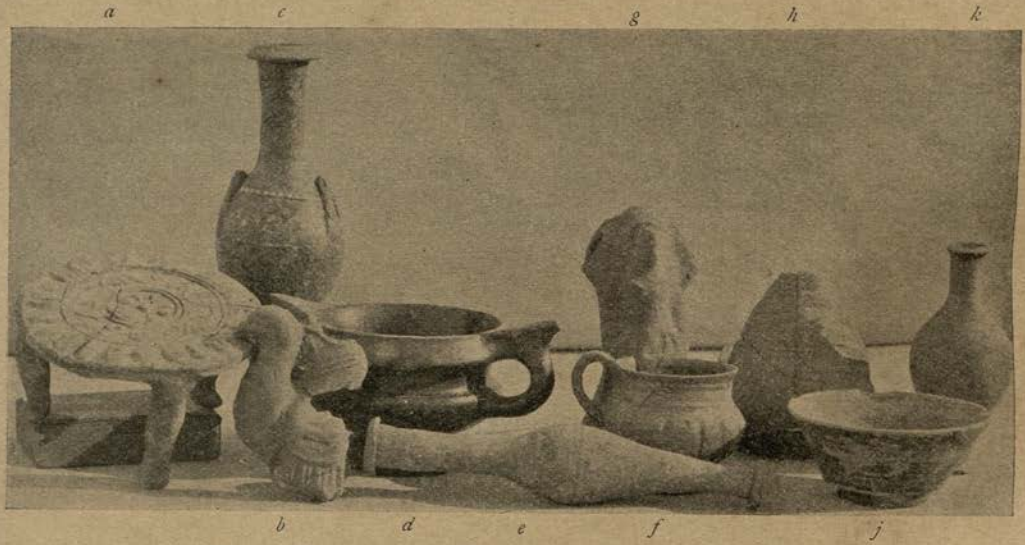


FIG. 7.—POTTERY FROM TOMBS A AND C. (SCALE 1 : 5.)

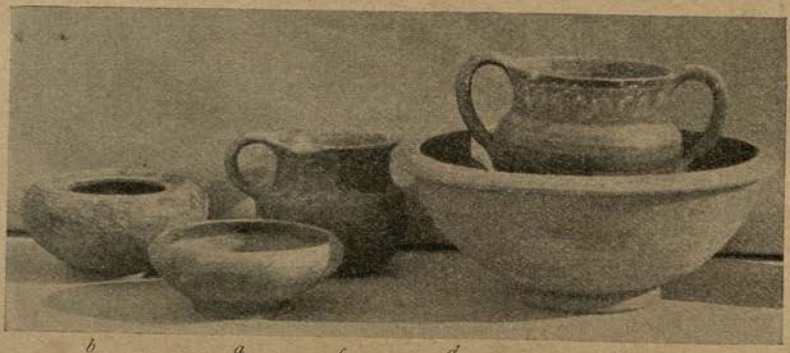


FIG. 8.—POTTERY FROM TOMBS A AND C. (SCALE 1 : 5.)

A II.): in the upper there were at least two skeletons and in the lower only one. We must naturally assume the lower burial to be the earlier. Of Tomb C, which was a double tomb, only one half was intact. This contained three interments: there was a lower burial (Tomb C I.) as in A, with one skeleton only; the upper burial consisted of a small compartment at the west end, with one skeleton (Tomb C II.) and of the main interment (Tomb C III.), which contained at least three skeletons. Probably there was originally only one interment in the upper tomb, and when later it was desired to make other interments, the skeleton and vases belonging to the earlier one were collected into this small compartment. Thus we have three stages of Tomb C: (I.) the lower burial, (II.) the compartment, (III.) the main upper burial; and of these I. is the earliest and III. the latest.

We may tabulate the contents of the tombs as follows:

The different interments are arranged in what we hope to shew is their chronological order; the two points which are assumed are that the small open lamps (Fig. 6, *h*) are earlier than the half-closed type (Fig. 6, *f*); and that the short, large-bodied lekythoid amphorae (Fig. 7, *k*) are earlier than the long narrow type (Fig. 7, *c*).

I. LAMPS.

	Small Open Type.	Later Half-closed Type.				
	Fig. 6, *g*.	Total.	No handles, Fig. 6, *f*.	Do. knob on r. side.	With handles.	Do. with knob, Fig. 6, *c*.
Tomb A I.	9	0	0	0	0	0
Tomb C I.	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tomb A II.	8	21	2	1	13	5
Tomb C II.	0	1	0	0	1	0
Tomb C III.	0	36	3	2	20	11

II. LEKYTHOID AMPHORAE.[1]

	Short Large-bodied Type. Fig. 7, *k*.			Long Narrow Type. Fig. 7, *e*.			Percentage of Red.
	Total.	Black.	Red.	Total.	Black.	Red.	
Tomb A I.	7	7	0	17	14	3	12·5 %
Tomb C I.	3	2	1	5	4	1	25 %
Tomb A II.	14	11	3[2]	82	73	9	12·5 %
Tomb C II.	3	3	0	10	8	2	15 %
Tomb C III.	1	1	0	60	49	21	30 %

[1] These often have careless patterns in white paint.

[2] Two of these have handles (Fig. 7, *c*).

III. OTHER VASES.

	Black Glazed Ware.	Red-black Ware.	Pink Ware.	Red Glazed Ware.
Tomb A I.	One mug, and a few sherds.		Two jugs (Fig. 6, *b*). One mug (Fig. 7, *f*).	
Tomb C I.		Bowl with high foot (Fig. 6, *a*).		
Tomb A II. ...	Two sherds with white and incised patterns. One trefoil oinochoë (Fig. 6, *g*). Five saucer-bowls (Fig. 8, *a*). Two do. half-closed (Fig. 8, *b*). One dish. Five mugs (Fig. 8, *c*). One skyphos (Fig. 7, *d*). One kantharos (Fig. 8, *e*).	Three saucer bowls (Fig. 8, *a*). Two bowls with high foot (Fig. 6, *a*).	Three jugs (Fig. 6, *b*). One cup. One plate. Two sherds with leaf pattern in red-brown. Two deep bowls (Fig. 8, *d*).	Four dishes. One saucer. Two mugs.
Tomb C II. ...	Two mugs (Fig. 8, *c*).		Six jugs (Fig. 6, *b*). Two trefoil oinochoae (Fig. 6, *h*).	Three sherds.
Tomb C III. ...	Two skyphoi with white or red and incised patterns (Fig. 10). Two saucer bowls (Fig. 8, *a*). One do. half-closed (Fig. 8, *b*). One bowl. One dish.	One skyphos (Fig. 10), of gray ware. One cup.	Eight jugs (Fig. 6, *b*). One conical vase (Fig. 7, *h*).	One mug. One bowl (Fig. 7, *f*). One kylix. Four plates, or dishes.

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

Tomb A I.

Tripod, with lion-shaped legs (cf. Fig. 7, *a*, *g*), two of the legs only.—Stopper of red clay.—Megarian bowl (Fig. 9), inscribed ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΟC.—One Satyr's head lamp (Fig. 6, *d*).

Gold bracteates imitated from Sicyonian coins[1]:—one small double, dove to r., border of dots; one small double, dove to l.; one small single, dove to r., border of dots.

Silver earrings, two small.

Silver coins, illegible and small, two.

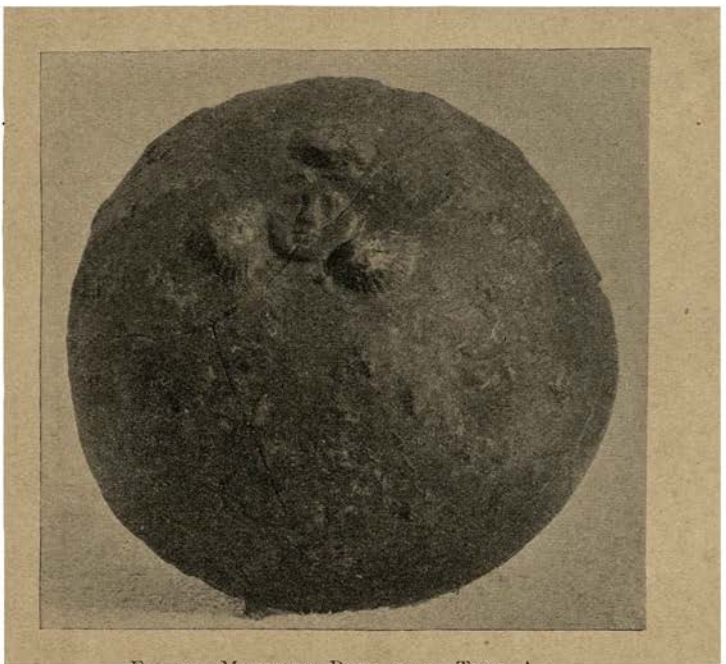


FIG. 9.—MEGARIAN BOWL FROM TOMB A I.

Tomb C I.

Gold bracteates, one small double, dove to r., border of dots.

[1] v. *B.M.Cat. Peloponnesus*, Pls. VII., VIII., IX. Bracteates of this type from Eretria are in the National Museum, Athens, Nos. 12170, 12426; in the same collection are a large number of bracteates imitating other coins, such as the later tetradrachms of Athens and the types of Lysimachus. A collection of bracteates in the British Museum contains many imitations of Corcyraean coins.

Tomb A II.

Relief-lekythos, Aphrodite on swan (Fig. 7, *b*).—Fragment of Megarian bowl inscribed ϹΩϹΙΜΟϹ.

Tripods: one complete (Fig. 7, *a*), and one leg with a figure of Niké, from another (Fig. 7, *g*). One Satyr's head lamp (Fig. 6, *d*).

The neck of a flask-like vase.

Two loom-weights, one pyramidal, one round.

Gold bracteates, one large double, dove to r. all in wreath; one medium double, dove to l. all in wreath; one similar, but with dot border; one large double, dove to r., double border of dots.

Beads: one lentoid amber bead, two small glass beads, and one paste bead.

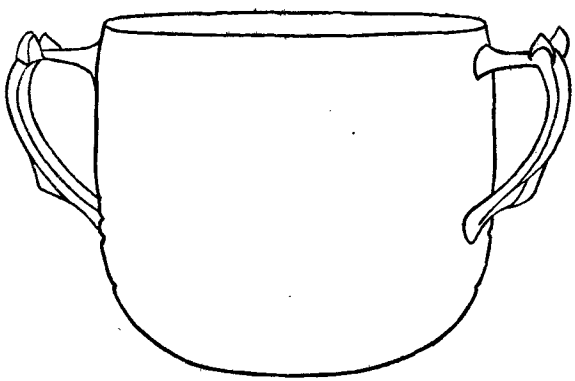


FIG. 10.—SKYPHOS FROM TOMB C III.

Tomb C II.

Lower part of seated male terracotta statuette. Fragment of a Megarian bowl inscribed ϹΩϹΙΜΟϹ.

Tomb C III.

Lamp: one of black ware with three spouts (cf. Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, Fig. 563); base of red-black plate with roughened ornament round centre (cf. *ibid.*, p. 396, 3*b*).

Loom-weights: one pyramidal and one shaped like a double cone; one whorl. Also fragments of large bowls of coarse black ware.

Gold bracteates: two medium double, dove to r., border of dots and wreath; four large single, do., do.; two medium single, dove to r., border of dots; one medium double, dove to l., border of dots and wreath; one small single, do., do.; one medium single, do., do.; one small double, dove to l., border of dots; two large single, dove to l., border of dots only; one medium single, blank.

Coins: Laconia, Æ. one, cf. *B.M.C. Laconia*, 62; *Obv.* Head of Sparta to l.; *Rev.* Dioscuri on horseback charging to r.; below them ΑΑ, and underneath ΕΠΙ ΕΥΡΥΚ

As regards the chronological order which we have given to the different interments, a glance at the first table shews that according to our arrangement the small open lamps gradually give place to the larger half-closed type. Similarly in the lekythoid amphorae the long narrow type, which is at first relatively scarce, is later very common, while the short large-bodied type becomes almost extinct. The results given by this arrangement of the interments tally with those obtained by noting the proportion of red to black ware, which with this arrangement also gradually increases. When we turn to the third table and consider the relations of the black glazed ware, the pink-surfaced unglazed vases and the fine red glazed ware, we see that in the interment that comes first on the evidence of the lamps and the lekythoid amphorae red glazed ware is entirely absent. In the third interment (Tomb A II.) it occurs, but compared with the good black glazed ware and the pink-surfaced ware it is rare. On the other hand in the fifth interment it is quite as common as the other two kinds.

Now the latest burial in Tomb C III. is dated by the coin of Eurycles, who ruled Laconia under Augustus: that is to say the *terminus ante quem* is the end of the first century B.C. There were, as we have seen, in the tombs five different interments, and in two interments there was more than one skeleton. So when we consider the development of the vases found, we may not unreasonably assume the period covered by the burials to be about 150 years. This dating back from the time of Eurycles gives us the first half of the second century B.C. as the date of the earliest interment. In general these vases resemble the unpainted ware from Priene which is dated by Zahn to the third and second centuries B.C.[1] We see from these tombs, if our dating is right, that this class of pottery was still used at Sparta till the end of the first century B.C., when we recognise in the fine red glazed ware the beginnings of *terra sigillata*.[2] It is perhaps a little surprising to find that at Sparta the small open type of lamp was still in use during the second century; at Priene[3] and Pergamum[4] only the half-closed type occurs during the Hellenistic age. We also remark that the black glazed ware with ornament rendered by incisions and white

[1] Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, p. 428.
[2] This at Priene began early in the first century B.C., *op. cit.* p. 447.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 458, Fig. 558.
[4] Conze, *Kleinfunde aus P.*, p. 13.

paint, of the kind attributed by Watzinger to the third century,[1] and Megarian bowls as well, continued in use in Sparta as late as the end of the second century B.C. at least; but from the evidence before us it does not seem possible to assign to the vases from these tombs a date earlier than that we have already indicated.

A. J. B. WACE.
GUY DICKINS.

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 1901, pp. 68–102.

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LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

§ 9.—A Sanctuary on the Megalopolis Road.

Pausanias[1] in his description of Laconia noted two sanctuaries within a short distance of Sparta on the road to Arcadia and Megalopolis. The modern bridle-track leading in the same direction past the villages of Kastaniá and Leondári crosses the Acropolis hill, and emerges into the plain of the Eurotas about a quarter of a mile from the iron bridge on the Sparta-Tripolis high road; it then passes between a shoulder of the hill Análipsis and the vineyards on the right bank of the river. We may assume that the ancient road followed the same course, at any rate for some miles from Sparta, since any other direction would entangle it in the network of low hills and torrent-beds stretching from the river to Taygetus itself.

In the vineyard[2] of Stratios Bomborés, about fifty yards to the east of the road, a large number of miniature vases and occasional terracotta figurines have been found yearly during the spring vine-trimming, and the surface was littered with fragments on my first inspection of the ground in 1906. Besides these obvious traces of ancient occupation there were stories of other and richer finds made on the site: thus I was told that valuable bronzes had been discovered here twenty-five years ago, and that slabs of marble were still occasionally unearthed in digging.

[1] Paus. iii. 20. 8. The statue of Athena Parea and the sanctuary of Achilles.

[2] **N 8** in the General Plan.

A certain spot was pointed out as the nucleus of the hoard of miniature vases,[1] and work was commenced here with four men on March 27th. Four days sufficed for the necessary operations. A pit was sunk on a low embankment between two vineyards, and from the surface downwards the ground consisted of a tightly packed mass of the miniature vases referred to above. As soon as we got below the actual surface of the vineyard, the colour of the soil changed from brown to black, and we struck a burnt

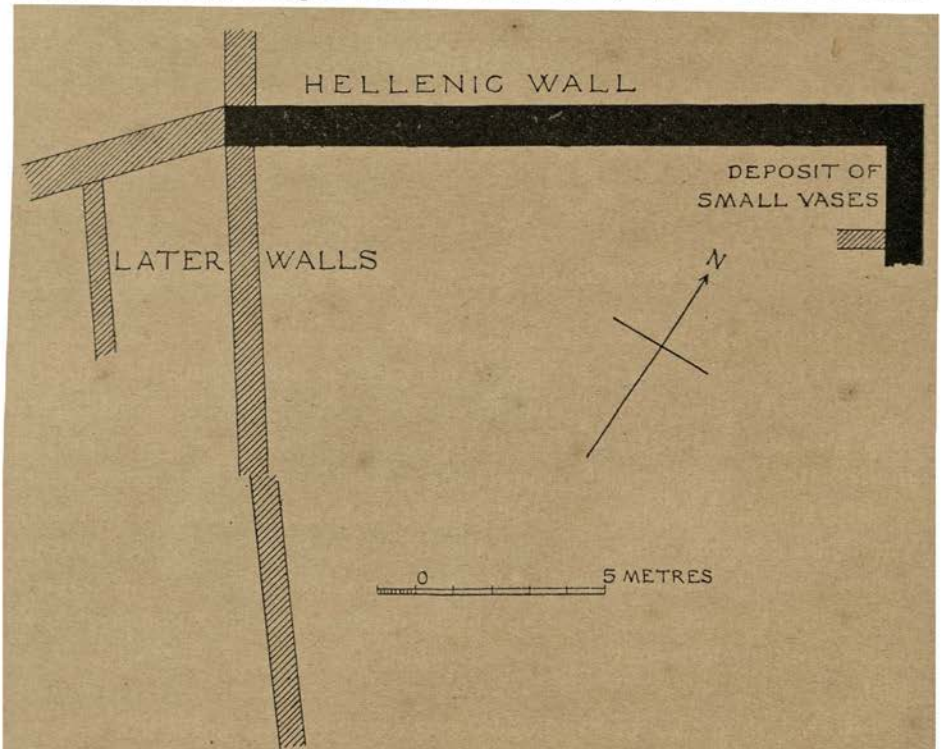


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF SANCTUARY. (SCALE 1 : 200.)

stratum ·50 m. thick containing an admixture of charred bones. The vases were more tightly packed as we descended. In this burnt stratum was a wall, ·20 m. below the surface of the field, composed of irregular blocks of stone piled together roughly without mortar; its height, which was greatest in the spot where we first struck it, was 1·50 m.

[1] Some of the main types of these vases are shewn in Fig. 2. They are discussed by Mr. Droop on p. 129.

Further excavation along the line of the wall revealed its plan as shewn in Fig. 1. It proceeds in a south-westerly direction from the nucleus of vases for 18·50 m., but then its direction changes, and it meets a cross-wall running north-west to south-east. The depth here amounts only to ·50 m., and the whole of the soil has been disturbed; there is no trace of the burnt stratum, and the walls are built more carelessly of smaller stones. Miniature vases are here only found on or near the surface, where they have been scattered during agricultural operations. Thus we may conclude that these walls, and the others marked by hatching in the plan, were built at a later time, and have no connection with the original wall, which is shewn black in Fig. 1. The antiquity of this wall is, I think, established by the clear stratification of the soil, which has remained undisturbed owing to the coincidence of the embankment with the line of the wall. It will be noticed that the wall bends in a south-easterly direction at its northern end, enclosing the nucleus of the vases, which extends over a space of not more than four square metres. Close to this wall, on its outer, *i.e.* northern and eastern, sides were found fragments of tiles, usually with a black or brown glaze on one side, which correspond with those found together with Orientalising pottery at the Orthia Sanctuary.[1] In the same stratum of that sanctuary were found also considerable quantities of miniature vases.[2]

Trenches were made in all directions on both sides of the wall, but there was only one find of any consequence, a fragment of a Doric column made of a very coarse stone, originally covered with fine marble stucco. It was found on the line of the short arm of the wall a few metres from its termination. On restoration the column would be ·32 m. in diameter, with 20 flutes ·052 m. in width, and a slight entasis of about ·005 m. in the ·47 m. of height preserved. The stucco exists in small patches on three of the four surviving flutes. Elsewhere we found the soil disturbed, and the occasional fragments of wall shewed no coherence and no signs of antiquity.

The results of our investigations, therefore, go to shew that the ancient wall and its return are the only surviving remains of an ancient precinct. In this precinct stood some erection of which we possess a fragment in the piece of a Doric column. The scale of this fragment

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 322.

[2] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 329.

points to an altar, or small shrine, such as would be suitable for a Heroön.[1] The charred earth and the bones exist as evidence for burnt sacrifice, and in the myriad vases, the terracottas, and the lead figurines we see the votive offerings of the shrine, numerically enormous, but of the cheapest and most ordinary description. Doubtless many a traveller from Sparta to Megalopolis halted to offer his gift at the wayside shrine, and the great number and small value of the offerings are an eloquent tribute alike to the piety and the poverty of the Spartan wayfarer.

As to the date of the sanctuary, the discovery of a few Hellenistic

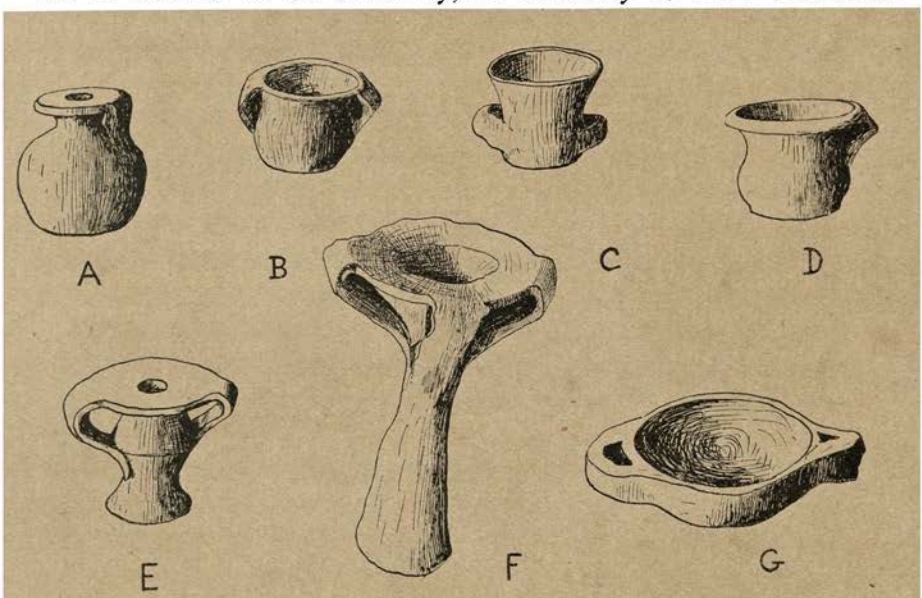


FIG. 2.—MINIATURE VASES FROM SANCTUARY. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

fragments of pottery suggests that it survived as late as the third or second century B.C., while the general character of the miniature vases, the tiles, the lead wreaths, and fragments of Orientalising pottery shew, I think, that the heyday of its reputation corresponded with the Orientalising stratum of the Orthia Sanctuary, viz. from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century B.C.

It is impossible to say with certainty, in the absence of an inscription,

[1] For examples of Heroä of this type cf. Wace and Hasluck in *B.S.A.* xi. p. 89; Roscher, ii. pp. 2493 *seqq.*

whether we should recognise in this sanctuary the sanctuary of Achilles seen by Pausanias, but its position and character offer no difficulties to the attribution of the name.

The following is an inventory of the objects found in the angle of the wall.

1. Miniature Vases :—whole, about 4000 ; damaged, about 8000.
2. Terracotta figurines : 8, of very poor quality.
3. Lead figurines : 44 crowns, 1 palm-branch, 3 warriors, 1 lady with high head-dress.
4. Miscellaneous objects : 1 small lead saucer, 3 large lead discs ;[1] 5 lumps of iron, 3 bars of iron,[2] 1 iron instrument ; 2 loom-weights ; 1 rubbing-stone ; 1 small bone disc ; 2 small terracotta discs.
5. A tray-full of bone fragments.
6. Three baskets-full of tiles.
7. Pottery fragments ranging in date from Orientalising to Hellenistic.
8. Part of a Doric column.

GUY DICKINS.

[1] Probably for securing iron or bronze cramps and dowels.
[2] Perhaps currency.

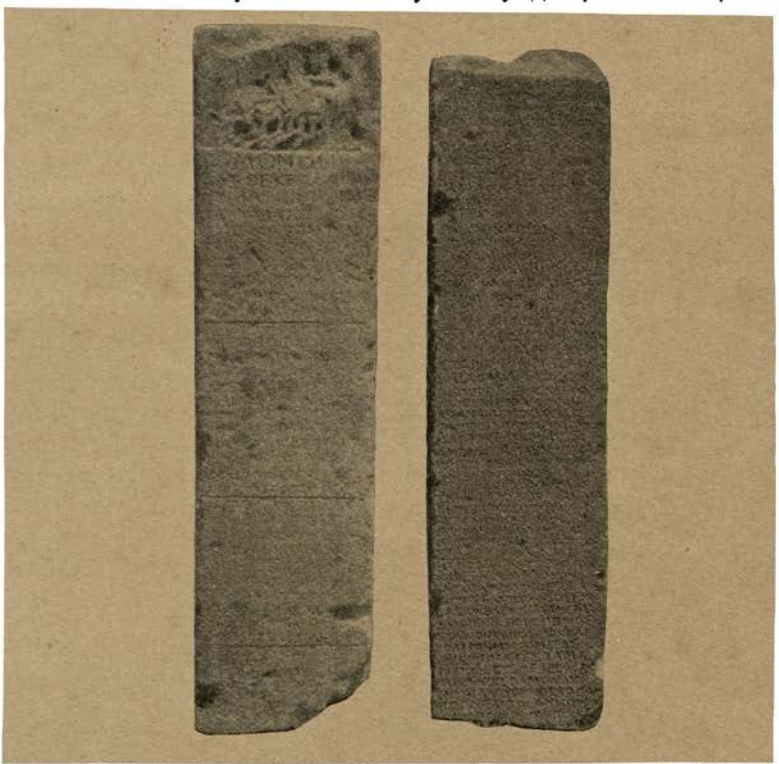
LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1907.

§ 10.—Inscriptions.[1]

New Portion of the Damonon Inscription.

The beginning of Damonon's votive slab, which was found by Leake in the Monastery of the Holy Forty (Ἅγιοι Τεσσαράκοντα or



[1] I wish to thank Mr. A. M. Woodward for a number of suggestions of which he has most generously allowed me to avail myself in the present article. Mr. Woodward had the advantage of visiting Sparta in the autumn of 1907, when he made several discoveries in connection with the inscriptions, which were then in the Museum. I have acknowledged his chief contributions as they occur.

Σαράντα) and is now in the Sparta Museum, is one of the best known and oftenest discussed of early Laconian inscriptions.

The following are the chief references. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, ii. 521 and Plate 71 (end of vol. iii.). A better copy, Dressel and Milchhöfer, *Ath. Mitt.* ii. 318. Facsimile in Roehl, *I.G.A.* 79 and *Imagines*[2] x. n. 16, p. 28; Fick, *Bezz. Beiträge*, iii. 121 ff.; Collitz-Bechtel, iii. 4416; Roberts, *Introd. to Gk. Epigr.* i. n. 264; Tod, *Sparta Mus. Cat.* n. 440. (Other references, none of them of much importance, are given by Tod and Roehl, *ll. c.*)

The end of this part of the inscription has suffered somewhat since the early copies were taken. We print Dressel-Milchhöfer's version beside what now appears on the stone.

Dressel-Milchhöfer.		*Present State.*	
⁻ADEENIᵛ ///ΒΕΕΝᵛMA'////////	35	TADEENIKAΒΕΕΝΥMA'ˇ	35
////⌐PA'////AiKoND..///////////		⌐PAT AIƆONDo/	
//////⁻BIAKAiKELEXMi////////		BIAKAIKELEXMI/	
/////////AΣBA'////EN//////// ↓//		AΣBA/ \ EN ^	
/////////E[P]////\///////////		N	
////////// ˇ'oNi////\////////	40		

The accepted restoration of the last few lines (due to Fick, *l.c.*) is as follows:

35 τάδε ἐνίκαhe Ἔννμα - - | [ha] πράτ[α γυν]αικῶν, Δ - - - | - - ήhια
καὶ κέληξ μι - - - | - - ας ha - - εν - - - ν - - - | - - 40 [ἐνh]η-
β[ῶ]ν[τι hίππωι]‖ - - -

Alternative Readings.

38 ? ha[μᾶ] ἐν[ίκη]. 40 ? [κὴν Ἀρ]ιοντ[ί]α[ς].

This was thought to refer to victories of a woman, Enymacrita (?), there being evidence that Spartan women did at times take part in chariot racing. But in the light of the new fragment this view must be given up. There is no possible doubt that the two stones belong together; the lettering is the same, the same marble is used, and the measurements agree. The portion already known is ·235 m. wide, ·16 m. thick. The details of the new stone are as follows.

Slab of whitish marble. ·90 × ·23 × ·17 m. Broken above and below. Letters ·011 m. Found in the foundations of a late Roman building on the Acropolis, in the ruins of the temple of Athena Chalkioikus.

(The numbering from the beginning of the whole inscription is added.)

ΔΟΛΙΥΟΙ		*δολιχὸ*[*ν καὶ* ho *κέληξ μιᾶς*]
ΑΜΕΡΑΣΒΑΜΑΕΝΙΚΟΝ		*ἀμέρας* ha*μᾶ ἐνίκων.*
ΚΑΙΠΑΡΠΑΡΟΝΙΑΕΝΙΚΕ		*καὶ* Παρπαρόνια *ἐνίκη*
ΕΝΥΜΑΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΣΠΑΙΔΑΣ		*Ἐνυμακρατίδας παῖδας* 45
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ	5	*στ.ίδιον καὶ δίαυλον*
ΚΑΙΔΟΛΙΥΟΝΚΑΙΒΟΚΕ		*καὶ δολιχὸν καὶ* ho *κέ*[*ληξ*]
ΜΙΑΣΑΜΕΡΑΣΒΑΜΑ		*μιᾶς ἀμέρας* ha*μᾶ*
ΕΝΙΚΕ ΚΑΙΔΑΜΟΝΟΝ		*ἐνίκη· καὶ Δαμώνων*
ΕΝΙΚΕΠΑΙΣΙΟΝΕΝ		*ἐνίκη παῖς ἰὼν ἐν* 50
ΓΑΙΑΛΟΥΟΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΚΑΙ	10	(Γ*α*)*ιαϝόχω στάδιον καὶ*
ΑΥΛΟΝ		*δί*](*α*)*υλον.*
ΔΙΔΑΜΟΝΟΝΕΝΙΚΕ		*κ*](*α*)*ὶ Δαμώνων ἐνίκη*
ΠΑΙΣΙΟΝΑΙΘΕΒΙΑ		(*π*)*αῖς ἰὼν Λιθήια*
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ		*στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον.* 55
ΚΑΙΔΑΜΟΝΟΝΕΝΙΚΕ	15	*καὶ Δαμώνων ἐνίκη*
ΠΑΙΣΙΟΝΜΑΛΕΑΤΕΙΑ		*παῖς ἰὼν* Μαλεάτεια
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ		*στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον.*
ΚΑΙΔΑΜΟΝΟΝΕΝΙΚΕ		*καὶ Δαμώνων ἐνίκη*
ΠΑΙΣΙΟΝΑΙΘΕΒΙΑ		*παῖς ἰὼν Λιθήια* 60
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ	20	*στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον.*
ΚΑΙΔΑΜΟΝΟΝΕΝΙΚΕ		*καὶ Δαμώνων ἐνίκη*
ΠΑΙΣΙΟΝΠΑΡΠΑΡΟΝΙΑ		*παῖς ἰὼν* Παρπαρόνια
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ		*στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον,*
ΚΑΙΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ		*καὶ Ἀθάναια στάδιον.* 65
ΒΥΠΟΔΕΕΥΕΜΕΝΕΕΦΟΡΟ	25	hυπὸ δὲ *Ἐχεμένη ἔφορο*[*ν*]
ΤΑΔΕΕΝΙΚΕΔΑΜΟΝΟΝ		*τάδε ἐνίκη Δαμώνων,*
ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΕΝΒΕΒΟΒΑΙΣ		*Ἀθάναια ἐν*hη*βώ*hαις
ΒΙΠΠΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΣΑΝΙΟΥΙΟΝ		hί*πποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων*
ΚΑΙΒΟΚΕΛΕΧΜΙΑΣ		*καὶ* ho *κέληξ μιᾶς* 70

ΑΜΕΡΑΣΒΑΜΑΕΝΙΚΕΚΑΙ		ἀμέρας hαμᾶ ἐνίκη, καὶ
ΒΟΒΥΙΟΣΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΒΑΜΑ		ho hυιὸς στάδιον hαμᾶ
ΕΝΙΚΕ ΒΥΠΟΔΕ		ἐνίκη. hυπὸ δὲ
ΕΥΙΠΠΟΝΕΦΟΡΟΝΤΑΔΕ		Εὔιππον ἔφορον τάδε
ΕΝΙΚΕΔΑΜΟΝΩΝΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ		ἐνίκη Δαμώνων, Ἀθάναια
ΕΝΒΕΒΟΒΑΙΣΒΙΠΠΟΙΣ		ἐνhηβώhαις hίπποις
ΑΥΤΟΣΑΝΙΟΨΙΟΝΚΑΙ		αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων καὶ
ΒΟΚΕΛΕΧΜΙΑΣΑΜΕΡΑΣ		ho κέληξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας
ΒΑΜΑΕΝΙΚΕΚΑΙΒΟΒΥΙΟΣ		hαμᾶ ἐνίκη, καὶ ho hυιὸς
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΒΑΜΑΕΝΙΚΕ		στάδιον hαμᾶ ἐνίκη.
ΒΥΠΟΔΕΑΡΙΣΤΕΕΦΟΡΟΝ		hυπὸ δὲ Ἀριστῆ ἔφορον
ΤΑΔΕΕΝΙΚΕΔΑΜΟΝΟΝ		τάδε ἐνίκη Δαμώνων,
ΕΝΓΑΙΑΛΟΨΟΕΝΒΕΒΟΒΑΙΣ		ἐν Γαιαϝόχω ἐνhηβώhαις
ΙΠΠΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΣΑΝΙΟΨΙΟΝ		h]ίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων
ΑΙΒΟΚΕΛΕΧΜΙΑΣΑΜΕΡΑΣ		κ]αὶ ho κέληξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας
ΑΜΑΕΝΙΚΕΚΑΙΒΟΒΥΙΟΣ		h]αμᾶ ἐνίκη, καὶ ho hυιὸς
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΥΛΟΝΚΑΙ		στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ
ΔΟΛΙΨΟΝΜΙΑΣΑΜΕΡΑΣ		δολιχὸν μιᾶς ἀμέρας
ΕΝΙΚΟΝΠΑΝΤΕΣΒΑΜΑ		ἐνίκων πάντες hαμᾶ.
ΒΥΠΟΔΕΕΨΕΜΕΝΕΕΦΟΡΟΝ		hυπὸ δὲ Ἐχεμένη ἔφορον
ΤΑΔΕΕΝΙΚΕΔΑΜΟΝΟΝ		τάδε ἐνίκη Δαμώνων,
ΕΝΓΑΙΑΛΟΨΟΕΝΒΕΒΟΒΑΙΣ		ἐν Γαιαϝόχω ἐνhηβώhαις
ΞΙΠΠΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΣΑΝΙΟΨΙΟΝ		(h)ίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων,
ΛΠΟΒΥΙΟΣΣΤΑΔΙΟΝΚΛ		κ](αὶ h)o (h)υιὸς στάδιον κ(α)[ὶ - -

Although the new portion does not make an exact fit with the bottom of the old stone, yet from the shape of the ends it can hardly be doubted that they must have gone quite close together. Lines 35–38 may be restored as follows :—

τάδε ἐνίκαhε Ἐννμα(κ)[ρατίδ-
ας] (π)ρᾶτ[ος π]αι(δ)ῶν· δο(λ)[ιχὸν
Λιθή]hια καὶ κέληξ μι(ᾶ)[ς
ἀμέρ]ας hα(μ)[ᾶ] ἐν[ίκω](ν).

The following restoration of the broken part between the old and the new stones is due to Mr. Woodward.

It must first be remarked that the shape of the broken ends of the stones requires us to supply at least one line between l. 40, the last line on the old stone, and the first line on the new stone, which will therefore be l. 42.

[For lines 39 and 40 we have little to help us to a restoration: the letters still visible on the stone are only N under ΒΑ of hαμâ, and traces of a curved letter, either Β D ⊗ or Ρ before it, separated by one letter now undecipherable. This led to Fick's conjecture ἐνhηβῶντι hίππωι: to retain these letters in this order, I would suggest [καὶ ἐφη](β)[ῶ]ν, the present participle of ἐφηβâν, 'to be an ἔφηβος': it is not possible that ἐνhηβῶντι hίππωι could stand here, as the passage alludes to victories in foot races, and further, when a victory won by the κέλης is mentioned, there is no allusion to the age of the horse in any other case. Ἐφηβῶν also gains point from the use of παῖδας and παῖς ἰών below. Then, to retain the conjecture of Dressel-Milchhöfer for line 40, Ἀριοντίας, the space between ἐφηβῶν and ἐν Ἀριοντίας will exactly be filled by the name Ἐννμακρατίδας; to complete line 40 I suggest ἐνίκη, and for the missing line στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καί, which gives uninterrupted sense, and supplies a line of required length for the gap which exists between the two stones. The repetition ἐνίκη . . . ἐνίκων is no obstacle to this restoration: the grammatical standard throughout the inscription is not high, and we have a similar repetition of ἐνίκη, ἐνίκων below in lines 45 and 48 (86–89). This restoration does not claim to be certain, but it employs the letters seen at any time in lines 39 and 40, and supplies a line to fill the gap between the two stones.

The restored text will now read:—

τάδε ἐνίκαhe Ἐννμα(κ)[ρατίδ- 35
ας] (π)ρâτ[ος π]αι(δ)ῶν· δο(λ)[ιχὸν
Λιθή]hια καὶ κέλης μι(â)[ς
ἀμέρ]ας hα(μ)[â] ἐν[ίκω](ν).
καὶ ἐφη](β)[ῶ]ν [Ἐννμακρατί-
δας ἐν.Ἀ](ρι)ον(τ)[ί](α)[ς ἐνίκη 40
[στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ]
δολιχὸ(ν) [καὶ ho κέλης μιâς
κ.τ.λ. A.M.W.]

From the occurrence of Enymacratidas, evidently Damonon's son, later in the inscription, there can be little doubt about supplying the name here. Thus the theory of the woman falls to the ground. It is of course possible that more lines have been lost, but the restoration above gives a satisfactory sense.

Πρᾶτος παιδῶν probaby means that Enymacratidas was the first boy to win such a series of victories. This view seems likelier than to take the phrase as a variant of the title *πρατοπάμπαις* in the Orthia inscriptions.

It will now be convenient to give a summary of the whole inscription :—

1–5. Metrical dedication.
6–34. Damonon's victories in chariot-races.
35–49. Victories of Enymacratidas, son of Damonon.
49–65. Victories of Damonon as a boy.
66–end. Victories of Damonon and Enymacratidas at the same contests.

As to the games where these victories were gained a good deal can be said, though many points remain uncertain :—

1. *Ἐν Γαιαϝόχῳ.* (*a*) Damonon won four times in the chariot-race, l. 9. It is probable that lines 83, 92 do not refer to fresh victories, but only add extra details. (*b*) Damonon, as a boy, won the Stadium-race and Double-course, l. 50. (*c*) His son won Stadium, Diaulos, and the Long Race, l. 86, (*d*) also the Stadium (and other events?), l. 94. (*e*) A horse-race, l. 85. It is not stated that either of them rode the winning horse. He may have been owned by the family and ridden by a hired jockey.

The contest was held in honour of Poseidon, as we gather from Pausanias.[1]

2. *Ἀθάναια.* (*a*) Damonon won four chariot-races, l. 10 (two of these with young mares, ll. 68, 75, *ἐνηηβώαις ἵπποις*). (*b*) Damonon as a boy won the Stadium-race, l. 65. (*c*) His son won the Stadium race twice, ll. 72, 80. (*d*) A horse-race twice, ll. 70, 78.

[1] Paus. iii. 20. 2. For the meaning of *Γαιάοχος* cf. Roberts, *op. cit.* n. 264. *Γαιαόχῳ* is of course genitive.

The reference can hardly be to the Panathenaic games. These were thronged by the best athletes from all Greece and one family could scarcely have gained so many victories in face of such severe competition; moreover the rest of the games here mentioned seem to be Laconian (with two exceptions) and it would be far-fetched without the mention of Athens to suppose a reference to the Panathenaic games in this one case;[1] and we should expect *Παναθάναια*.

3. *Ἐλευθύνια*. Damonon won four times with his chariot, l. 11, and again four times, l. 31. Here eight victories seem to be meant. In the first four Damonon drove his own team (of full grown horses),[2] in the others he drove *ἐνηηβῶhαι hίππoι*.

This contest was in honour of Eleusinian Demeter, whose sanctuary, according to Pausanias, was near Taygetus.[3]

4. *Πoηoίδαια Hέλει*. Damonon won seven chariot-races, and seven horse-races, l. 12. [Since *hαμᾶ* seems to mean that every time the chariot won the horse also won.—A.M.W.]

5. *Πoηoίδαια Θευρίαι*. Damonon won eight chariot-races, l. 18.

On these games, in honour of Poseidon, cf. Roberts *l.c.* The places are Helos near the Eurotas mouth and Thuria in Messenia.

6. *Ἐν Ἀριοντίας*. Damonon won eight chariot-races and eight horse-races, l. 24. Enymacratidas won the Stadium, Diaulos, Long Race, and horse-race, ll. 39 ff. It is uncertain where this contest was held.[4]

7. *Παρπαρόνια*. (*a*) Damonon as a boy won the Stadium and Diaulos, l. 62. (*b*) Enymacratidas won the boys' Stadium, the Diaulos, and the Long Race. The horse-race was won at this same meeting, ll. 44–48.

The Parparonia may have been held in Argolis, as the following passages suggest: Hesychius. *Πάρπαρος· ἐν ᾧ ἀγὼν ἤγετο καὶ χοροὶ ἵστανto*, and Pliny (iv. 5 (9). 17) *Montes* (sc. *Argolidis*) *Artemius, Apesantus, Asterion, Parparus.* In whose honour they were held is uncertain.

[1] The finding of a Panathenaic vase on the site (cf. p. 150) can hardly affect the conclusion here drawn.

[2] This is no doubt the meaning of *τῶι αὐτῶ* (=*ἑαυτοῦ*) *τεθρίππωι*; cf. Roberts, *l.c.*

[3] Paus. iii. 20. 5. [4] Cf. Roberts, *ibid.*

8. *Λιθήια.* Damonon, as a boy, won the Stadium twice, and the Diaulus twice, ll. 53, 59. Enymacratidas won the Long Race and horse-race, ll. 35 ff.

The Lithesia were no doubt held in honour of Apollo Lithesius, who seems to have been worshipped on Cape Malea.[1]

9. *Μαλεάτεια.* Damonon as a boy won the Stadium and Diaulos, l. 56.

Although it would be most natural to refer this contest to Cape Malea there seem to be good grounds for understanding it otherwise. Two inscriptions, one from Prasiae,[2] the other from Selinus[3] in Laconia, mention a deity Maleates. These places, supposed to be represented by the modern villages of Leonidi and Cosma, are nowhere near Malea. It is therefore most likely that these games were held in E. Laconia, in honour of Maleates. Whether he was in any way connected with Malea is uncertain. Maleates was an ancient deity of the lower world, worshipped at Epidaurus, in Attica, and elsewhere; afterwards he seems to have been expelled by the cult of Apollo, or identified with him.[4]

The dialect of the inscription shows the usual features of fifth century Doric: the use of h for intervocalic σ is seen, *e.g.* in ἐνηηβώhαις = ἐνηβώσαις, from ἐνηβάω.[5] The form ἰών from εἰμί seems to be new to Laconia.[6]

The Date of the Inscription.

On epigraphical grounds we find that our stone is later than the Bronze Serpent inscription,[7] which has ΑR, and probably later than the Laconian dedication at Olympia,[8] which has ϟ and may belong to 464 B.C. On the other hand the lettering is more ancient than the inscription from Tegea *I.G.A.* 69, which has (if Fourmont's copy can be

[1] Steph. Byz. Λιθήσιος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐν τῷ Μαλέᾳ (λίθῳ) προσιδρυμένος ἐκεῖ. From this S. Wide (*Lak. Kulte*, 71) gathers that A. Lithesius had a shrine on Malea, but other views are held: cf. Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* 'Lithesios.' The matter is really uncertain.

[2] Wide, *op. cit.* 71; *B.C.H.* i. 357. [3] Wide, 70; *B.C.H. ibid.*

[4] Cf. Wide, *op. cit.* 91.; Roscher, *s.v.* 'Maleatas.' [Pausanias mentions a shrine or altar of Apollo Maleates at Sparta (iii. 12. 8). He is also known at Troezen (*I.G.* iv. 950, l. 31).—A.M.W.]

[5] On these words cf. Roberts' note, *op. cit.* p. 265. Pausanias (vi. 2. 2) says that 'foals' were not entered at Olympia until 384. But the text is rather uncertain (cf. Frazer's note *ad loc.*), and of course they might have run in races elsewhere in Greece long before that date.

[6] Ahrens, *Dial. Dor.* 323, has only ὤν and ἐών in pres. part. [Other forms of this participle ἰών from εἰμί are given by van Herwerden (*Lexicon*, *s.v.* εἰμί). He quotes ἰόντας, etc., from Orchomenos, but nothing parallel from Laconia.—A.M.W.]

[7] *I.G.A.* 70. [8] *I.G.A.* 75. Made during Helot Revolt of 464 ff.

trusted) ΠΝΔ, and which is older than 416 B.C. The closest likeness to our inscription is seen in the grave of a warrior slain at Mantinea (*I.G.A. add.* 77 b: date thus c. 418), and in the manumission stone, *B.M.I.* cxxxix.[1] The latter probably dates before 431, as will be seen below.

On the historical side the evidence is very scanty. Three Ephors occur in the inscription, and as none of them are found in Xenophon's list for the years 431–404,[2] it is clear at the outset that the stone must date before or after the Peloponnesian war. Nothing seems to be known of Echemenes and Euippus; an Aristeus is mentioned in Thucydides[3] as a Spartan noble sent to Brasidas in 423, and an Aristeus occurs in the manumission document *I.G.A.* 83 as Ephor, but to identify our Aristeus with both these men would be rash. It is by no means certain that the Ephor in the manumission deed is a Spartan magistrate and not a temple official.[4] Again, the lettering of the manumission *B.M.I.* cxxxix is certainly earlier than that of *I.G.A.* 83, and as neither of the Ephors appears in Xenophon's list it would be most natural to put the former *before* 431, and the ephorate of Aristeus after 404. Thus, as our inscription has much the same lettering as *B.M.I.* cxxxix, we can hardly identify our Aristeus with an Ephor who held office after 404; on the other hand our Ephor may quite well have been the envoy to Brasidas. If the present stone related to victories won not long before 431, there is no reason why it should not have substantially the same alphabet as we find in 418.

The fact that Damonon and his son won long as well as short foot-races, points to a fairly early date before very special training had come in. This was introduced by the runner Dromeus, whose date is probably the middle of the fifth century. Consequently our inscription would belong rather to the middle than to the end of that century.

FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA.

The first year's trials showed that a great many inscriptions had been built into the north-east part of the foundations of the platform of the Roman theatre. This part of the masonry was not touched in the second season, so that the stones now to be described were all found loose in the

[1] Cf. Roberts, *op. cit.* No. 265 *a*. The other manumission documents, *ibid. b*, *c*, *d*, are later.
[2] Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 10. [3] Thuc. iv. 132. [4] Cf. Roberts, *ibid.*

earth, and their small number, compared with the first year's harvest, does not lessen the likelihood, or certainty, of unearthing far greater riches when the most hopeful point of the ruins is reached.

As before, nearly all the inscriptions relate to the Boys' Contest, and seem on the whole to bear out the views taken about it. It is now clear from 57[1] (2501), that a boy could win the *Moa*, *Keloea*, and *Kattheratorin* in the same year. The mention of *δρεπάνη* in 63 (2507) strengthens the theory that the prize was a sickle. The musical nature of the match is shown by the use of *ὑμνοτό(κ)[ον ?]* and *εὔφθο(γ)[γον ?]* in 50 (2492). Πρατοπάνπαις in 56 (2562) is a variant from *πρατόπαις* and *πρατοπαμπαίδων*, but does not help to show their exact meaning. From 63 (2507), l. 5, it may be gathered that the winner was crowned with bay, besides getting a sickle. A new formula for the Deputy-patronomus is seen in 53 (2500). One or two Eponymi are found who were not known before.

49. (2489). Front of top of slab with carved pediment: bluish marble, ·17 × ·11 × ·04. Letters ·02 h.

ΑΓΑΕ
ΤΥΧ

Ἀγα(θ)[ῆι] | τύχ[ῃ].

50. (2492). Slab ·12 × ·09 × ·08. Letters ·01 h.

ΕΥΦΘΟ
ΥΜΝΟΤΟΚ
ΑΜΒΡΟΤΟΙ
ΓΑΡΥΝΟΙ
ΓΛΥΠΤ◠Ν
ΓΥ

This is clearly a metrical dedication relating to some musical contest (cf. *B.S.A.* xii. p. 361, n. 5), but a restoration is hardly to be attempted: we can trace l. 1 *εὔφθο(γ)[γον ? - -]*, l. 2 *ὑμνοτό(κ)[ον ? - -]*, a poetical epithet of a musician,[2] l. 3 *ἄμβροτο(ν) - -*, l. 4 doubtful, l. 5 *γλυπτ(ό)ν*.

[1] The numbering in each group of inscriptions is carried on from the last year's article. All measurements are given in metres.

[2] [A late word used by Nonnus, D. 26. 204.—A.M.W.]

51. (2493). In front of Temple: in whitish marble, ·25 × ·26 × ·03. Letters ·03 h. Lower end of socket for sickle.

IC	
.NAPT	- - - ἀνέθηκε]ν Ἀρτ[έμιδι
ƏEIA	Ὀρ](θ)είᾳ.

52. (2497). In the earth: front of top of gable-topped slab: greyish marble, ·16 × ·15 × ·04. Letters ·015.

AΓAΘH TYX'	Ἀγαθῇ τύχ[ῃ].

53. (2500). S.W. of Temple: blue marble, ·26 × ·09 × ·08. Letters ·02 h. Trace of socket.

TPONOMΩCEΩΛYKOYPΓΩ	ἐπὶ πα]τρονόμω Σέω Λυκούργω
EΠIMEΛOYMENΩTAPΠATPON	ἐπιμελουμένω τᾶρ πατρον-
⊓ ME M̄ ΠPATΩΛ	[ομίαρ] (Π.) Μεμ. Πρ(ατολ)[άω] - - -

Lycurgus is no doubt the Eponymus of *C.I.G.* 1244 and *S.M.C.* 215: he would belong to the Antonine age. Pratolaus may be the same as the P. M. Pratolaus, Deximachi f., in *C.I.G.* 1261, where he is Eponymus. For the Deputy-patronomus cf. *B.S.A.* xii. 371.

[In line 1 we probably have in Σέω a genitive of the Grecized Seius. —A. M. W.]

54. (2499). Probably built into Roman masonry: grey marble, ·08 × ·07 × ·03. Letters ·01 h. Very bad late lettering.

HN	- - - ? τὸ παιδικὸ]ν μῶ[αν
NMΩ	Ἀρτ]έμιτι [Ὀρθείᾳ
EMITI	[ἀνέθηκεν].

55. (2521). In arena: greyish marble, ·13 × ·13 × ·025. Letters ·02 h.

	- - - - [βοαγὸς
KKIXIΔΔC	μι]κκιχιδδ(ο)[μέ-
ƆNEΠIΓ	ν](ω)ν ἐπὶ (π)[ατρο-
⌒MΩMA`	ν](ό)μω Μ. Α(ὐ)[ρ(ηλίω)
'KPATH	Πασ](ι)κράτη[ρ ? - -

[Antonine Age.—A. M. W.]

56. (2562). Roman pavement before Temple: gable-topped slab of limestone, ·40×·28 m. Back left rough. Letters ·0175–·02 high, with florid apices. Socket for sickle.

ΗΡΑΚΑΙΔΑΣΠΑ	Ἡρακ(λ)ίδας Πα-
ΚΩΝΙΟΥΔΑΜΟ	κωνίου Δαμο-
ΚΡΑΤΙΚΑΣΕΝΠΡΑ	κράτι κάσεν πρα-
ΤΟΠΑΝΠΑΙΣΕΠΙ	τοπάνπαις ἐπὶ
ΜΝΑΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΝΙ	Μνασιστράτου νι-
ΚΑ ΣΑΣΤΟ	κάσας τὸ
ΛΙΔΙ	π̣](α)ιδι-
ΚΟΝ	(χ)ὸν - - -

The Eponymus seems to be new.

[For *κάσεν* and *πρατοπάνπαις* cf. *B.S.A.* xii. 388, 390. The form *πρατοπάνπαις* with *ν* instead of *μ* is unknown elsewhere.—A.M.W.]

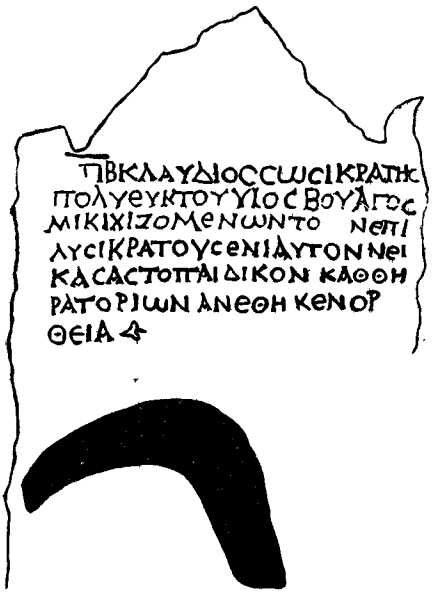
57. (2501). In earth near Temple: bluish marble, ·375×·37×·05. Broken through; socket for sickle and trace of carving.

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχ]ῃ·
[Ν](ει)κηφόρορ
(Στ)εφάνω, συνέ-
φηβορ Πομ.
[Ἀρ](ι)στοτέληρ τῶ Μηνοφά-
[νη]ρ, ἐπὶ πατρονόμω Κλ.
[Ἀβ](α)σκάντω νεικάαρ κασση-
ρατόριν, μῶαν, κελοῖαν, Ἀρ-
τέμιτι Βωρθέᾳ ἀνέσηκεν.

The name of Ἀβάσκαντος is known at Sparta *C.I.G.* 1306 (where it is spelt with a double *σ*). This belongs to the end of Trajan's reign, and if the present Abascantus is the same, our stone would be Hadrianic.

[The elaborate archaisms, resembling *e.g. S.M.C.* 219, 220, suggest a date nearer the end than the beginning of the second century. Abascantus might thus be grandson of the man in *C.I.G.* 1306.—A. M. W.]

58. (2510). Near Temple: gable-topped slab of whitish marble, ·51 × ·27 × ·05. Letters ·013 h. Socket for sickle.



Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Σωσικράτης Πολυεύκτου υἱός, *βουαγός μικιχιζομένων τὸν ἐπὶ Λυσικράτους ἐνιαυτὸν νεικάσας τὸ παιδικὸν καθθηρατόριων ἀνέθηκεν Ὀρθείᾳ.*

The rare form Θ for Ε occurs also in *S.M.C.* 380.

The Eponymus is no doubt the bearer of that office in *S.M.C.* 718.

[C. Julius Lysicrates: see *B.S.A.* xii. p. 359. *Καθθηρατόριων*: the *-ιων* ending is without parallel; the *ω* is probably a mistake for *ο*.—A. M. W.]

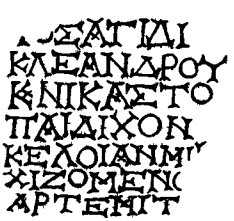
59. (2517). In earth inside Pier VII.: whitish marble, ·26 × ·12 × ·045. Letters ·02 h.

ΜΝΑΣ	*Μνασ[ικράτηρ* ?
ΚΑΛΛΙΚ	*Καλλικ(ρ)[άτεορ* ?
ΒΟΥΑΓΟ	*βουαγ(ὸ)[ρ μι-*
ΚΙΧΙΖΟ	*κιχιζο[μένων ἐπὶ*
ΙΟΥΛΙΩ	*Ἰουλίω - - -*
ΝΕΙΚΑΑ	*νεικάα[ρ - -*
ΑΡΤΕΙ	*Ἀρτέ(μ)[ιτι Βορθέᾳ.*

As there is no trace of the socket remaining and no indication of the length of most of the lines an exact restoration is impossible. Probably lines 1–3 adjoining the blade of the sickle were shorter than 4–7. The

winner may be Μνάσων, or Μνασίστρατος, or Μνασικράτης, all three names being known at Sparta (*S.M.C.* 207, etc).

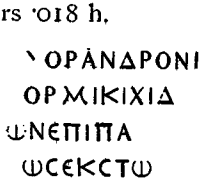
60. (2519). In Arena: red marble, ·19×·18×·05. Letters ·015 h. Tenon at bottom and trace of socket.



? . . Ἄλ](κασ)-
(το)ς Ἄγιδι
Κλεάνδρου
κά(σεν), νικά(α)ς τὸ
5 παιδιχὸν
κελοῖαν μ(ικ)[ι-
χιζόμεν(ο)[ς
Ἀρτέμιτ[ι Ὀρθείᾳ.

The name in ll. 1, 2 is a safe restoration. In l. 4 *-α-* or perhaps *-ασ-* must have been left out by mistake. Lines 2–5 are whole: the following lines were longer, and from the shape of the stone there would, I think, have been just room for the word Ὀρθείᾳ at the end. The date may have stood at the beginning. ⋉ for *κάσεν*, though common in other classes of inscriptions, has not occurred before in the present series.

61. (2566). Arena in front of Temple, in the layer of sand. Its position so low down is quite exceptional and must be due to some local disturbance of the stratification. Black-veined white marble, broken all round. Letters ·018 h.



-ορ Ἀνδρονί[κου
βοαγ]ὸρ μικιχιδ[δο-
μέν]ων ἐπὶ πα[τρο-
νόμ]ω Σέκστω [Πομπηί-
5 ω Ὀ](ν)ασικράτηρ [νικά-
αρ [κ](α)σσηρατ(ό)[ριν
Ἀρτέ](μιτι Β)[ορθείᾳ.

For the unusual form of the genitive Ὀνασικράτηρ cf. Nos. 55 and 57 and *B.S.A.* xii. p. 365, No. 12.

[In line 1 Ἀνδρονίκου may be safely restored, but we have no clue for restoring the name of his son. The Patronomus in lines 4 and 5 is very likely S. Pompeius Onasicrates, who, though unknown as a holder of that office, is known from Le Bas-Foucart 168 b as ἀγορανόμος, and from *C.I.G.*

1357 as High-priest of the 'Sebasti': in *S.M.C.* 243 he is honoured with a statue. These inscriptions agree with the archaisms of the present inscription in fixing his date, in all probability, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.—A. M. W.]

62. (2561). Face downwards on Roman pavement before Temple, E.: gable-topped slab, complete with tenon below. Size ·36×·25×·04. Letters ·025 h.

ΦΙΛΟCΤΡΑΤΟCΠ	*Φιλόστρατος Π-*
ΑCΙΚΛΕΟCΝΙΚΑCΑC	*ασικλέος νικάσας*
ΤΟΠΑΙΔΙΧΟΝΜΩΑΝ	*τὸ παιδιχὸν μῶαν*
ΟΡΘΕΙΑ	*Ὀρθείᾳ.*

This stone to judge from its appearance might belong to the first century B.C., but the victor cannot be identified with certainty.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM VARIOUS SITES.

40.[1] (2537). Round building: bluish marble, ·27×·31×·09. Letters ·025 h. Complete above and on r.

ΛΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΓΕΡΟΝ	*- - Κα](λ)λικράτους γέρον-*
ΙΣ·ΚΑΙΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ	*τος] - - ις καὶ πρέσβυς*
ΤΟΝΕΠΙΑΓΙΔΟΣ	*- - - τὸν ἐπὶ Ἄγιδος*
ΞΑΣΔΕΚΑΙΤΑΣ	*ἐνιαυτὸν] - - ξας δὲ καὶ τὰς*
ΠΑΣΑΣ	*- - - πάσας.*

Agis is Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1249, ii. 13, 1266. For the phrase with *ἐνιαυτόν* cf. 58. (2510), p. 186. It would seem that a good many letters are lost in every line. The inscription apparently gives the career of a magistrate, *πάσας* agreeing with a word like *ἀρχάς*. Perhaps *πρέσβυς* [*συναρχίας*] is to be restored in line 2.

41. (2511). Fragment of base of bluish marble, ·56×·33×·51. Letters ·05 h. Built into the wall of the ruined Church of S. George, above the Castania road near Sparta.

[1] The numbering is carried on from *B.S.A.* xii. 476.

Κ/	κ(λ) - -
ΒΟΑ	βοα(γ)[ὸς - -
ΤΑΣΚ/	τὰς κ - - -
ΤΑΤΟΣΕΙ	τατος ἐ(π)[ὶ - - ?
5 ·ΤΑΣΕΓ	5 . . . τας ἐ(π)[ὶ - -
ϽΙΑΣ	εὐν](ο)ίας - -
ΕΝ	ἕ(ν)[εκα].

No doubt the base of an honorary statue; a superlative may have stood in l. 4. At the end the common formula may be filled in.

42. (2559). Part of a sepulchral slab, found by the house of Psychoguios, near the Magoula road.

ο	
ΦΙΛΟ	Φιλο[νίκ-
ΑΧΑ	α χα[ῖρε
ΕΤΗ	ἔτη [βιώ-
	σα](σ)[α - - -

43. Sparta Museum (No. 847), from house of Ἰωάννης Φικιώρης, Ὁδὸς Εὐαγγελισμοῦ. Base of bluish marble, ·32 × ·42 × ·19. Letters ·04 h. Stone unbroken above and on left side.

ΗΠΟΛΙΣ	Ἡ πόλις
ΗΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜϹ	ἡ Λακεδαιμ(ο)-
ΝΙΩΝΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ	νίων Κλαύδιον
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟ	Ἀριστόβουλο[ν]
5 ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΝ	γυμνασίαρχον 5
ΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣ	φιλοτείμως
ΓΥΜΝΑΣ'ΑΡΧΗ	γυμνασ(ι)αρχή-
	[σαντα] - -

This is no doubt the Tib. Cl. Aristobulus, Eponymus in *S.M.C.* 627 and 204, who lived in Hadrian's time.

The office of Gymnasiarch was of the nature of a public burden [1]; but the title of perpetual gymnasiarch was purely honorary.[2]

[1] Cf. Boeckh, *C.I.G.* i. p. 611.

[2] *S.M.C.* Introd. § 18.

44. Sparta Museum (No. 863). Found at *Φρέγγα* (Epidaurus Limera). Grave-slab of bluish marble, ·19 × ·20 × ·06. On the front, a man wearing a toga; on the back, a gorgon's head. Very poor work. Inscription above. Letters ·015 h.

ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΧΑΙ
ΡΕ

Ἀγαθοκλῆ, χαῖρε.

45. Sparta Museum (No. 848). Finding-place unknown. Greyish marble, ·33 × ·28 × ·15. Letters ·05 h.

ΛΑῩΡΖΙ — Μ(ᾶρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ζ(η) - -
ΛΘΗΝΑ — (Ἀ)θην(α) - -

It is uncertain whether this was a dedication, or part of a list of names.

46. Sparta Museum (No. 858). Round plate of greyish marble: diam. ·28, thickness ·03: on the back, a Byzantine carving, representing an eagle holding a hare; the plate was cut regardless of the inscription on the other side. Letters ·025 h.

ΛΥ — - - - (*κβ'*) - - -
ΛΑCΕΝCΑΜ — - - - (*σα*)ς *ἐν Σαμ*[*οσάτοις*
ΡΑΤΕΥΟΜΕΝ — *στ*]*ρατευόμε*(*ν*)[*ος*
ΤΙΤΟΥCΠΕΡCΑ — *ἐ*](*π*)*ὶ τοὺς Πέρσα*[*ς ἀπὸ*
ΓΚΑΤΑΡΧΗC — *τῆ*](*ς*) *καταρχῆς*.[1]

As the stone is cut away all round, we cannot tell the length of the lines, so that an exact restoration is hardly possible.

This stone clearly records the death of a Spartan soldier in one of the wars against the Parthians. As the lettering seems to be late, it is most natural to think of Caracalla's expedition about 214 A.D., in which the Spartans had the honour of serving as free 'allies.' Several other inscriptions relating to this war have been collected by Wolters[2] (*Ath. Mitt.* xxviii, 291). They are:—

Le Bas-Foucart, 183 b. *Ἀντίπατρο*[*ς - - - μυστα*]*γωγὸς ἀπὸ Θε*[*ραπνῶν - - -*] *στρατευσάμ*[*ενος κατὰ Περσῶν*].

[1] Mr. A. J. B. Wace has kindly helped in the restoration of this inscription: to him I owe ll. 4, 5.

[2] Boeckh and others thought of M. Aurelius' Parthian war; but Wolters has clearly proved their reference to Caracalla's. Cf. *S.M.C.* 245.

C.I.G. 1253. Νεικοκλῆς νέος, δημόσιος, ἐστρατε(υ)μένος δὶς κατὰ Περσ[ῶ]ν.

C.I.G. 1495. Διοσκόρα χαῖρε, ἔτη βιώσας εἴκοσι καὶ ἕξ, ἀπελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν εὐτυχεστάτην συνμαχίαν τὴν κατὰ Πε[ρ]σῶν καὶ ἐπανε[ρ]χόμενος ἐν Ἱεραπόλι ἐτελεύτησεν.

P. Wolters, *l. c.* (from Sparta). Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἄλεξυς Θέωνος στρατευσάμενος κατὰ Περσῶν ἔτη βιώσας λ'.

It appears that Caracalla raised two volunteer regiments at Sparta for his eastern campaign, and called them λόχος Λακωνικός and λόχος Πιτανάτης. The matter has been discussed by Wolters and by Prof. Bosanquet,[1] and it seems in every way likely that we have before us another monument of the same war.

47. Monastery of Ἅγιοι Τεσσαράκοντα, near Sparta. Fragment built into refectory wall. Letters ·02 h.

ΕΙ·ΜΛΜΑΙ·		- - - - -
ΤΩΙΕΠΕΜΟΥ		τῶι ἐπ' ἐμοῦ
ΓΡΓΑΦΟΙ Ρ		γραφοι - - -
ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜ		Λακεδαιμ[ονίων ἐφόροις καὶ
ΤΑΙΠΟ	5	τᾶι πό[λει - -

This inscription, which seems to belong to the Hellenistic age, may be the letter of some prince to the city of Sparta. After ΓΡ (l. 3) there seems to be a later clamp-mark.

In the same monastery Leake copied an inscription[2] which is built into the wall of the small chapel. Perhaps the above was plastered over at the time of his visit, and hence not noted.

THE STAMPED BRICKS.

The trial pits in the neighbourhood of the Theatre have yielded a large number of bricks, all seeming to belong to the same building. This was the σκηνοθήκη or store-house, in which the wooden stage and other properties belonging to the theatre were kept. Although no trace of such a building was found in the excavation,[3] yet the finding of these bricks,

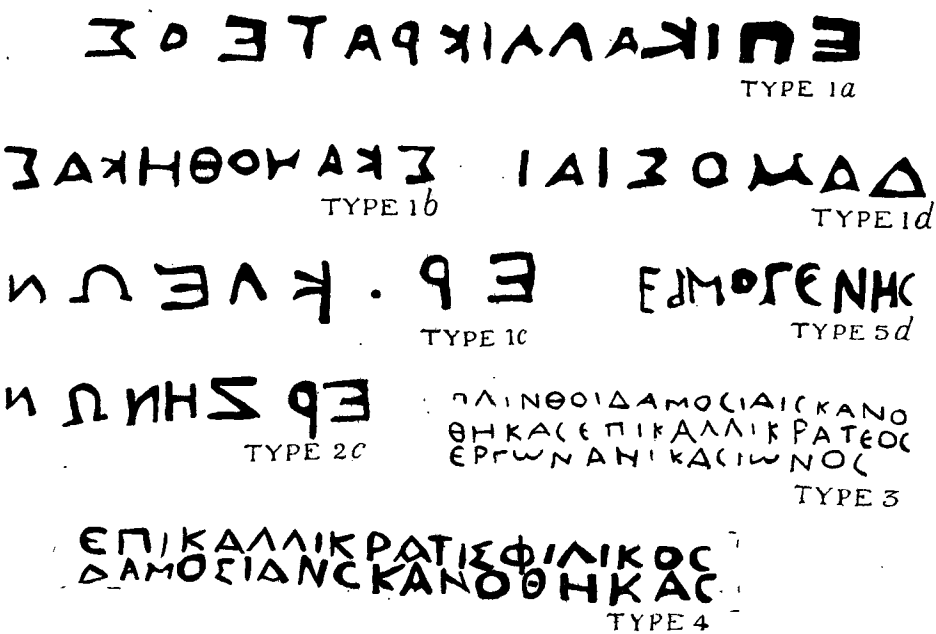
[1] *B.S.A.* xii. 316; cf. Strabo, viii. 5. 5; Herodian, iv. 8. 3. There was a certain humour in Caracalla's act in founding a Λόχος Πιτανάτης, when Thucydides, correcting Herodotus, declared that such had never existed (cf. Thuc. i. 20. 3, Hdt. ix. 53).

[2] *Travels in the Morea*, iii. Plates, No. 72.

[3] Cf. *B.S.A.* xii. 404.

which were very numerous near the S.W. angle of the theatre, suggests its whereabouts.

The bricks fall into several classes: the most valuable give the name of the eponymous magistrate, the building for which the bricks were meant, and the maker's name. The Eponymus is Callicrates, who is already known, and belongs to the first century B.C.[1] The contractors are Nicasion, Philicus, Cleon, Zeno, Cerdo, Hermogenes, and Prasion (?), who are not known in any other connection. Some of the bricks bear the stamp



BRICK STAMPS.

of Athena, and must have come from the works of Athena Alea, which made tiles also.[2]

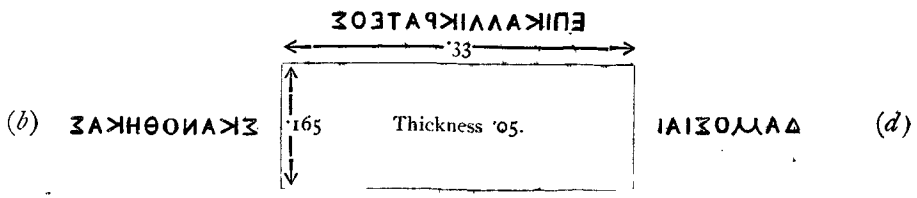
The letters seem to have been stamped after the making of the brick, and the stamp was probably wooden.[3] In some cases it seems to have slipped or even to have been applied twice, the resulting impression being

[1] *S.M.C.* No. 205. [2] *B.S.A.* xii. 347.

[3] The *τύπος ξύλινος κεραμίδων* at Delos (*B.C.H.* 1882, p. 48, l. 172) seems to have been a stamp of this sort.

illegible; this shows that the letters were not cut in the mould itself.[1] What proportion of the total number of bricks used was stamped is uncertain. Although only one Eponymus occurs, and many of the bricks are undated, the style of lettering allows us to refer them all to the first century B.C. That various contractors should have delivered bricks for the same building is by no means unlikely.

Type I.



(*a*) Ἐπὶ Καλλικράτεος. (*b*) Σκανοθήκας. (*c*) Ἐρ(γώνας) Κλέων. (*d*) Δαμόσιαι, *sc.* πλίνθοι.

The letters are stamped in relief on a sunk surface; on side (*c*), however, the stamp is hardly sunk at all: the writing runs from the right. This peculiarity was most likely owing to the carelessness of the stamp-cutter, who forgot to allow for the reversal. The complete stamp, though it does not occur on any one brick, may be reconstructed with certainty from the examples given below.

Forty-nine fragments seem to belong to the present type, though some might equally well fall under one or other of the next classes. The restoration is obvious.

Same Stamps, but not on same sides of Brick.

2078. (*a*)[2] ////ϘΚΙΛΛΑΚΙΠΞ (*c*) ////ΞΑΚΗΘΟ

2082. (*a*) ////ΑϘΚΙΛΛΑΚΙΠΞ (*c*) ////ΑΚΗΘϹ ////

[1] As may have been the case at Elatea (Paris, *Élatée*, 116). Paris supposes that single bricks bore parts of an inscription, which, when the bricks were built into the wall in proper order, would read continuously (*ib.* 117), but there is no sign of this at Sparta. Other examples of stamped bricks are given by Paris, *ib.* 110; Richardson, *ap.* Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, i. 218. 4; cf. *B.S.A.* xii. 344 ff. Most of them contain the word δημόσιος, and often the contractor and the Eponymus.

[2] I am unable myself to see any trace of the ἐρ. Εὐάμερος (*B.S.A.* xii. 346) on the fourth side of this brick, which appears as the reading in the inventory.

2103. (*a*) ΣΟƎΤΑϘΚΙΛ//// (*c*) ΣΑΚΗΘΟΝΑΚΣ
2112. (*c*) ΣΑΚΗ//////ΛΚΣ (*d*) ΙΑΙΣΟΜΑΔ

Type 2.

The type of *S.M.C.* 712 recurs in two examples. It is in every way like Type 1, only on side (*c*) either Ζήνων or 'Ερ. Ζήνων is found. In *S.M.C.* 712 (*a*) and (*c*) should denote, as here, the *long* sides of the brick. The new examples are:—2250. Whole brick ·33 × ·165 × ·05. (*c*) ΝΩΝΗ[Σ]

2243. ////ΗΣ ϘƎ

The restoration is of course ἐρ(γώνας) Ζήνων = redemptor Zeno.

Type 3.

This type is already known from *S.M.C.* 535, which is a whole brick. The normal size of the half bricks seems to have been ·35 × ·16 × ·05. The same stamp is sometimes impressed on more than one side.

Πλίνθοι δαμόσιαι σκανοθήκας· ἐπὶ Καλλικράτεος, ἐργώνα Νικασίωνος.	Lateres publici scenothecae: patronomo Callicrate, redemptore Nicasione.

Type 4.

No complete bricks were found belonging to this class. The stamp, however, may be reconstructed with certainty.

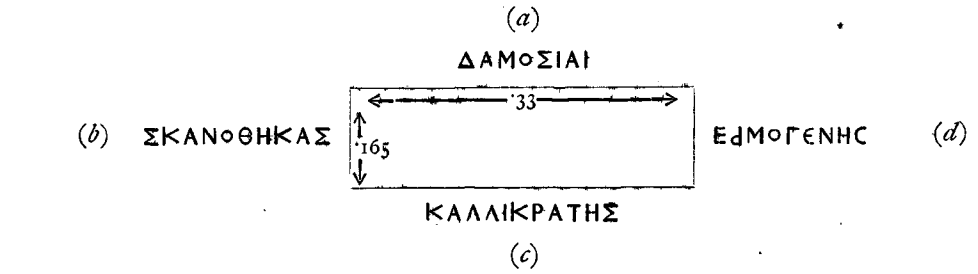
ἐπὶ Καλλικράτις· Φίλικος· δαμοσίαν (*sc.* πλίνθον) σκανοθήκας.

The examples are:—

2106. - πὶ Καλλικ - - Φίλικ - | δαμοσίαν σκανο - -
2106 A. - - λικράτις Φίλικος | - - αν σκανοθήκας.
2107 (*a*). ἐπὶ Καλλ - - | δαμοσίαν σ - -
(*b*). - - - ίλικος | - - θήκας.
2108 (*a*). ἐπὶ Καλλικράτις· Φ - - | δαμοσίαν σκανο - -
(*b*). - - (Φ)ίλικος | - - οθή(κ)ας.
2207. - - σ Φίλ(ι) - | - - οθή - -
2219. - ὶ Καλλι(κρά) - - | - - (αν) σκ(α) -
2242. - - ράτις Φί - - | - - ν σκανοθ - -
6002. - - κράτις Φίλικ - | - ν σκανοθήκ - -

Καλλικράτις is either a dialectic or a mistaken form of the genitive of Καλλικράτης,[1] no doubt the same magistrate as in *Type* 1. Φίλικος is the contractor's name.

Type 5.



The reconstruction here is uncertain, as the only complete brick (2112) is much worn: it reads (*a*) ΔΑΜΟΣ, (*b*) ΣΚΑΝ////, (*c*) ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ, (*d*) ЄdΜΟΓЄΝΗC. The other apparent examples show only one side. They are: 2266. ЄdΜΟΓЄΝΗC. 2267. ЄdΜΟΓЄ////. 2301. ЄdΜ////. The lettering is very much like that of *Type* 1.

Type 6.

The following fragments may perhaps be classed together, the stamp having been (*a*) ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ, (*b*) ΣΚΑΝΟΘΗΚΑC, (*c*) ΑΘΑΝΑΣ, (*d*) ΔΑΜΟΣΙΑ.

2075. ΚΑΛΛ////. Another side twice stamped, but illegible. 2101 and 2101A. (*a*) ΚΑΛ////. (*c*) ////ΑΝΑΣ. This brick measures at least ·35×·32, thickness ·05, letters ·01 h. 2217. Complete: ·33×·16×·05. (*a*) ΚΑ////, (*c*) ////ΑΝΑΣ, (*d*) ΔΑΜΟΣ////. 2238. ////ΑΜΟΣΙΑ. 2263. ΑΘΑΝΑΣ. 2120. ////.ΝΟΘΗΚΑC. 2300. ////ΑΜΟΣΙΑ.

The following is found only on one brick—stamped on two sides.

2119A. ΕΡΓΩΝΑΠΡ//// Perhaps Ἐργώνα Πρ[α]σίωνος.
ΣΙΩΝΟΣ

[1] I can find no parallel for this form anywhere.

2254. Another single example reads

ИΩΔ٩ƎK·IƎ 'Ε(ργώνας) Κέρδων.

2236. The last is uncertain. ////ƎƎ·IПƎ.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA.

63 (2180+2507+2508). Broken slab of white marble: width ·40 m.; original height at least ·50 m.; thickness ·05 m. Letters ·02 m. high; socket for sickle. 2180 consists of 9 lines, complete on l., and was found, broken through, in Trench B in 1906. 2507 and 2508 were found close to the same spot in 1907, in the earth near the entrance to arena: the latter does not join either of the other pieces but is obviously part of the same inscription. 2507 is complete above and on the r.: 2508 is complete on r. only.

ııΔΡΕΠΑΝ	- - 'Ορθεί](ηι) δρεπά(ν)[ην
ΟΙΑ ΚΡΑΤΗΣΑ	τὰ κελ]οῖα κρατήσ(α)[ς]
ΨΙΕΝΗΓΑΘΕΩΙ	να]ῶι ἐν ἡγαθέωι
ΞΝΟΜΗΡΑΛΑΒΩΝ	θῆκ]εν ὅμηρα λαβών.
ΣΥΝΣΤΕΦΟΜΑΙΔΑΦΝΗΙ	Συνστέφομαι δάφνηι
ΣΟΛΟΕΙΔΕΙΤΟΙΣΙΓ^ΑΓΟΙΣ	σολοείδει τοῖσι (βοαγοῖς)
ΤΕΙΣΑΜΕΝΩΙ,	Τεισαμενῶι - - -
ΠΑΙΣΙΝΑΡΙΣΤ	παισὶν ἄριστ[ος ἐὼν
ΓΛΕΚΠΑΝ	- - (ς δ') ἐκ πάν[των
ΙΛ^ΛΝ	- - - (ιδον) - -
ΝΟ<	- - - - (κ)ο(ς)
ΨΝΣΥΝ	- - - (ὦ)ν συν-
ΕΘΛΟΝ	[έφηβος? - - - - ἄ]εθλον
^ΙΣΣ	- - - (οισσ) - -

Restoration is difficult, in spite of the fact that we know the number of letters to be expected in each line.

L. 1. ıı can hardly be anything but HI, and that most likely the end of 'Ορθείηι: the word before it must have been the victor's name.

L. 2. ΟΙΑ is apparently the end of the word containing the name of the contest: it can only be the accusative neuter plural (for this use cf. *νικᾶν τὸ παιδιχόν*, *passim* in these inscriptions). We must therefore read *καιλ]οῖα* or *τὰ κελ]οῖα*, as no form of either *μῶα* or *καθθηρατόριον* could end in *-οῖα*, and further there is room for only four or five letters before the Ο. The use of the plural is unparalleled. *Τὰ κελ]οῖα* seems preferable; we have only one instance of the word being spelt with any other form but *κελ-* for the first syllable, namely *καιλ[ῆ]αν* in *S.M.C.* 221.

L. 3. *Να]ῶι* is almost certain.

L. 4. *- ενόμηρα* is puzzling: it may (1) be the end of *θῆκεν ὅμηρα*: we certainly need some verb to govern *δρεπάνην*, but the transition from *θῆκεν* to *συνστέφομαι* in the next line is very harsh. It must, however, be admitted that the metrical dedications in this series should not be judged by a high standard. Or (2) the reading may have been *θῆκ' ἐνόμηρα*. In this case *ἐνόμηρα*, which is not known elsewhere, would be connected with *ὅμηρος*, and, like it, mean security: *ὅμηρα διδόναι* = 'to give securities,' is found in Lysias, *Or.* xii § 69; Polybius, iii. 52, § 5, but we should have expected it to mean here something like 'prize.'

L. 5. *Συνστέφω* is not known elsewhere, but *συσστεφανοῦσθαι* means 'to be crowned together with somebody' (*vide* L. and S. *s.v.*). We thus learn that the victor and his fellow *βοαγοί* were crowned with laurel. *Τεισαμενῶι* is perhaps a dative of the agent: he may have been *patronomus* of the year, or the man to whom the victor was *κάσεν*, or the official in charge of the games. There is a *patronomus* of this name in one of the inscriptions of this series (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 364, No. 10), to whom Charixenus is *κάσεν*: his date, however, is uncertain. Or his name may be in apposition to *βοαγοῖς*, and the word following may have been another proper name in the dative, with the conjunction omitted. The letter after the name was either Σ, Δ, Χ, or Λ: the Α's on this stone have conspicuous *apices*, but this has none.

L. 6. *Σολοείδει*, *i.e.* like a *σόλος*, is the natural sense, but a laurel like a round lump of iron, the usual sense of the word, is, to say the least, inappropriate. If *σ* stood for *θ*, as it often does in archaistic Laconian inscriptions [cf. *ἀνέσηκε*, *Βωρσέα*, *κ.τ.λ.* in this series], a *θόλος*-like laurel is not impossible as a synonym for a wreath of laurel, though the inference would be that the wreath was a dome-like erection.

L. 9. There is room for only four or, at the most, five letters before Σ, perhaps *αὐτὸς* (or *πρῶτος*) *δ' ἐκ πάντων*.

L. 10 seems to give us traces of - - *ιδον*: further restoration is impossible.

L. 12. - - - *κος* - - We cannot complete this line, but it is certainly not the ending of line 8, as there is no trace of a join; so we must take [*ἄ*]*εθλον* as the end of the fourth hexameter line of the poem, which thus consisted of four (or more?) couplets: the middle of this line may have been *ὧν συνέφηβος* . . Further restoration seems hopeless unless other fragments are found later.

64 (2563). Two fragments of greyish marble, one with part of gable-top and complete on left, the other with remains of socket for sickle. Letters ·02 m. high with large *apices*: found together in arena below base IV. These evidently belong to the same inscription but have no joining surface.

(1) ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡ ΣΤ⌒Λ	'Αριστοκ(ρ)[άτης ? 'Αρι- στ(οδ)[άμου] ('Α)ν(σέ)[τωι [κάσεν ἐπὶ] πατρ[ο- [νόμου Μενα]λκίδ[α -	Aristocrates Aristodami, Anseti comes, patronomo Menalcida - - -
(2) ΛΝΖΕ ΠΑΤΡ ΛΚΙΖ ΙΛ		

These restorations are speculative but consistent. 'Αριστοκράτης and 'Αριστόδαμος occur in inscriptions of the first century B.C.

In l. 2 Ἄνσετος is a reasonable conjecture, as he is a *patronomus* in *S.M.C.* 201, which seems to belong to the same period; *κάσεν*-ship is alluded to as a rule immediately after the victor's name.

L. 4. ΛΚΙΔ must be part of some such name as Μεναλκίδας, and a *patronomus* of that name occurs in *C.I.G.* 1262, of which Boeckh says 'titulus est e vetustioribus.' This inscription would thus seem to be one of the earliest of the series.

65 (2153). Blue marble, ·18 m. × ·09 m. × ·02 m.; broken on all sides. Letters ·015 m. high. Found in earth north of Pier VI.

ЄΚCΤΟ	[Σ]έκστο[ς Πομπήϊος	Sextus Pompeius
ΗΝΟϕ	[Μ]ηνοφ[άνης βοαγ-	Menophanes, dux·
ΡΜΙΚ	[ὸ]ρ μικ[ιχιζομέ-	puerorum decennium
ωΝΕΓ	[ν](ω)ν ἐ(π)[ὶ - -	patronomo - -

The names are probable restorations in the light of *C.I.G.* 1369, where S. Pompeius Menophanes, son of S. Pompeius Theoxenus, is mentioned: this man may be the victor here, or, if we restore [ὁ δεῖνα Μ]*ηνοφ*[*άνους*], a son of Μ*ηνοφάνης*, possibly Pompeius Aristoteles Menophanis f. (No. 57, above). In any case this inscription would belong to the latter part of the second century A.D.

NOTES ON INSCRIPTIONS ALREADY PUBLISHED.

The following notes and corrections, made after further examination of the stones themselves in the Museum, should be added to the inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Orthia published last year (*B.S.A.* xii. pp. 358 *sqq.*)

No. 5, l. 9. For *ἀρετᾶς* read *δρέπανον*, which is of course the object of *ἔθετο*.

No. 6, l. 2. For ΤΟΥCΤΟΥΙΟΥ read ΤΟΥCΤΟΥΡΟΥ - - *i.e.* *τοῦ Ῥού*[*φου*]: we may now restore [Κ*αλλικρά*]*τους τοῦ Ῥού*[*φου*] from *C.I.G.* 1240, and so have about twenty-one letters in each line, which would leave room for about eight letters for the victor's name after *Ῥούφου*: there is thus no need to suppose any contraction. *Κελοῖαν* would fill up line 3 better than *μῶαν*, but the change is unnecessary. Callicrates seems to belong to the second century A.D., probably to the reign of Antoninus Pius.

No. 12, ll. 1 and 2. The construction seems rather to be this—*ὁ δεῖνα, Φουλβίῳ Λάκωνος τῷ. Ἀριστοτέλῃ συνέφηβος, κ.τ.λ. i.e. 'synephebus* of Fulvius Laco the son of Aristoteles': *συνέφηβος* seems to take the genitive case, as in No. 57 above, where Nicephorus is *synephebus* of Aristoteles son of Menophanes. There seems no rule as to whether *συνέφηβος* precedes or follows the name to which it refers.

No. 15, l. 1. Onasicleidas son of Philostratus seems to occur in *C.I.G.* 1246. Fourmont's copy gives ΦΙΛΟΣΤΑΤΟΥ<, and Boeckh altered it to *Φιλοκράτους*, which occurs lower down in the same inscription. The real reading may very well be ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ<, *i.e.* Onasicleidas son of Philostratus, himself son of Philostratus. If so, the victor may be the man in question, who was Ephor in about the time of Hadrian; for he has as fellow-ephor Damonicus, whose father Damocles is Nomophylax under C. J. Philocleidas in *C.I.G.* 1237: this patronomate is dated by Boeckh

earlier than Nerva's reign; by Le Bas-Foucart (173 a) several years later, (*vide* also *B.S.A.* xii. p. 456). If Damocles held office about 100, his son may reasonably be supposed to have been Ephor a generation later. Thus Onasicleidas was probably Ephor in the reign of Hadrian, and victor at the Sanctuary of Orthia somewhere about the year 100. We have his whole *cursus honorum* in *C.I.G.* 1258, which is unfortunately too mutilated to shed any light on the subject of dating.

Nos. 29, 30. These fragments join in spite of the fact that the letters in No. 30 are appreciably larger than those in 29, which fits on above it: there is, however, nothing to add to the proposed restoration.

PROSOPOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE DATING OF THE ORTHIA INSCRIPTIONS.

With regard to the dating of these inscriptions we cannot arrive at any great degree of accuracy. No. 64, from the evidence of the names it contains, and No. 62, from the quality of the lettering, seem to belong to the first century B.C. The others, so far as they are capable of being dated, seem to belong to the second century A.D., and in no case to be earlier than the reign of Antoninus Pius. This year's excavations have confirmed the conclusions formed last year with regard to these inscriptions, namely that a deliberate selection was exercised in taking these stones for building purposes: none of those which were found in 1906 built into the masonry seemed to date from a later period than the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius: the three stones which were found built into the pavement (Nos. 2482,[1] 2561, 2562) apparently agree with this conclusion, though their dating is uncertain.

It is noteworthy that no stone has been found built into the masonry or the pavement in which either the names M. Aurelius or any of the more conspicuous archaisms occur (such as appear, *e.g.*, in Nos. 21, 32, 57).

We can hardly hope to arrive at any exact dating for these inscriptions on internal evidence alone; but where the names of victor or Eponymus are also found in lists of magistrates, or in records of a

[1] There hardly seems sufficient evidence for dating 2482 to the age of Aurelius, as was Mr. Tillyard's view (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 377), for Menecles, the *patronomus* who was κάσεν to the victor, is probably the man of that name who belongs to the year 97 or 98 A.D., and Eudamus may well have been contemporary: further, in spite of the bad lettering, it is not certain that Sosinicus must be M. Aurelius Sosinicus, nor that Primus must be a late second century name.

magistrate's *cursus honorum*, in many cases we may arrive at a very fair degree of accuracy. To assist towards a solution of some of these difficulties, I have tried to establish as far as possible a definitely dated list of the *patronomi* during the Hadrianic era, drawn almost entirely from the Laconian inscriptions in vol. i. of Boeckh's *C.I.G.* The most valuable of these inscriptions for this purpose is *C.I.G.* 1241 (*S.M.C.* 204); the first part of this inscription deals with the career of Agathocles son of Stephanus, and is a good example of the *cursus honorum*[1] of a distinguished Spartan citizen. There is no means of ascertaining the time that elapsed between his tenure of each office, but we have in any case the safe supposition to go upon that they are recorded in the order in which he held them. There is no need to discuss these offices, which are fully dealt with by Mr. Tod (*loc. cit.*), but the order of the *patronomi* under whom he held them is as follows: Pasicrates, Seidectas, Julius Charixenus, Seitimus, Aristobulus, Aphthonetus, Atticus, Aristonicidas, Alcastus. It was during the years of his ἱππαρχία and ἀγορανομία, *i.e.* in the years of Seidectas and Seitimus respectively, that Hadrian paid his two visits to Sparta. Dürr[2] shows that in all probability these took place in 126 and 129 A.D.: we have thus these two *patronomi* dated for certain, and Julius Charixenus to one of the intervening years 127 or 128.

On the lower half of the same face of this stone we have a list of magistrates, which does not assist towards a solution of the present problem. But on the lower part of the right-hand side we have the career of a man whose name is lost; his first office was held under a *patronomus* unfortunately unidentifiable, as only - - - ος is left on the stone; then follow these names of *patronomi* under whom he held his subsequent offices:—Lysippus Philocharini f., Memmius Pius, Caius Julius Eurycles, Seipompus, Seitimus, Tib. Cl. Aristobulus. Seitimus is presumably the man mentioned in the first part of the inscription, so we may be certain that the other five *patronomi* were earlier than 129, and indeed earlier than 126, unless we adopt Seipompus as *patronomus* for the year between 126 and 129 not allotted to Charixenus, as I am inclined to do. We have then the following facts established already, namely that Pasicrates, Lysippus Philocharini f., Memmius Pius, and Eurycles were earlier than 126, the year of Seidectas, that Charixenus and another man, possibly Seipompus,

[1] *Vide* Tod in *S.M.C.* Introd. § 22.

[2] *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, pp. 59, 70, 71. But *vide* postscript to this article.

occupied the years 127 and 128, and that Aristobulus, Aphthonetus, Atticus, Aristonicidas, and Alcastus were later than 129, the year of Seitimus.

The most interesting of these names is Atticus, for whose date we have other indirect evidence of considerable value: he is the father of the celebrated Herodes Atticus, and not, as Boeckh suggests (*C.I.G.* i. p. 607), his son. The latter appears to have been *patronomus* at Sparta towards the end of the second century A.D. in the mutilated inscription *C.I.G.* 1256,[1] but was not born till after the date of our present inscription. We can further establish a *terminus ante quem* for the date of Atticus' tenure of the patronomate, for in *I.G.* iii. 478 we find his son Herodes inscribed as hereditary priest, in a dedication to Hadrian: this means that Atticus had died and Herodes had succeeded to the priesthood while Hadrian was still alive. Atticus therefore died before the date of the death of Hadrian in the summer of 138, *i.e.* early in 138 at the latest, and cannot therefore have been *patronomus* later than 137. But we know from the inscription under discussion that Aristobulus and Aphthonetus were *patronomi* between 129 and the year of Atticus' tenure of that office: therefore we can state confidently on the present evidence alone that Atticus' patronomate was not before 132, and not later than 137. Other epigraphical evidence for his tenure of this office will be mentioned below.

The other *patronomi* of these few years are also well known in other inscriptions: Aristobulus is known as a *patronomus*, besides the mention in the present instance, in *C.I.G.* 1243, where he occurs in a mutilated list, after Lysippus and before Aphthonetus: he may also occur in *C.I.G.* 1265 (also damaged), and is mentioned in *S.M.C.* 627. In *C.I.G.* 1358 he is mentioned as *φιλοτείμως γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πολιτευόμενον καλῶς*, but we have no indication of the date either of his tenure of this post or of the erection of this honorary inscription.

Aphthonetus is likewise known in several inscriptions: he is *patronomus* in *S.M.C.* 211 and *C.I.G.* 1243, besides the present inscription, and occurs in a long list of persons whose functions are unknown, in *S.M.C.* 208. He must be distinguished from M. Valerius Ulpianus Aphthonetus, whose victory at the sanctuary of Orthia when a boy, is recorded in *S.M.C.* 410.

The next name after Atticus is Aristonicidas, but there is no reason to suppose that he followed necessarily in the next year: his name is also

[1] For his career *vide* Klebs, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, *s.v.* Ti. Cl. Appius Atilius Bradua Regillus Atticus.

possibly found in *C.I.G.* 1258, where, if we accept Boeckh's restoration, it occurs as *patronomus* in the *cursus honorum* of someone unknown, between Lysippus son of Mnason and Damo - - son of Philocrates. The former is known to us in *C.I.G.* 1242, where the list of *patronomi* afforded us by the career of Sosicrates son of Epaphroditus is as follows: Lysippus son of Philocharinus, Pius, Hermogenes, Lysippus son of Mnason, Nicephorus. The first two of these *patronomi*, it will be remembered, are found in our present inscription (*S.M.C.* 204), and were shewn above to be earlier than 126. Further we know from *C.I.G.* 1258, above, that Lysippus son of Mnason is earlier than Aristonicidas, and from *C.I.G.* 1242, that he was himself preceded by Hermogenes. In connection with these inscriptions *C.I.G.* 1243 becomes important, for there we have Aristobulus appearing between Lysippus and Aphthonetus. Aristobulus, we saw above, cannot be later than 135, as Aphthonetus held office between his year and that of Atticus; so Lysippus cannot be later than 134. Hermogenes who precedes him cannot be later than 133; but we have also a *terminus post quem* for his year in the date of Seitimus, who held office in 129. We have no names to insert between these last two mentioned, but now that we have fixed the date of Hermogenes to one of the years 130–133, the other *patronomi* of the end of Hadrian's reign can be settled more accurately. The *terminus post quem* is the more satisfactory method of reckoning these dates, and we may now proceed to put them in order. Hermogenes' year is not before 130, that of Lysippus Mnasonis f. not before 131, that of Aristobulus, who in *C.I.G.* 1243 is between Lysippus and Aphthonetus, not before 132, that of Aphthonetus not before 133, and that of Atticus not before 134. We know that Aristonicidas and Alcastus held office later than Atticus, so their earliest possible dates will be 135 and 136.

Alcastus is known to us from several inscriptions, and he belongs to a distinguished Spartan family,[1] several members of which held high offices. An inscription found two years ago at Sparta (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 463, No. 17 (2128)) tells us that he went on an embassy to Lucius Caesar in Pannonia: this no doubt is Hadrian's adopted son, who died in 138 and was only adopted late in 136. As the embassy presumably went to congratulate him on his adoption, Alcastus must have been away from Sparta during

[1] *Vide* Le Bas-Foucart, 174; *B.S.A.* xii. p. 463, No. 17. The Alcastus in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 372, No. 32, is grandson of the Alcastus of our present inscription; as such he appears also in *C.I.G.* 1351.

the end of the year 136 and part of 137. In the latter year he can hardly have been *patronomus*, but whether he went to Pannonia as representative magistrate for 136, or was elected after his return, must remain uncertain.

Other *patronomi* who belong to this period and call for brief mention are Damo - - son of Philocrates, who held that office some time after Aristonicidas (*C.I.G.* 1258). He may be the man whom we find below as going through the *cursus honorum* which is recorded on the upper part of the side of our present inscription, where I have conjecturally restored his name as Damocles, son of Damocles also called Philocrates.

Nicephorus, whom we find in *C.I.G.* 1242 as *patronomus* later than Lysippus son of Mnason may be the Νικηφόρος Ἀριστοβούλου who is *νομοφύλαξ* under Cassius Aristoteles in the lower half of the first part of our present inscription. As Aristoteles cannot fall within the Hadrianic era I have not discussed his date, but if this Nicephorus is the same man, his patronomate would fall considerably later, in fact hardly before 150: but as Nicephorus is not a very rare name about this time, we need not necessarily identify him with the son of Aristobulus.

With regard to the *patronomi* of the earlier part of the Hadrianic era our chief information is to be found in the upper half of the inscription on the side of the stone we have been discussing. We have there the *cursus honorum* of - - - οκλῆς (- - οκλέους) τοῦ [Φι]λοκράτους; the stone is damaged, and [Φι] is a conjecture of Boeckh's: but it is not impossible that there was room on the stone for καὶ before Φι - -, in which case a tempting reading will be [Δαμ]οκλῆς ([Δαμ]οκλέους) τοῦ [καὶ Φι]λοκράτους, a name which occurs in *C.I.G.* 1246 and 1366: this restoration if correct will, I think, justify us in restoring Δαμο[κλῆς] Φιλοκράτους in *C.I.G.* 1258, which I mentioned above. The *patronomi* mentioned are (adopting Boeckh's restoration of the names) Aristocrates, Pratolaus (or Pratonicus), Dionysius, Caesar (*i.e.* Hadrian), Lysippus.

Aristocrates is a common name among Spartan magistrates about this time; but we cannot positively identify him.

Pratolaus, if he is rightly restored, would be probably P. Memmius Pratolaus, who is known in *S.M.C.* 254, and possibly the *patronomus* of that name in *C.I.G.* 1261: according to the genealogical table drawn up by J. M. Paton (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1895, p. 39), his younger brother was P. Memmius Seidectas, whom we may assume to be the *patronomus* of the year 126.

Pratonicus might be the man whose son appears in *S.M.C.* 372, as one of his colleagues there is [Lysip]pus Philocharini f.; Pratonicus, if *patronomus* here, would be an old man, as his son was already holding an important office, the *συναρχία*, several years before the patronomate of Lysippus Philocharini f., which, as I hope to show, we can date to about 120–123. But I am inclined to restore Pratolaus, as he comes of a family which is well known in Spartan lists of magistrates.

Dionysius is not identifiable. Καισ- in the text is no doubt Καῖσαρ, *i.e.* Hadrian: for his tenure of the patronomate at Sparta, cf. *S.M.C.* 374; Le Bas-Foucart 286 b. In the former a *patronomus* named Lampis is mentioned as preceding him, and in the latter we have J. Charixenus and P. Memmius Damares also mentioned as *patronomi*; but as this inscription does not record a *cursus honorum*, we cannot be certain whether these two men held office before or after Hadrian. A *terminus post quem* for Hadrian's patronomate is presumably 117, the year of his accession: further accuracy in determining his date is difficult. If we accept the order of names in Le Bas-Foucart 286 b as certain evidence, Hadrian was later than Charixenus, and therefore later than 127, for we saw reasons above for placing Charixenus in that year (or possibly 128). But there are indications on the other hand that this date is too late: we saw above that he precedes Lysippus in our present inscription; but there are two men of that name who were *patronomi* about this time, the sons of Philocharinus and Mnason respectively; further we know from *C.I.G.* 1242 that the former held office several years before the latter. I am inclined to think that the former is the one who is mentioned as coming later than Hadrian, and thus his year will fall at least four years earlier than 129, on the evidence of the lower half of the inscription on the side of our present stone, where four names separate him from Seitimus, whose date is 129.

If, as I suggested above, Seipompus be put in to fill the year either 127 or 128, the latest year possible for Eurycles will be 125, for Memmius Pius 124, for Lysippus Philocharini f. 123, and thus for Hadrian 122. How many years earlier than these dates these *patronomi* held office is uncertain; but the suggested date for Hadrian is more reasonable than if we dated him just before the other Lysippus, *i.e.* about 130. It is not likely that Sparta would wait until nearly the end of his reign to make

him *patronomus*: he was Archon at Athens indeed in 112 (*I.G.* iii. 550),[1] and it is possible, but not at all likely, that he held his Spartan patronomate before his accession in 117. It seems more natural to suppose that he was elected to it soon after that date and that it did not involve necessarily that he should be present at Sparta at all during his year of office.[2]

From the *cursus honorum* of Agathocles we have only one *patronomus*, Pasicrates, earlier than 126, the year of Seidectas: his year is hardly likely to be earlier than 120, as there is not much likelihood of such a prominent citizen as Agathocles, destined for so many posts of importance, having to wait six years or more between his tenure of two offices. We may, I think, date his year to about 122 at the earliest, in which case he might have held office between Hadrian and Lysippus Philocharini f. This would put back Hadrian's latest possible year to 121, that of Dionysius to 120, that of Pratolaus (?) to 119, that of Aristocrates to 118: here we may insert Lampis, who, as we know from *S.M.C.* 374, was earlier than Hadrian. The only other name to account for is that of P. Memmius Damares in Le Bas-Foucart 286 b, who is also Ephor under C. J. Eudamus in the first list of magistrates recorded on our inscription, below that part which records the career of Agathocles. He may well have been Ephor after he was *patronomus*, but we have no clue to the date of his tenure of either office, except the inscription alluded to above, where he is mentioned together with Hadrian as *patronomus*: he may then have held this office shortly before, or after, the year 120, which is roughly the year I would assign to Hadrian. The year of Eudamus we have no means of settling, and it may fall later than the Hadrianic period.

It will be convenient to sum up in tabular form the conclusions arrived at with regard to the dating of these *patronomi*.

A. Those whose order of succession is more or less certain :—

Aristocrates—not later than	118 A.D.
Pratolaus „ „ „	119.

[1] An inscription from Delos enables Dürrbach to prove that this fell in the year 111/2 of the Attic calendar (*B.C.H.* 1904, p. 180).

[2] Weber (*Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. Kais. Hadrianus*, p. 188, note 671) thinks that Hadrian's tenure of the patronomate must be dated to a year when he was present at Sparta, but there is no reason why he should not have held such a magistracy in his absence.

Dionysius—not later than	120 A.D.
Hadrian „ „ „	121.
Lysippus Philocharini f.—not later than .	122.
Pasicrates—not before 120, but before .	126.
Memmius Pius—not later than	124.
C. Julius Eurycles—not later than . .	125.
Seidectas	126.
Julius Charixenus	127 or 128.
Seipompus—probably	127 or 128.
Seitimus	129.
Hermogenes—not before	130.
Lysippus Mnasonis f.—not before . . .	131.
Ti. Cl. Aristobulus „ „ . . .	132.
M. Ulpius Aphthonetus „ „ . . .	133.
Ti. Cl. Atticus „ „ . . .	134, and not after 137.
Aristonicidas „ „ . . .	135.
C. Pomponius Alcastus „ „ . . .	136.

B. Those also belonging to this period, whose dates we cannot fix :—

Lampis P. Memmius Damares	earlier than 121 A.D.
C. Julius Eudamus ? Damocles Philocratis f. Cassius Aristoteles Nicephorus	after 136 A.D.

We have only two inscriptions from the sanctuary of Orthia which we may with any confidence date to the years of any of these *patronomi*, namely *S.M.C.* 783, which belongs to the year of Atticus, and *B.S.A.* xii. p. 365, No. 12, which belongs to that of Aphthonetus. But it is strange to find a considerable difference in style between them ; the former is quite free from archaisms, which abound in the latter : this cannot, however, outweigh the evidence set forth above for their agreement in date, and we must conclude that the archaistic style for these dedications was as yet rare at the end of the Hadrianic era, though a generation later it seems to have been the rule rather than the exception.

A. M. WOODWARD.

Since these notes were written Dr. von Premerstein has kindly called my attention to a note of Wolters (*Ath. Mitt.* 1903, pp. 294, 295) which points out that Hadrian's first visit to Sparta is to be dated almost certainly to 125, and his second to 128. This view is followed by Weber (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, p. 188, note 671), and though it does not affect the validity of the conclusions stated above, it necessitates that all my dates of *patronomi* in the above table and elsewhere throughout the article should be put back one year earlier. Thus the dates of Seidectas and Seitimus will be now 125 and 128 respectively, and so forth.

A. M. W.

INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY FOURMONT.

As in the first season, several inscriptions copied by Fourmont in, or near the Late Roman walls have once more been brought to light.

2543. *C.I.G.* 1344. 'Spartae prope turrim orientalem.' From trench along south side of the wall. Reading: l. 2 Ξ almost worn away. L. 3 O likewise. L. 4 K likewise; this line ends ΠΑΡΑΤΟΙΣ (not ΠΑΤΗΣ) = *παρὰ τοῖς* [*e.g.* Ῥωμαίοις]. L. 5 now reads ⁻ΤΕΚΑΙΣΠΟΥΔΗΣ = . *τε καὶ σπουδῆς*. L. 6 the letters ΣΔΕΞ are worn. L. 7 · Σ◡ no longer seen. L. 8 the first Υ has vanished.

2545. *C.I.G.* 1433. 'Iuxta portam orientalem.' Found *ib.* undamaged.

2546. *C.I.G.* 1347. 'Spartae prope turrim orientalem.' Found *ib.* Boeckh's corrected reading is substantially right. In l. 2 read ΟΝ not Ⓝ: in ll. 6, 7 ΕΝΕΚΕΝ should be read: in ll. 13, 14 the reading is certainly ΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ.

2553. *C.I.G.* 1304. '*Στῇ Γουδένῃ*, iuxta fontem.' Found in trench west of South Gate. Surface much damaged, but traces of all the letters are preserved, except in the first word of l. 3.

ΑΠΟΛΙΣ
ΤΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΒΗΡΟΝΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
Ν Μ ϕ ΚΩΝΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣϕΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣΩϕΕΛΙΩΝ
ΖΕΥΞΙΠΠΟΣΤΥΝΔΑΡΟΥΣ
ϕΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΚΛΕΑΝΔΡΟΥΓΡΑ
ΜΝΑΣΩΝΑΥΣΙΠΠΟΥ

Cf. Le Bas-Foucart on the problems connected with the man to whom this inscription refers (note on inscr. 173 b). Foucart, after fresh examination of Fourmont's copy in his MSS., reads [M. Αἴλιον Αὐρήλ]ι[ο]ν [Οὔ]ηρον Καίσαρα, and attributes it to Marcus Aurelius, after his adoption, but before he became Emperor. But the stone, on which the name, though damaged, is almost certain, does not justify this alteration, and, as it stands, the man mentioned is not known: it is possible, but hardly likely, that a mistake was made by the graver.

2555 A. *C.I.G.* 1249. 'Inter theatrum et turrim meridionalem.' Found in trench west of South Gate. Col. I. ll. 4, 5

ϕΙΛΟΝΕΙΚΙ
ΔΣ *κ.τ.λ.*

L. 13 ΓΡΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ (A omitted by the stone-cutter). L. 15 ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ. Below this there are two vacant lines, then the following, omitted by Fourmont:

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΣ
ϕΙΛΟΔΕΣΠ
. ΤΟΣ

i.e. δημόσιος | Φιλοδέσπ|[ο]τος. The same man recurs in *C.I.G.* 1239, ii. l. 9 and 1276, l. 5 (*infra*).

Col. II. l. 2 ΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΤΟΥΖΤΟΥ L. 4 ΤΙΒΚΛ *κ.τ.λ.* L. 5 an iota appears at end of line. L. 7 ΝΔΥΜΝΚΑΣΕΝΙΟΥ L. 9 ΤΙΜΟΤΕΛΗΣΓΙΚΣΤ L. 10 ΝΟΜΟϕΥΝΗΕΣΒ L. 13 ΜΑΚΙΝΟΣ *κ.τ.λ.* L. 14 end ΚΣΕΝ L. 15 end ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΣ L. 20 ΔΟϕΟΡΟΙ *κ.τ.λ.*

Col. III. l. 1 ΙϽΦΕΙΙΙΣΙΙΛΙ: L. 2 for Κ read Γ. L. 4 for Η read Γ L. 9 for Ε read Γ L. 11 for Γ read Γ L. 13 at end for Γ read L

L. 15 for ΕΥΔΑΜΙΔΑ read ΕΥΔΑΜΙΔ L. 17 for ϕ read ϕ̌ L. 18 ΕΠΙΧΑΡΑΚΟΣ L. 19 ΕΠΙΑΡΙΣΤΟΞΕΛΟΥΣΕ L. 27 ΝΟΜΟϕ̌ Ll. 28, 29 ΝΙΚΗϕΟΡΟΣΑΡΙ ΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥΕΠΙ L. 31 ΝΟΜΟϕΥΛΑΞ

Col. IV. l. 1 end ΛΑΚ L. 2 end ΔΑΜΟ L. 3 ΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ L. 6 ΔΑΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ L. 10 ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΔΣ L. 16 ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΞΕ L. 17 ΝΟΣ////ΑΡ In lines 15 and 17 there are small holes cut in the stone, perhaps for clamps.

2555. *C.I.G.* 1239. 'Spartae prope turrim magnam ad orientalem plagam sitam.' Found *ib.* (The tower here mentioned flanked the South Gate.)

This inscription now appears to have been continuous with that last given, the style of writing and the use of contractions being the same in both.

Col. II. of this inscription goes below Col. IV. of *C.I.G.* 1249. The following corrections are needed in Fourmont's reading:

Col. I. l. 2 ΝΟΜΟϕ̌ L. 3 for Μ read ΜΜ (= Πόπλιος Μέμμιος), for ϕ read ϕ̌ L. 4 ΠΑΡΧΡΥΣΟΓΟΝΣ L. 5 for ϕ read ϕ̌ L. 6 for ΤΩΝ read ΤΟΡΙ/ L. 9 for ΚΛΙ read ΚΛΕ After l. 11 Fourmont has omitted (line 11ᴬ) ϕΙΛΟΚΛΕΙΔΑ L. 14 add Σ at end of line. L. 15 for Γ read Γ L. 17 ΚΙΡϕΥΛΑΞ L. 18 ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤ L. 20 ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙΩΝ L. 21 ϕΙΛΟΞΕΝΙΔ

Col. II. l. 9 ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΣ

Col. III. l. 3 ΥΝΕϕΗΒΟΣΑ L. 5 end ΓΡ (= γερουσίας) L. 12 for ΞΕΑΡ read ΞΕΝΡ L. 15 for Ε read Γ

Boeckh's interpretation can be corrected in line 5, the sense being really as follows: Θεοῖς. Εὔτυχος, [σ]υνέφηβος [Δ]ιάρους το[ῦ] Βρούτου, γερουσίας ἐπὶ Κασ. Ἀριστοτέλους, κ.τ.λ. The letter after συνέφηβος seems to have been Α or Δ or Λ. Διάρης occurs in *S.M.C.* 393, and is a safe restoration here. He is not known elsewhere as Patronomus.

2556. *C.I.G.* 1276. } Both 'Στῇ Γουδένῃ, iuxta fontem': both found
2556 A. *C.I.G.* 1257. } *ib.* The stones join.

In 1276, l. 7 the reading given is certain: the chisel seems to have slipped in l. 8. In 1257, l. 4 besides the ornaments at each end there were probably letters before Σ now lost.

ΛΜΜΑΤΟ
ΦΥΛΑΞ<ΑΜΑ
ΡΑΝΤΟΣΔΗ
ΜΕΑ
ΦΙΛΟΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΣ
ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣΑΡΙΟΣ
ΚΛΕΟΥΣΕΠΙΠΡΑΤΟ
ΝΙΚΟΥΚΑΙΙΕΡΕΥΣ
ΟΥΡΑΝΙΩΝΕΦ
ΕΠΙΔΑΜΟΝΙΚΙΔ
ΓΒΟΕΠΙΠΟΛΥΕ
ΚΤΟΥΛΙΟΡΑΝΟ
ΜΟΣΕΠΙΟΥΣΩΣΙ
ΠΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ<
>ΓΙ...Σ
ΕΠΙΠΑΣΙ
ΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΝ
ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΞ
ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΦΙΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
ΟΚΑΙΣΩΣΡΑ
ΤΟΣ

C.I.G. 1276

- - [γρ-
(αμματο)-
φύλαξ Ἀμά-
ραντος Δη-
μέα.
Φιλοδέσποτος
οἰκονόμος.
Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀρι(στ)ο<σ>-
κλέους ἐπὶ Πρατο-
νίκου καὶ ἱερεὺς
Οὐρανίων, ἔφορ(ος)
ἐπὶ Δαμονικίδα,
γ(ραμματεὺς) βο(υλῆς) ἐπὶ Πολυε(ύ)-

C.I.G. 1257

(κτου), (ἀγ)ορανό-
μος ἐπ(ὶ) Ἰουλ(ίου) Σωσι-
κράτους,
- - - σ - -
ἐπὶ Πασι-
κράτους ν(εωτέρου?).
νομοφύλαξ
Σωσικράτης
Φιλουμένου
ὁ καὶ Σώστρα-
τος.

C.I.G. 1245. 'Στῇ Γουδένῃ propc fontem.' Now built into house of Spiros Ermilios at Parori near Sparta (south of Mistra). Greyish marble, now covered with whitewash, ·41 × ·24 × ·18. Letters ·03 h. Lines 11–end are lost; the rest is much mutilated and reads:

ΒΟΥΛ
ΕΦΟΡ
ΤΩΛΛΙΩΝ
ΧΑΡΗΣ

ΝΙΑΘΟΚΛΗ
ΠΟΛΥΞΕΙ
ΜΟΥΛΠΙΟΣ
ΚΑΙΝΟ
ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ
ΔΑΜΟΝΓ////

C.I.G. 1444. In church of Ἅγιοι Θεόδωροι, Trypi (Τρεπτή: Fourmont). This stone is now broken into four pieces, and the top right-hand corner is missing. But in spite of this and of the surface of the stone being damaged in several places we can correct several letters of Fourmont's copy, though the middle letters of each line are irrecoverable.

L. 4. There is no trace of Ι before the first Δ.

L. 6. The second letter is Ρ, it is separated from the Θ by a flaw in the stone.

L. 10. The reading is ΚΑΙΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ. The last letter is plainly Ε.

Ll. 11, 12. The stone is badly damaged, but there seems to be a vertical stroke after ΠΑ at the end of the line; of line 12 we have only ΙΙ . . . ΙΔ . . . . and traces of the ΑΙ of ΠΑΕΙΑΙΣ.

L. 13. The reading is ΤΟΥΑΓΩΝΟ. We can safely restore *τοῦ ἀγῶνο*[ς] | *τῶν σεμ*(*ν*)[*ο*?*τ*]*άτων Διοσκ*[*ου*]||*ρείων* instead of *τὸ* [*δ*'] *ἀγωνο*-[*θέτιν*] of Boeckh, for which there is not room.

L. 16. The last letter is certainly Ω not Ο.

L. 17. Σ[ΩΦΡ]ΟΝΕΣΤΑΤΗΣ is the right reading.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.
A. M. WOODWARD.

THREE NEW ΣΦΑΙΡΕΙΣ-INSCRIPTIONS.

IN a previous volume of the *British School Annual*[1] I published the epigraphical texts recording the victories of the Spartan *σφαιρεῖς*. Three fresh inscriptions belonging to the same series have since been discovered, and I am enabled to publish these, thanks to the courtesy of the Director of the School and Mr. Tillyard. To Mr. Wace I am indebted for much kind

[1] X. pp. 63–77.

help: the description of the Dioscuri relief on No. 1 (below) comes from his pen, and to him I also owe a copy of No. 3, of which I have not myself seen the original. Of the other two stones I took copies and squeezes while visiting Sparta in the spring of 1907.

1. On a gable-topped stele of coarse, dark local marble, formerly built into the house of Γεώργιος Κούτσης, now the prefecture: brought into the Sparta Museum on March 23 (April 5), 1906: Inventory No. 844. Broken at bottom, but otherwise complete except for the top and right hand corners of the gable. Height ·74 m.; breadth ·46 m.; thickness ·12 m. In the field of the gable is a round object, in all probability a ball (cf. *B.S.A.* x. p. 70, Nos. 9, 10). The upper part of the stele bears a relief (see below). The letters are large and somewhat clumsily engraved, with very slight *apices*. Copy and squeeze.

ΕΠΙΠΑΤΡΟΝΟΜΟΥ	Ἐπὶ πατρονόμου
ΜΝΑΣΩΝΟΣΣΦΑΙΡΕΙ	Μνάσωνος, σφαιρεῖ[ς]
ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΩΝΟΙΝΕΙΚΑ	Πιτανατῶν οἱ νεικά-
ΣΑΝΤΕΣΤΑΣΩΒΑΣ	σαντες τὰς ὠβάς,
5 ΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ	5 ὧν πρέσβυς
ΑΛΕΞΑΣΧΡΥΣΕΡΩΤΟΣ	Ἀλεξᾶς Χρυσέρωτος
ΟΛΑΜΙΔΑΣΓΡΓΙΠΠ	- - οδαμίδας Γοργί[ππου]

The surface of the stone is much worn and some of the letters are very indistinct, but the reading may be regarded as certain except in the case of the last line, half of which is broken away. Two or three letters are lost before *-οδαμίδας*, but in the latter case one must have been an *ι*: [Φιλ]-*οδαμίδας* or [Τιμ]*οδαμίδας*, for instance, would suit these requirements. The last name may be Γοργι[*ππίδα*].

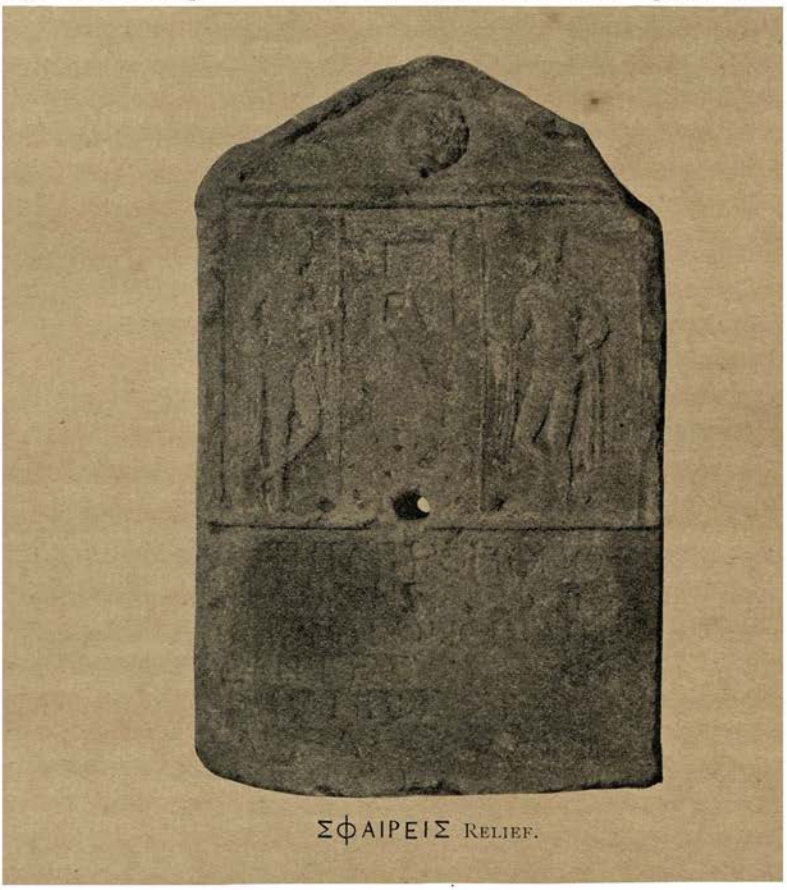
Μνάσων occurs as eponymous Patronomus in *C.I.G.* 1241 (=*S.M.C.* 204) col. 1, l. 25[1] and 1291. This is the first certain mention of the obe of the Pitanatae, though the word may be restored with some probability in *B.S.A.* x. p. 64, No. 2, and we have two inscriptions of a certain Γάϊος Ἀβίδιος Ἀγαθάγγελος Πιτανάτης (*C.I.G.* 1425, 1426).

The formula of this inscription, omitting to mention the *βίδνος* and *διαβέτης*, is simpler than that of any other text of the series with the exception of Collitz-Bechtel 4478 (=*B.S.A.* x. p. 70, No. 10).

[1] A second copy of this list is inscribed on a stone at Parori, *Ath. Mitt.* ii. 435, No. 6.

On the relief Mr. Wace sends me the following note:

'Above the inscription is a representation of the Dioscuri in low and rather flat relief (see *inf.*). They stand facing one another in exactly symmetrical attitudes, wearing πῖλοι and carrying long lances. Their only garment is a chlamys, which hangs loosely over the elbows and passes behind the back, leaving the body quite nude. Their hair is long and curly. A tall amphora with a conical lid stands on a square base between



ΣΦΑΙΡΕΙΣ RELIEF.

them, while above it, and apparently resting on its handles, are the δόκανα. These consist of two vertical joined by two horizontal beams in the middle and at the top. The uppermost horizontal beam, which projects beyond the vertical ones, is decorated with an egg between two snakes. In the gable above the relief is a round object, obviously the ball of the σφαιρεῖς,

which was to be seen on the relief described by Ross[1] and also appears at the top of No. 2 (see below).

This representation of the Dioscuri can be grouped with other reliefs of them discussed in the introduction to the sculpture in the *Sparta Museum Catalogue*, pp. 113 ff. The fact that the Dioscuri wear πῖλοι shows that the relief cannot be earlier than the late fifth century B.C.,[2] while to judge from its style, it is not earlier than the second century B.C., and may even be later than the first century A.D.[3] Of the attributes of the heroes we have here the funereal amphora, which refers to the legend that they were buried near Sparta,[4] and the δόκανα. This is the third known representation of these παλαιὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρύματα,[5] the others being on the Argenidas relief at Verona[6] and another relief at Sparta.[7] Here, as in the other two reliefs, we have snakes in connexion with the δόκανα, and this relief seems to confirm the arguments advanced in the *Sparta Museum Catalogue* that the Dioscuri were worshipped as dead heroes. If the images of them which the kings carried to war[8] were the δόκανα, it seems that they could be divided; but from the reliefs this does not appear possible. In any case, the connexion of the twin heroes with the two kings of Sparta seems to support the theory of the mythological origin of the Dioscuri, the belief that the twins were lucky.'[9]

From the mention of the eponymous Patronomus it is possible to date the inscription approximately. *C.I.G.* 1291, which belongs to the same year, is as follows:

[Νομοφύλακ]ες [ἐ]πὶ Μνάσωνι[ος]
[ὧν πρέ]σβ[υ]ς Γ. ['Ι]ούλιος - -
[- - - - - Δ]αμοκριτο - - -

and the appearance here of the *praenomen* and *nomen* Caius Iulius shows that it must belong to the very end of the first century B.C. at the earliest. But *C.I.G.* 1241 (= *S.M.C.* 204) will lead us to place it even later. The first five lines of that inscription must belong to about 140 A.D., for Agathocles

[1] *Arch. Aufsätze*, ii. p. 659 (= *B.S.A.* x. 69, No. 9). The inscription suffered severely in the fire which destroyed the first Sparta Museum and the relief perished: see Le Bas-Foucart, *Explication*, p. 100.

[2] Furtwängler, *ap.* Roscher, i. p. 1172. [3] Cf. *S.M.C.* Nos. 201, 202, 203, 356.

[4] Alcman, *fr.* 5: Pindar, *Nem.* x. 56: Homer, *Il.* iii. 243, *Od.* xi. 301.

[5] Plutarch, *De frat. amore, ad init.* [6] *S.M.C.* p. 113, Fig. 14.

[7] *S.M.C.* No. 588, Fig. 68. [8] Hdt. v. 75; cf. Rawlinson's note *ad loc.* [9] *S.M.C.* p. 116.

had been *ἀγορανόμος* in the year of Hadrian's second visit to Sparta, *ca.* 129 A.D. (l. 10), and had subsequently been Ephor, Senator for a second time and Secretary of council. The relation of the lists which follow (ll. 16–34) to Agathocles' *cursus honorum* is obscure, but these lists must belong to about the same time, and this dating is borne out by the occurrence in them of the names Publius Aelius Onesiphorus (l. 21), and Publius Aelius Nicandridas (l. 27), which are not likely to have been borne before Hadrian's reign. Now Philocles, who is Ephor in one of these years, is referred to as *Μνά(σωνι) καὶ Λυσιμ(άχωι) κά(σις)* (l. 25). If, as I believe, this *Μνάσων* is the same as the eponymous Patronomus of our inscription, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that his year is to be placed at the close of the first, or in the first half of the second, century A.D.

2. On a large stele of coarse local marble, found in the ruins of a windmill at the place called Ἀερόμυλος, north of Magoula: now in the Sparta Museum (Inventory No. 837). Height 1·13 m.; breadth ·445 m.; thickness ·12–·17 m. Complete except at the foot. On the upper part of the stele is a gable with acroteria in relief: in the field above this are representations in relief of a ball with an oil-flask and a wreath to right and left respectively (cf. *B.S.A.* x. p. 70, No. 10). Copy and squeeze.

ΕΠΙΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥ
ΛΕΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΗΒΙΔΥΟΥ
ΔΕΗΞΕΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΗΞΕΝϹ
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΗΔΙΑΒΕΤΕΟϚϚ
ΦΙΛΕΡΩΤΟΣΤΟΥΘΕΟΞΕΝϋ
ΣΦΑΙΡΕΙΣΛΙΜΝΑΕΩΝΟΙΝΙΚ
ΣΑΝΤΕΣΤΑΣΙ ΣΩΝΓΡΕ
ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΣΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ
ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ ΠΞΛΕ
ΠΡΑΤΟΝΙΚ^Ξ ⌣†ΩΝΤΟ
ΟΓΕΝΙ ΙΣΤΟΚ§Ι
ΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΣΩΤΙΩΝΟΣ
ΙΙΚΑΡΧΟΣΑΓΑΘΟΝΙΚΟΥ
ΤΡΙΤΩΝ<·
ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ
ΖΗΛΟΣ/ ΓΑΘΟΝΙΚΟΥ
ΕΥΤΥΧΟΣ<ΜΕΝΑΝΔ
ΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΙΑΘΗΙ ΟΝΓ
ΑΓΑ

Ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ
[Κ]λεοφάντου—βιδύου
δὲ—Ξένωνος τοῦ—Ξεν[ο]-
στράτου—διαβέτεο[ς δὲ]
Φιλέρωτος τοῦ Θεοξένο[υ],
σφαιρεῖς Λιμναέων οἱ νικ[ήσ]-
αντες τὰς [ὠβά]ς, ὧν πρέ[σ](βυς)
Ἐπάγαθος Σωκράτους
Στρατῶν - - - -
Πρατόνικος - - οφῶντο[ς]
. . . ογενί[δας Ἀρ]ιστοκρα[τ]-
[Τι]μοκράτης Σωτίωνος
[Ν]ίκαρχος Ἀγαθονίκου
Τρίτων (Τρίτωνος)
Ἀφροδείσιος Ἀρίστωνος
Ζῆλος [Ἀ]γαθονίκου
Εὔτυχος<Μενάνδρ[ου]
Σωτηρ[ι . .]ς Κ[α]θήκ[α]ον[τος]
Ἀγα - -

The formula is the usual one. It is tantalizing that the stone is broken off after the twelfth name and gives no evidence as to the number of members in a team of *σφαιρεῖς*. The *Φιλέρως Θεοξένου* of l. 5 may be the same as Γ. *Ἰούλιος Φιλέρως Θεοξένου*, who appears as *πρέσβυς ἐφόρων* in the year of Claudius Aristoteles (*C.I.G.* 1243), and father or son of *Θεόξενος Φιλέρωτος* (*S.M.C.* 208). In that case this inscription probably belongs to the second century A.D. None of the other *σφαιρεῖς* of this list occur, so far as I know, elsewhere. In l. 18 we may restore *Σωτήρ[ιχο]ς* or *Σωτηρ[ίδα]ς*: the name *Καθήκοντος* I restore from *C.I.G.* 1239, 1240, where a certain *Νεικήφορος Καθήκοντος* appears in a list of *νομοφύλακες*. The readings of the latter part of ll. 9, 17 are very uncertain.

3. In the Sparta Museum (Inventory No. 873): found on the land of Leópoulos (General Plan, **J 14**). On a gable-topped stele of bluish local marble broken on the left and at the bottom. Height ·63 m.; width ·35 m.; thickness ·11 m. From a copy made by Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ
ΥΔΕΚΑΝΙΝΙ
ΒΕΤΕΟΣΔΕ
ΑΘΡΑΣΥΒΟΥΛΟΥ
ΣΟΙΑΡΧΑΙΟΙ
ΟΙΝΕΙΚΑΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ
ΑΣΜΙΟΥ
ΩΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ

[Ἐπὶ *πατρονόμου*] Κλαυδίου
[- - - - - *βιδύο*]υ δὲ Καινιί-
[ου Εὐπόρου(?) δια]*βέτεος* δὲ
[*αὐτεπαγγέλτου*] Θρασυβούλου
[- - - - *σφαιρεῖ*]ς οἱ *ἀρχαῖοι*
[Νεοπολειτῶν (?)] (ο)ἱ *νεικάσαντες*
[*τὰς ὠβὰς* - - *ὦ*]ν *πρέσβυς*
- - - - - - - - [Ἐ](ρ)ασμίου
- - - - - - - - - - [οδ]ώρου
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - *που*

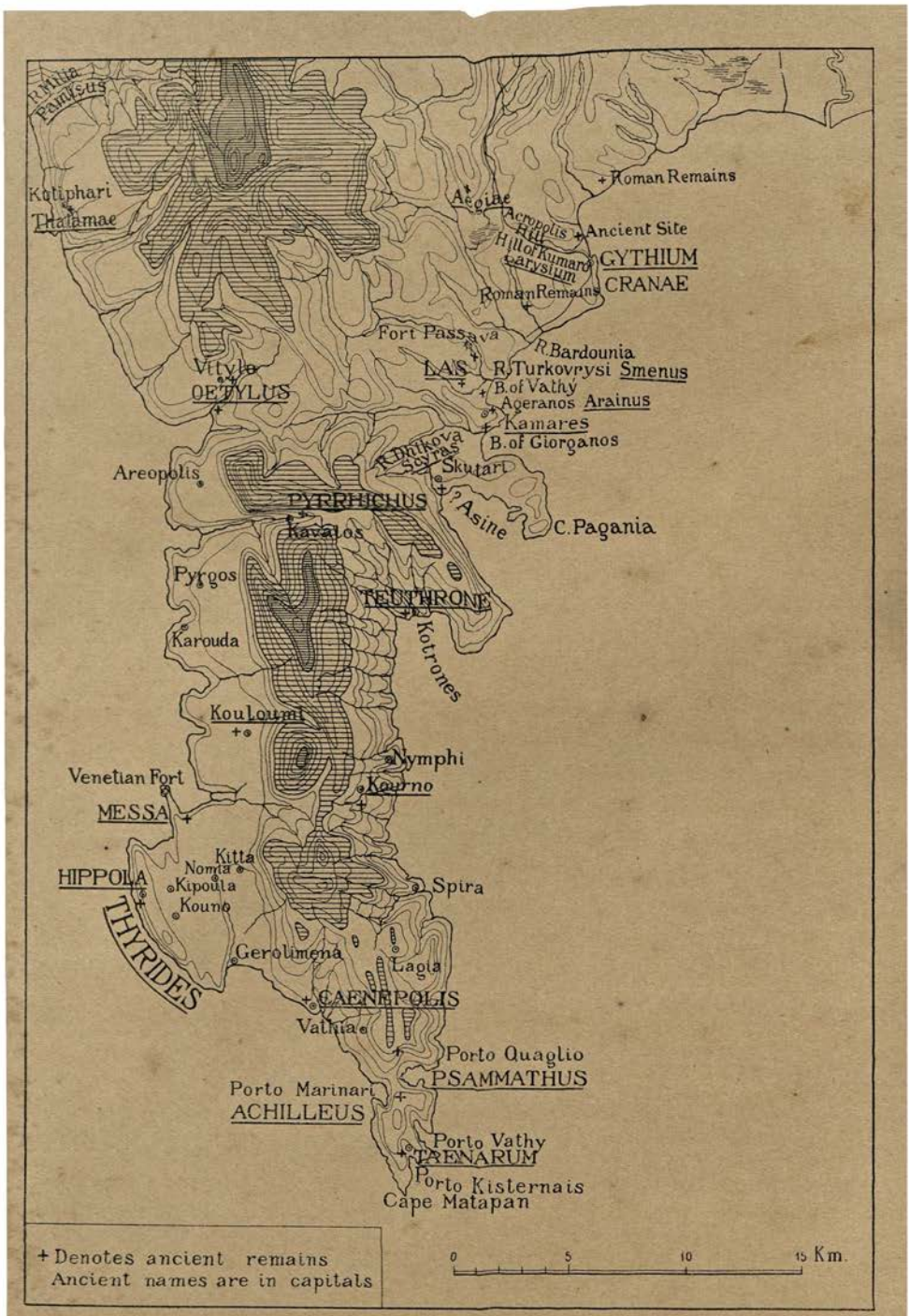
The letters are well and clearly engraved, with very slight *apices*. The formula of the inscription is, so far as it can be restored, of the usual type. In l. 1 [Ἐπὶ *Τιβερίου*] Κλαυδίου or [Ἐπὶ *Τιβ.*] Κλαυδίου might be restored, but the length of the line is, I think, determined by l. 4 as restored, and this points very strongly to [Ἐπὶ *πατρονόμου*] Κλαυδίου as the reading of l. 1. Perhaps it will not be too bold to conjecture *Βρασίδου* at the beginning of l. 2: this, at least, is the only known name of an eponymous Patronomus which has the Roman *nomen* Claudius prefixed and consists of eight letters, the number which is to be expected if l. 1 is rightly

restored. Ἀττικοῦ (*S.M.C.* 783 : cf. *C.I.G.* 1241, 1245) and Σεϊανοῦ (*B.S.A* xii. 364, No. 11) are too short, while Ἀριστοτέλους (*C.I.G.* 1243) and Ἀριστοβούλου (*S.M.C.* 204, ii. 32) are too long. Claudius Brasidas appears as eponymous Patronomus in *C.I.G.* 1259 (cf. 1286: *B.S.A.* xii. 374, No. 36). In l. 3 Εὐπόρου can be restored with tolerable certainty: the name Κανίνιος is found in Spartan inscriptions only with the *cognomina* Εὔπορος (*C.I.G.* 1240) and Ἀριστόνικος (*C.I.G.* 1278), both members of the same family, and the former name has exactly the required number of letters. In l. 4 αὐτεπαγγέλτου is a certain restoration from *B.S.A.* x. 63, No. 1 ; 66, Nos. [5,] 6. The vacant space of about five letters in l. 5 is puzzling: perhaps we should restore νεωτέ., abbreviated for νεωτέρου (*S.M.C.* 204, i. 34). I can offer no suggestion for filling the blank in l. 7, as the word ἀνέφεδροι, which is otherwise most suitable (*B.S.A.* x. 63 ff., Nos. 1, 2, 3, [4], [7], [8]), is too long unless abbreviated.[1] In l. 6 I have restored Νεοπολειτῶν from *B.S.A.* x. 63, No. 1, 69, No. 9 as the only obename which is sufficiently long to fill the required space. The phrase σφαιρεῖς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι is without parallel in the other inscriptions of the series, and there is no evidence enabling us to interpret it with any confidence.

MARCUS NIEBUHR TOD.

[1] Or possibly the line is drawn in at each end, as in No. 1, l. 5 (above), and there is no word lost between ὠβάς and ὤν.

.Text Plate.



LACONIA: MAP OF THE MAINIOTE PENINSULA.

LACONIA.

II.—TOPOGRAPHY.

§ 1.—Gythium and the North-West Coast of the Laconian Gulf.

I PROPOSE here to discuss briefly the topography of the triangular district which is bounded on the west by the range of Taygetus, on the east by the sea from the mouth of the Eurotas to the Bay of Skutari, and on the north by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of the Eurotas due west to Taygetus.

Geographical Characteristics.

This district can well be discussed by itself, since geographically it is distinguished in a marked manner from those which adjoin it on the north and south, while on the west it is entirely cut off by the barrier of Taygetus. The Plain of Sparta to the north, though surrounded by mountains and hills, is itself almost flat; the Gythium district is covered by spurs which run down from Taygetus and is watered by copious streams, which have here and there formed small but fertile plains, some inland, but the majority on the sea border. In the Plain of Sparta the streams drain into the Eurotas, in our district into the Laconian Gulf.

On the south the district is sharply divided from the Peninsula of Taenarum or Matapan by a barrier of hills running down from Taygetus into the sea, just south of the Bay of Skutari. At this point runs the only important pass in the southern part of Taygetus, which must have served in antiquity, as at the present day, as the chief road of communication with the cities of the east coast of the Messenian Gulf. The

Peninsula of Taenarum is distinguished from the Gythium district by its more mountainous character and the absence of fertile lowlands.

GYTHIUM.

The modern town[1] is built along the foot of the hill of Kumaro 'Arbutus' (the ancient Larysium), partly on a shelf of land which projects into the sea, partly on the steep side of the hill itself, and partly on the southern edge of the plain which lies to the north of it, now called Palaeopolis, the site of the ancient city. Except for a few scattered houses and the mill on the seashore, there was, until the last few years, no extensive building on the ancient site. Now, however, there are several factories, the public buildings, and a number of small houses in the plain of Palaeopolis.

Gythium is connected with Sparta by a well-constructed road which enters the town from the north-west, following the course of the Gythium River, unlike the ancient road, which entered the Plain of Palaeopolis from the north.

Gythium possesses an inner and an outer harbour. The outer harbour is formed by the Island of Cranae, which is joined to the mainland by a mole; the inner harbour is formed by a mole running out due north from the shelf of land on which the main part of the town is built. The outer harbour has a depth of from eleven to twenty fathoms, the inner from one-and-a-half to two fathoms. Along the whole length of the town, 1200 metres, a mole has been constructed, which has driven the sea back in many places to a distance of thirty to forty metres, on which space numerous houses and the road have been constructed.

The simplest method of dealing with the topography of Gythium[2]

[1] Population in 1889, 3686; in 1896, 4061.

[2] References to Gythium in ancient authors: Paus. iii. 21. 8 ff.; Strabo, vii. 5. 2; Thuc. i. 108, iv. 53; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 32; Polyb. v. 19. 6; Scylax, 47. 6; Lycophron, 98; Pomponius Mela, ii. 3. 51; Liv. xxxiv. 29, xxxv. 27.

Bibliography: Leake, *Morea*, i. 244 ff.; Curtius, *Pelop.* ii. 268 ff.; Bursian, *Geog.* 144–145; Phillipson, *Pelop.* 216; Boblaye, *Recherches*, 86 ff.; Walpole, *Memoirs Relating to Turkey*, 57 ff.; Ross, *Wanderungen*, ii. 231–235, 238; Le Bas, *Voyage Arch. Itin.* 25, 26; Wyse, Sir T., *Travels*, i. 40 ff.; Stephanopoulo, *Voyages en Grèce*, chs. xxii.–xxv.; Patsourakos, J. Πραγματεία περὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου Γυθείου (Athens, 1902); *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xv. (1891), 654; *Rev. Arch.* 1845, 206–217; *Ath. Mitt.* i. 151–157; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἑλλ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ. 1891, 27–35; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1891, 55–64; 185–204.

Maps and Plans: British Admiralty Chart, *Plan of Gythium* (1902): Le Bas, *Voyage Arch.* Pl. 26; Curtius, *Pelop.* taf. xii.; Πρακτικά, *loc. cit.* (Theatre).

seems to be to take the account of Pausanias[1] in connexion with the existing remains, and then to describe other features of the site and neighbourhood.

A.—EXISTING REMAINS MENTIONED BY PAUSANIAS.

The Agora.[2]

'In the Agora are statues of Apollo and Herakles, and near them is Dionysos.[3] On the other side is Apollo Karneios and the Temple of Ammon and a brazen statue of Asklepios and his temple, which has no roof, and the fountain of the god and the shrine of Demeter[4] and the statue of Poseidon, Upholder of Earth.'

It was therefore a large open space adorned with temples and public buildings. Several indications help to fix its position: firstly, south of the theatre and parallel with the foot of the Acropolis Hill are traces of a long marble building, now mostly covered up; beyond this, and near the Church of the Panagia, is a public well, which may mark the site of the sacred spring of Asklepios. This spring was, according to Pausanias, on the same side of the agora as the Temple of Apollo, and it was just at this spot that the inscription relating to this temple was found.[5] We thus have some indication of the position of one side of the agora. Secondly, between this line and the sea and parallel to both, Mr. Skias[6] found part of a marble epistyle and stylobate, together with a Corinthian capital, three metres below the surface. It was at this point that the Table of Liquid Measurements,[7] now at Athens, was found; this, like the similar table found *in situ* at Pompeii,[8] must certainly have stood in the agora. We thus have indications of the position of the east side of the agora, which must therefore have covered a large space south-east of the theatre, with its west side along the foot of the Acropolis Hill.

[1] iii. 21. 6–22. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 21. 8–9.

[3] For the cult of Dionysos at Gythium see *B.S.A.* x. pp. 181–182.

[4] For the cult of Demeter at Gythium see *ib.* pp. 180–181.

[5] C.-B. 4567; Le B.-F. No. 243. [6] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. *l.c.*

[7] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. i. p. 378; Le B.-F. No. 241 b; Hultsch, *Metrologie*, pp. 537–539; *Rev. Arch.* 1872, p. 297; *ib.* 1903, p. 27.

[8] Mau, *Pompeii*, pp. 92–93 and 340.

The Πύλαι Καστορίδες.[1]

'There too are what are called "the Gates of Castor."'

The use of the word πύλαι in the plural to signify a pass, as in the case of Thermopylae and the πύλαι τῆς Κιλικίας, seems to point here to some narrow defile rather than the gate of the city. The ancient road from Sparta to Gythium entered the town from the north, as we gather from Pausanias.[2] At the point where the plain begins to open there is a narrow defile between the abrupt cliff and the sea, and here must have been the gate referred to by Pausanias. Pausanias, who speaks of only one gate, would naturally mention the Spartan gate as being the most important, and Castor was a typically Spartan deity. I would therefore place the 'Gates of Castor' just where the road from Trinasos enters the plain of Palaeopolis.

The Ancient Acropolis.

'On the Acropolis is a temple and statue of Athena.'[3]

The hill on which this stood lies to the west of Palaeopolis, and rises to a height of about fifty metres. It is now covered with olives and narrow terraces sown with corn, which have been mainly constructed of ancient blocks and seats from the theatre. The temple of Athena was probably situated where are now the ruins of a small Christian shrine; several large ancient blocks of marble are still to be seen here. Athena is represented on the Imperial coins of Gythium.

The Sanctuary of Zeus Kappotas.

'About three stades from Gythium is an unworked stone; they say that it was while seated on this that Orestes recovered from his madness. For this reason the stone was called Zeus Kappotas (the Deliverer) in the Dorian tongue.'[4]

Near the modern Gymnasium, at the side of the Sparta road, is an abrupt face of reddish stone some ten metres high, cut into the side of the hill of Kumaro and now called Πελεκητό. At a point about four metres above the level of the neighbouring road is the rock-cut inscription Μοῖρα Διὸς Τεραστίω.[5] It was cut by hammering with a round-pointed instrument, which made dot-like incisions.

[1] Paus. iii. 21. 9. [2] iii. 21. 4 and 22. 3. [3] Paus. iii. 21. 9.
[4] *Ib.* 22. 1. [5] C.-B. 4563.

The distance from this spot to the centre of the ancient site agrees well with the 'about three stades' of Pausanias, and it may, I think, be regarded as certain that this inscription marks the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Kappotas. Τερά̀στιος must then be regarded as the official title of the god, Καππώτας as a local popular epithet. The spot as figured by Le Bas-Waddington shows a rocky platform at the foot of the cliff, which perhaps was the 'unwrought stone' mentioned by Pausanias.

The Island of Cranae.

'The Island of Cranae lies in front of Gythium.'[1]

The Island of Cranae or Marathonisi lies at right angles to the southern extremity of the modern town, about a kilometre distant from the ancient site; it is now connected with the mainland by a mole. The surface is extremely rough, and there are no traces of ancient foundations. Two sarcophagi, of which one still remains on the island and the other has been removed to Athens, have been found here. A small cutting instrument of Melian obsidian, which I discovered, seems to show that the island was inhabited at an early date; as is also indicated by the Homeric story[2] that Paris and Helen fled hither from Sparta and took ship for Troy. There may well have been a small *skala* here at a very early date.

The Migonium.

'Over against the island (of Cranae) is the temple of Aphrodite Migonitis on the mainland, and the whole of this place is called the Migonium. They say that Alexander (*i.e.* Paris) built this temple.'[3]

Opposite and to the north-west of Cranae, lies a shelf of land forming an isosceles triangle, of which the east and west sides measure 500 metres, and the north side 180 metres. This space is bordered on the west by the abrupt slopes of Mount Kumaro, on the north by the sea. It is now entirely covered with buildings and forms the oldest portion of the modern town and contains the principal churches. Here, and here only, can the Migonium have been situated, since on no other site opposite Cranae—that is between Palaeopolis and the modern village of Mavrovouni—could there have been found sufficient flat space to build a temple. Further, the Larysium (see below) is described by Pausanias as 'above the Migonium,'

[1] Paus. iii. 22. 1. [2] Paus. *l.c.*; Hom. *Il.* iii. 445. [3] Paus. iii. 22. 2.

and this triangular space is the only flat ground between the hill and the sea, for north and south of it the cliffs fall abruptly into the sea. It is possible that the Metropolitan Church of H. Georgios occupies the site of this temple of Aphrodite, since in digging the foundations of the houses adjoining it, some ancient foundations were discovered and a statuette, which was carried to Cythera, then under British government, and there sold.

With this triangular space of ground, which we have identified with the Migonium, may be connected the well-known rock-cut inscription *Μηδένα ἀποστρύθεσθαι κ.τ.λ.*,[1] inscribed on the face of the cliff 330 metres to the north. The sea in antiquity must have washed the base of this cliff, but has now been driven back by the construction of the mole, the depth of water in front of which at this point, varies from four-and-a-half to six feet. The inscription is cut at the commencement of a path leading along the face of the cliff, above and parallel to the present road along the mole, by which it has now been replaced. It is reasonable to suppose that the ancient road from the town to the Migonium led along this rock-cut path on the face of the hill, and that here, at the entrance of the sacred precinct, which was regarded as beginning at this spot, this inscription was cut to warn the worshipper not to pollute the sacred inclosure. There can have been no thoroughfare in antiquity along the east face of Mount Kumaro, for the road to the Plain of Bardounia was elsewhere (see below, *Public Stairway*), and the modern road to Mavrovouni had to be blasted out of the face of the cliff.

The Larysium Hill.

'Above the Migonium is the hill called the Larysium, sacred to Dionysos.'[2]

The modern name of this hill is Kumaro; it rises immediately above the town to a height of 186 metres, and is crowned by the little church of H. Pantes. The hill is very steep and rocky, and the only spot where any cultivation would be possible, is on a small plateau at the head of the ravine which runs down to the sea immediately opposite the island of Cranae. Here must have been situated the shrine of Dionysos mentioned by Pausanias.[3] Its position would be exactly 'above the Migonium,' as

[1] C.-B. 4564, *C.I.G.* 1469. [2] Paus. iii. 22. 2.

[3] Paus. *l.c.* says that grapes grew here; hence the necessity of finding a site where there would be sufficient soil for cultivation.

Pausanias describes it. There are traces of ancient quarries on the north-east slopes of the hill.

OTHER REMAINS ON THE ANCIENT SITE OF GYTHIUM.

The Theatre.

The theatre, which was cut out from the east slope of the Acropolis, has been fully dealt with by its excavator, Mr. A. Skias.[1]

The Harbour and Existing Remains on the Sea-Shore.

On the shore immediately east of the Acropolis and near the mill of Mulákos are extensive Roman remains, the most important being a long building now partly covered by the sea, and a fine mosaic. Here, as in many other parts of Greece, a considerable area of what was dry land in antiquity has now been covered by the sea; at the present day a number of various buildings can be seen extending under the sea, amongst them a thick wall of poros blocks, 1·00 m. by ·30 m., which must mark the beginning of an ancient mole. It is said to curve round to the north-east and would have afforded the necessary protection from the east wind. Curtius[2] saw traces of the 'excavated harbour' mentioned by Strabo, in a marsh on the shore, but Mr. Skias has proved by trial-pits that there is not sufficient depth of earth down to the living rock for this to have been possible. Hence in antiquity there must have been an inner harbour entered from the north and protected by a breakwater and an outer port, as at the present day, under the shelter of Cranae.

Immediately east of the theatre Mr. Skias found the ruins of a colonnade, consisting of a stylobate twenty-one metres long, with two bases of Ionian columns and part of the epistyle. This was probably a colonnade in connexion with the theatre, as is the case at Athens and elsewhere.

Roman Remains at Palaeopolis.

The most important lies in the valley north of the Acropolis Hill, and consists of several brick vaults, decorated with fan-shaped moulding of stucco; it was perhaps a bath.

Remains of fortifications of the same period can be traced in several

[1] Πρακτικά, 1891, pp. 71 ff. and Plan, to which add *B.S.A.* x. p. 180.
[2] *Pelop.* ii. pp. 268 ff.; Strabo, vii. 5. 2.

places; by the Church of the Panagia are the remains of a considerable tower, still standing to the height of about four metres. A similar tower also stands on the south-west of the summit of the Acropolis Hill, together with some remains of walls. That so little remains *in situ* is due to the fact that the growth of the modern town has given rise to a great demand for building-material, and every available stone has been carried off.

Cemeteries.

The most important burial ground of ancient Gythium seems to have extended along the valley which runs at right angles to the sea, from the south corner of the site, and through which the Gythium river flows. It was along this valley, where the Sparta road now runs, that the ancient way led to the plain of the Bardounia River, as I shall presently show (see below, *Public Stairway*). The construction of this new road has laid bare a number of tombs, both rock-cut and artificially built up, and numerous inscriptions have been found here. In one tomb on this road Professor Patsourakos found a terracotta of archaic type, with long hair and hands extended at the side, ·08 m. in height. He has also found what seems to have been a private burial ground on the hill of St. Elias, just north of the site.

Near the shore to the north-west is an underground tomb of Roman brick.

'The Apella.'

A short distance from the ancient site, north of the Sparta road and west of the Church of H. Triada, is an open space of semicircular form. The chord is formed by a flat rock about 3·00 m. high, artificially smoothed, with a square block cut out of the top of it in the centre, so as to form a kind of *bema*. The greater part of the arc of the semicircle is formed by the natural slope of the north side of the Acropolis Hill and a small spur which runs out from it. This, I think, may have been the ancient Apella or place of assembly: being situated just outside the town and in an open space near an important road, it is in a position such as would be naturally chosen for such a purpose.

The Aqueduct.

The discovery of the ancient aqueduct is due entirely to the zeal of Professor Patsourakos of Gythium. The water was taken from the

Bardounia River at a point some sixteen kilometres north of the town, below the village of Strotza; the water-course was constructed partly by rock-cuttings and partly by building; in the latter case it has generally disappeared. At first for some kilometres it follows the course of the river at a higher level. At one point, some two kilometres from where it leaves the river bed, is a splendid piece of tunnelling, 1·00 m. high, ·77 m. broad, and 16·00 m. long. At the mouth of this tunnel is a rock-cut relief of Herakles leaning on his club in the attitude of the Farnese figure; unfortunately it is much damaged. The rock is a bluish marble; the figure is ·52 m. in height, the right hand, the elbow of which is bent, holds the club, which rests on the rock. The left hand apparently rests on the rock. The face is partly destroyed, but it was evidently bearded and turned slightly to the left; the muscles are insisted on, particularly those of the chest and thighs. The depth of relief varies from ·04 m. to ·03 m.

Leaving the Bardounia River the aqueduct turns to the south-east and passes the village of Koutoumoú, and in the last part of its course follows the line of the Sparta road along the hills to the left of it. At a point about two kilometres from Gythium, where it doubles round a ravine, there was until last year, a very finely preserved rock cutting, 3·75 m. high and ·63 m. broad, which has now unfortunately been quarried away. The aqueduct ends in a reservoir at the back of the Acropolis Hill. This consisted of three long vaulted chambers lined with cement, two of which are still tolerably well preserved; they each measured 33·70 m. in length, 6·40 m. in width, and in some places the walls, which are a metre thick, still stand to the height of 4·00 m. Subterranean channels are said to be traceable leading in different directions to the town. This reservoir is built of brick and is certainly of Roman date, but the aqueduct itself must go back to Greek times. A proof of this is to be found in the fact that it doubles round a gorge, where a Roman architect would certainly have constructed it on arches.

In connexion with the relief, the modern peasants tell a curious tale. 'Herakles and another prince both fell in love with the daughter of the king of Gythium. As the price of her hand the king commanded each to fulfil a task in a given time. Herakles was to bring water down from Taygetus and his rival was to build the city of Gythium. The competitor who finished first was to wed the lady. Both finished at the same minute and demanded the princess's hand. The question therefore had to be

settled by a duel. Hearing of this the princess came upon the scene of the duel, and being unwilling to be the cause of the death of either of the benefactors of her father's city, slew herself between the combatants. This tale seems to be a modern version of the story told by Pausanias,[1] that Gythium was founded by Herakles and Apollo after they had fought for the tripod and had become reconciled.

The Public Stairway.

The road leading out of Gythium to the west has already been mentioned in connexion with the tombs which lined it on either side. It was the road leading into the rich plain of Bardounia, which must have supplied the town in antiquity, as it does at the present day. This road followed the line of the modern Sparta road for about a kilometre along the valley of the Gythium River, as far as the modern cemetery. At this point, where the Sparta road turns off to the north, the ancient road ascended a steep spur of the Larysium Hill. Here it can still be traced, though much destroyed by a modern mule-track. It was provided with a stairway for foot-passengers and a roadway for wheeled traffic, both cut in the solid rock. At a point half-way up the hill, fourteen steps are preserved, together with part of the roadway; the steps are 1·02 m. long, ·54 m. broad, and ·18 m. high; the roadway is 1·62 m. in width. At the top of this flight seven steps are carried over a slight depression on a large block. There are further traces of the ancient way higher up on the brow of the hill. It must have been a work of enormous labour and expense, which was no doubt compensated by the ease with which provisions could be brought into the town.

The Plain of Bardounia.

The rich alluvial plain which extends from the foot of the Larysium Hill to the hills round Passava must have always been of considerable agricultural importance, and so naturally contains some traces of ancient buildings. The most important of these lies on the right of the road from Mavrovouni to Passava. Here on the north slope of a hillock, have been discovered two unfluted columns and a number of carefully hewn blocks, perhaps the remains of an ancient shrine. Further inland in the district now called Voéthi, are remains of Roman masonry in several places,

[1] iii. 21. 8.

marking, no doubt, the sites of villas of inhabitants of Gythium in the Roman epoch. The church of H. Ioannes at Voéthi is apparently built of ancient blocks, either found on the spot or brought from Gythium or Las. If the former is the case, we might perhaps identify the place with the ancient Hypsi mentioned by Pausanias,[1] where was a temple of Artemis Daphnaea. Pausanias describes the place as 'thirty stades inland (*προελθόντι*) from the hill of Knakadion (at Las), and in the territory of the Spartans.' I am inclined to think that Hypsi must have lain rather towards the slopes of Taygetus, possibly in the neighbourhood of Scamnaki, but I could hear of no ancient remains in that district.

Note on a Head in the Museum of Gythium.

This head, which was discovered built into a wall to the south of the theatre, is unfortunately seriously damaged, the mouth and lower part of the face having completely perished. The material is white coarse-grained marble; a piece on the right side was set on with a dowel; the scale is life-sized. A rolled fillet is passed round the head, and there are traces of attachments for a bronze wreath: the hair consists of short curls, under-cut with a drill. The forehead is high and the bar across it strongly marked and well modelled; the eyes are deep set, widely opened and ellipsoid in shape, a heavy bar of flesh overshadows them and descends as far as the outer corners on either side. Short whiskers descend to the level of the middle of the ears, which are well modelled. The head has nothing of the wistful and strained expression of the Scopaic heads from Tegea, and approaches more nearly to the style of Lysippos, as represented in the copy of his portrait-statue of Agias discovered at Delphi. It is probably a work of the third century, and since it was found so near the site of the ancient agora it is an attractive theory that it may have belonged to one of the cultus-statues seen in the agora by Pausanias, possibly that of Apollo.[2]

The only other object in the Museum which calls for remark is a small statuette of very inferior workmanship, representing a draped and seated human figure with a ram's head. It was found at Kótrones, the ancient Teuthrone, and like the similar herm from Las (see below) doubtless represents Apollo Karneios.

THE SEA-COAST FROM GYTHIUM TO THE MOUTH OF THE EUROTAS.

The ancient road from Gythium to Sparta, as has already been remarked, followed the line of the sea-coast to Trinasus. The first point of interest along the sea-coast to the north-east of Gythium are the ruins

[1] iii. 24. 8; the name is used in the dative, *Ὑψοῖς*, so that the form of the nominative may have been *Ὕψα* or *Ὕψοι*.

[2] Paus. iii. 21. 8.

of the mediaeval fort of Kaki Skala. Beyond this lies another broad valley in which are considerable ancient remains. At the foot of the rock of Kaki Skala is a large cave, and just beyond, a copious stream of brackish water flows into the sea. A little further to the east are the remains of a large building on the sea-shore, consisting of two walls at right angles to one another, one side being 22·00 m. long, the other 38·00 m., but broken or buried in the sand in part of its length; between these two walls lies part of a large unfluted column, ·47 m. in diameter. The walls, which only just appear above the sand, are formed of a mixture of small stones, brick or tile, and mortar. Further to the east, also on the sea-shore, are more traces of Roman masonry. Above the shore is a long sandbank covered with low bushes of lentisk, out of which rise numerous remains of Roman masonry; the bank is obviously due to the fact that the sand has collected round these buildings. Among these remains the most remarkable is a structure containing two vaults, one higher than the other; it rises to the south to a height of nearly 3·00 m., on the north to about 3·50 m. Another long building lies close at hand. North of the sandbank the ground is extremely marshy and contains numerous remains of earlier construction. The ground-plan of one of these measures 23·00 m. in length and 14·00 m. in breadth, and stands to the height of ·25 m.; it is constructed of large limestone blocks, most of them more than 1·00 m. by ·50 m.; the limestone is full of small holes and fossil shells. North-west of this, at the foot of the spur which runs back from Kaki Skala, is another group of remains: here a terrace has been constructed, substantially built of small stones, mortar, and tiles. The rock rises steeply behind it. A few metres further north is a rectangular building of the same material, 16·00 m. by 11·00 m.; the walls are a metre thick with substantial buttresses on the west side. On the hill to the east of the valley in which these remains lie, are extensive ancient quarries.

Opposite to the last spur which runs down to the sea before the plain of the Eurotas is reached, lie three rocky islands which give its name to the ancient fortress of Trinasus.[1] This was first identified by Leake in a circuit of walls measuring about four hundred metres in circumference; as Pausanias describes it, it was a fort rather than a town, intended no doubt to control the 'Helots' who tilled the plain of Helos from which, as

[1] Paus. iii. 22. 3.

some have held, they took their name.[1] The fort of Kaki Skala further to the west probably served the same purpose at a later date.

East of Trinasus stretches the vast plain formed by the alluvial deposits of the Eurotas. At this point the ancient road to Sparta turned north to the inland site of Croceae.[2]

AEGIAE.

The ancient Aegiae[3] was thirty stades from Gythium and to the right of the ancient Sparta-Gythium road;[4] it has long been identified with the existing remains between Koutoumoú and Limni. The site is now known as Palaeochora, and lies about eight kilometres from Gythium. There are considerable traces of Roman, and slight traces of Hellenic masonry on the slopes below Koutoumoú and amongst the vineyards in the plain. Here has recently been discovered a sarcophagus of white marble. It is worked on three sides; in front is an Eros holding a garland which hangs over the horns of a *bucranium* on either side and extends round to the ends, where it terminates on the horns of two more *bucrania*.

The River of Bardounia flows to the west of the site, and to the south is the marshy pool which gives the name of Limni to the district. The land all round is marshy and the peasants have recently attempted to drain it by cutting ditches, and have thus been able to reclaim part of the land for growing maize. The marshiness is probably due to the fact that the outlet to the south into the Bardounia River has become silted up; in antiquity there may well have been a small lake with a stream running through it; the marsh was probably the site of the Lake of Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias. Of the temple of Poseidon, which stood by it, no traces are to be seen, but in the Byzantine church of H. Demetrios, on the further bank of the river, are two fine Ionic columns with capitals, nearly three metres high, on which Byzantine capitals have been superimposed, while an ancient architrave has been incorporated in the screen. These and the ancient blocks of which the church is built, may well have come from the temple of Poseidon.

[1] Strabo, vii. 5. 4. [2] Paus. iii. 21. 4; Curtius, *Pelop.* ii. 266.

[3] Hom. *Il.* ii. 583; Strabo, vii. 5. 3; Paus. iii. 21. 5; Ross, *Wanderungen*, ii. 229; Boblaye, *Recherches*, 85; Curtius, *Pelop.* ii. 276; Bursian, *Geogr.* ii. 229; Leake, *Pelop.* 170.

[4] Paus. *loc. cit.*

Pausanias and Strabo identify Aegiae with the Homeric Augeiae, and it is highly probable that there existed an early settlement which dominated the rich upper plain of the Bardounia River. Near at hand on the right side of the modern Gythium-Sparta road are mounds, apparently artificial, which are pointed out by the natives as the tombs of the ancient kings of the district. Aegiae can never have been a place of any importance, and was probably little more than a small agricultural town.

THE SITE OF LAS.

The town of most importance in the neighbourhood of Gythium to the south was Las.[1] Pausanias speaks of two cities of the name, the ancient city then in ruins and the town of his own day in the plain near at hand. The former stood on the hill of Asia, and is said to have given the Dioscuri their epithet of Lapersae, 'Sackers of Las.' The distance given by Pausanias of thirty stades from Gythium, agrees well with the distance from Gythium to the Hill of Passava,[2] and here, incorporated in the east wall of the Frankish fort, are fifty-five metres of polygonal masonry rising to a height of about two-thirds of the mediaeval wall. They are of an entirely different character from the rest of the wall, many of the blocks being over a metre long and a metre high; in places mortar has been inserted. They were first noticed by Leake.[3] They are certainly to be identified with the remains of the Las spoken of in the Homeric poems, which was in ruins when Pausanias visited the site. It is just such a position as would be chosen for a 'Mycenaean' fortress-city, being situated on an almost impregnable rock, near the sea and with a good water-supply close at hand, and dominating the fertile plain now called Vathý. It also commands the road to the important pass further south through Taygetus, and would thus keep open the connexion with the east coast of the Messenian Gulf and the Messenian plain beyond. It is interesting to find, here as elsewhere, that an early fortress-site was reoccupied by the Franks

[1] Bibliography of Las: Hom. *Il.* ii. 585; Paus. iii. 24. 6; Strabo, vii. 5. 3; Lycophron, 93; Scylax, p. 17; Thuc. viii. 91; Steph. Byz. *sub. voc.*; Livy, xxxviii. 30; Curtius, *Pelop.* ii. 273 ff.; Boblaye, *Recherches*, 87 ff.; Leake, *Morea*, i. 255 ff., *Pelop.* 174; Bursian, *Geogr.* ii. 147.

[2] For a description of Passava see R. Traquair, *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 274, 275, and Plan, p. 263, Fig. 3.

[3] *Loc. cit.*; Traquair, *B.S.A. loc. cit.*, seems to think that this masonry belongs to an earlier mediaeval castle.

under historical conditions which closely resemble those of the Homeric Age.

The site of the later foundation of Las has been a subject of much controversy: Pausanias[1] says that it lay between the hills of Ilium, Asia, and Knakadion, that it was not more than five stades from the river Smenos, and that its water supply came from the spring of Galako near which stood the Gymnasium. Now south of the hill of Passava is a little plain lying among three hills of which Passava is one. Here several statues have come to light, including a small bronze of Pan and the marble herm of a ram-headed deity which Dr. Schröder[2] has connected with the cult of Apollo Karneios. Here too at the foot of Passava Hill is a copious spring of water, and near it the remains of a large Hellenic building of fine poros blocks. These I would identify with the Spring of Galako and the Gymnasium, and the whole site with that of the newer foundation of Las. There are considerable remains of other Hellenic and Roman buildings in the neighbouring fields and vineyards, and in digging the foundation of a little khan some two hundred metres from the spring, the remains of a Doric building and an inscription were discovered.[3] The modern name of the district is Khosiari.

The distance of this site from the river of the Turkovrysi, also agrees well with the distance, 'about five stades,' which Pausanias gives from Las to the Smenos. The Turkovrysi (and not the Bardounia River further east) is certainly the ancient Smenos; it rises in Taygetus and reaches the plain of Vathý after passing through a wild glen under the precipitous north side of the hill of Passava. The description of the water of the Smenos as 'very sweet,' given by Pausanias, agrees exactly with the account of the water of the Turkovrysi given me by a peasant in the plain of Vathý.

On the sea-shore of the bay of Vathý are remains of Roman masonry, half buried in the sand, which mark the position of the ancient harbour.

The religious cults of Las, which are well illustrated by its imperial coinage,[4] are in the main those of Gythium. A noteworthy exception is

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* xxix. (1904), pp. 21–24; xxx. (1905), pp. 408, 409 (similar ram's head of Roman date from Zurich).

[3] *B.S.A.* x. p. 187, No. 18; Mr. A. M. Woodward, who visited the site in 1907, was shown amongst other small objects a fine bronze Corinthian pin-head.

[4] B.M. Cat. *Pelop.* Pl 26; Leake, *Num. Hell.* p. 60; Mionnet, *Suppl.* pp. 234, 235.

the worship of Artemis Dictynna, whose temple, according to Pausanias,[1] stood on a headland to the right of the mouth of the Smenos. It must therefore be placed on the promontory which forms the west extremity of the Gulf of Vathý. The cult is interesting, since it gives a connexion with Crete, where on a headland in the north-west of the island facing towards Laconia, stood the most famous shrine of the goddess.

THE SEA-COAST FROM THE GULF OF VATHÝ TO THE BAY OF SKUTARI.

As has been remarked, the temple of Artemis Dictynna must have stood on the headland to the south-west of the Gulf of Vathý. Near this headland stands the village of Ageranos, and in front of its principal church lies a large Ionic column which may have once belonged to this temple. The name Ageranos almost certainly represents the ancient name Araïnos, mentioned by Pausanias,[2] where was the tomb of Las, the mythical founder of the town that bears his name. It is therefore probable that this tomb stood on the same headland as the temple of Artemis, though probably somewhat to the west of it.

Further south-west lay, according to Pausanias,[3] the river Skyras. This is certainly to be identified with the Dhikova, which flows into the Bay of Giorganos, the next inlet south-west of Vathý. At its mouth Pausanias places a shrine of Zeus.[4] North of the river-mouth at a place called Kamares, are the ruins of a splendid group of Roman buildings. The ground-plan of about half the original structure can still be traced, and covers a large area. The front facing the sea has entirely perished, but the walls behind, still stand to a height of eight metres. There are some remains of another Roman building about two hundred metres inland, probably the villa of a wealthy Roman.

The Bay of Giorganos is bounded on the south-west by the promontory of Pagania, beyond which lies the deep Bay of Skutari.

[1] iii. 24. 9. [2] iii. 24. 10. [3] iii. 25. 1.

[4] Mr. Woodward sends me the following note: 'Close to the Roman building I found three Ionic capitals, of which two were smaller and poorer in style than the other; also marble blocks and a piece of Ionic cornice of fairly good style; they may have belonged to the shrine of Zeus.'

THE BAY OF SKUTARI PROBABLY THE SITE OF ASINE.

The site of Asine has been the subject of some discussion. That one of the numerous towns of that name was situated in the neighbourhood of Gythium, is clear from the ancient authorities; it is mentioned by Strabo,[1] and Polybius.[2] I think that Thucydides[3] is certainly referring to the Laconian Asine and not to the Messenian, where he mentions it in close connection with Helos, as having been attacked by the Athenians from Cythera; it must therefore have been a place of some importance at the time of the Peloponnesian War. It is not mentioned by Pausanias, and this fact has given rise to the theory, held by Curtius and others, that Asine was merely another name for Las, derived from the name of the neighbouring hill of Asia. This is, I think, impossible. Though the two places are clearly near one another, they were quite distinct, as is shown by the fact that Strabo[4] mentions them separately. The Laconian Asine lay on the sea-coast between Taenarum and Gythium;[5] it must also have occupied a strong defensive position, since it was unsuccessfully besieged by Philip of Macedon.[6] I have no hesitation in placing it at the modern Skutari. Firstly, the position is a strong one and near the sea; lastly there are distinct traces of Roman buildings near the sea and a number of ancient blocks and columns built into the modern village. The silence of Pausanias may be accounted for by the fact that he turned inland from the River Skyras to Pyrrhichus (Kavalos),[7] and thence doubled back to the shore of the Laconian Gulf at Teuthrone (Kotronais),[8] thus missing the Bay of Skutari.

THE GYTHIUM DISTRICT IN GREEK HISTORY.

Little has at present been discovered which throws any light on the history of the district in the Early Age of Greece. The only traces of the period are the polygonal masonry at Passava (Las) and the obsidian found at Cranae; we have further the evidence of the Homeric *Catalogue of the Ships*, that there was an early settlement at Aegiae. There may have been some trade in the purple of the Laconian Gulf at an early date, and

[1] vii. 5. 2. [2] v. 9. [3] iv. 54.
[4] *Loc. cit.* and vii. 5. 3. [5] Strabo, vii. 5. 2. [6] Polyb. v. 9.
[7] *B.S.A.* x. p. 160. [8] Paus. iii. 25. 4.

in all probability the quarries of green porphyry were worked at a very early date, and the marble at Croceae[1] (Ali-Bey, near Levetsova) brought down the western bank of the Eurotas and shipped from a point on the coast at, or near, Gythium.

In the Classical Period we are on firmer ground. The growing power of Sparta found in the north-west corner of the Laconian Gulf its most natural outlet to the sea; the Gythium district thus acquires at once a military and a commercial importance. A small port may have existed at Gythium at an earlier date, but it was not until the late sixth and early fifth centuries that historical conditions encouraged the foundation of great sea-ports. When the growth of Spartan power necessitated a fleet, Gythium was naturally chosen as the naval station, since it is the nearest point on the Gulf which has any natural advantages, being protected on the south by Cranae and on the west by the Larysium. In the fifth century her enemies recognised that here lay the most vulnerable spot in the land empire of Sparta, for a power that had command of the sea. In 455 B.C Gythium was attacked by the Athenians under Tolmides and the docks were burnt;[2] thirty years later the whole district was laid waste by Nicias, who had his base on Cythera.[3] In 370 B.C. Gythium must have been a well fortified town, for Epaminondas besieged it unsuccessfully,[4] and in 215 B.C. it was attacked by Philip V. of Macedon.[5] In 195 B.C. it fell before the Romans under T. Quintius Flamininus; it was at this time, as Livy[6] tells us, a strong and populous town, well provided with means of resistance.

In the second century B.C. the cities of Southern Laconia formed a confederacy independent of Sparta, with their headquarters at Taenarum; they obtained special privileges under Augustus and numbered twenty-four cities under the title of the Eleuthero-Laconian League. By the time of Pausanias their number had dwindled to eighteen, but the existing remains, which mainly go back to the Imperial Epoch, point to a high pitch of prosperity under the empire. The marble quarries of Croceae and the purple fisheries of the Laconian Gulf were doubtless a source of wealth. Inscriptions of the period are numerous, and the plenteous coinage of Gythium and Las under Severus and Caracalla indicate commercial prosperity in the early third century A.D.

[1] Paus. iii. 21. 4; Philippson, *Pelop.* 215 and 387. [2] Thuc. i. 108.
[3] *Ib.* iv. 54. [4] Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 32. [5] Polyb. v. 19. 6. [6] xxxiv. 29.

When the power of Rome waned and the centre of government was transferred to Constantinople, the control over south-western Laconia was relaxed and the inhabitants, as was natural in their isolated position, relapsed into barbarism. The centre of trade changed from Gythium to Monemvasia on the east coast of the peninsula of Malea; trade being now with the East rather than the West, this change saved the proverbially dangerous journey round Cape Malea.

EDWARD S. FORSTER.

LACONIA.

II.—TOPOGRAPHY.

§ 2.—TAENARUM AND SOUTHERN MAINA.

WRITING in the year 1817 Sir William Gell[1] says: 'The southern district of Maina has never been thoroughly explored by any English traveller except Leake.' After nearly a century has elapsed this remark is still practically true. Pouqueville, Boblaye, and Le Bas have, among others, given us accounts of their travels in French. German research is represented by such names as Bursian, Curtius, Weil and Philippson, but with a single exception no account of the district has appeared in English since Leake's. The work in question was published in 1869, and is an edition of a selection from the diary kept by Lord Carnarvon on his travels in Maina and other parts of Greece, in the year 1839. References to archaeology are, however, few and far between in its pages, and it does not profess to aim at completeness, since Lord Carnarvon, who penetrated, it is true, as far as Taenarum, returned, as he went, by the track on the west coast, leaving the east coast of the peninsula unvisited. In connection with the survey of Laconia by the British School I travelled in Maina in April, 1907,[2] and in the follow-

[1] *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 238.

[2] I wish to record my thanks to the following for their hospitality and other services: Professor Gregorakes of Gythium; Messrs. Prasitakos and Kyriakoulakos of Pyrgos, Perimenes of Geroliména, the light-house superintendent at Cape Matapan, the demarch of Lagia, Mr. Manolakos of Kótrones, and especially Mr. Stathios Malevrés of Kouloumi, who gave me much interesting information about the customs, traditions, and dialect, as well as the antiquities of his neighbourhood.

ing notes attempt to describe the geographical features and remains of antiquity, of the district south of an imaginary line drawn across the peninsula from Areopolis on the west to Skutari on the east coast.

I.—GEOGRAPHY.

Southern Maina[1] from Gythium to Cape Matapan, the ancient Taenarum, is a peninsula about twenty-five miles in length and nowhere more than ten in width. Its backbone is formed by a continuation of the main chain of Taygetus, which terminates on the south in Cape Matapan itself. In several places its peaks are more than 3000 ft. in height, but several low passes lead across it. The most practicable of these tracks leads from Gythium to Areopolis and the harbour of Liméni, crossing the river Turkovrysi close to Fort Passava and bearing thence west-south-west. Another easy route leads from Kótrones on the east coast to Kávalos, the site of Pyrrhichus, where it splits into two; that on the northern side of the wide ravine, at the head of which Kávalos stands, leads in a north-westerly direction to Areopolis, while that on the south side leads south-west to Pyrgos. There are other, less frequented tracks further south. The aspect of the country on the western slope of the chain differs considerably from that on the eastern; on the former there is a flat shelf of cultivated land varying in width between one mile and two, and ending abruptly in cliffs perhaps three hundred feet high, intersected in places by narrow bays. Typical of these is Liméni, a fair harbour, at which several Greek steamers touch every week, and in former times the port of the town of Oetylus. On the eastern slope, however, the hills run down to the water's edge; vegetation is sparse, and the soil very full of stones. There is no harbour worthy of the name between Kótrones and Porto Quaglio,[2] a distance of fully twelve miles. Between the former place and Gythium two rocky spurs run out eastward from the main chain; the southerly one terminates in Cape Stavro, that to the north in Cape Paganiá; the former constitutes the northern and eastern side of the bay of Kótrones, the latter does the same for the bay of Skutari. North of Cape Paganiá the character of the east coast changes; the spurs of the main chain of hills do not come down so close to the sea, and one finds fertile plains thick with oaks, olives, and fruit-trees reaching to the water's

[1] See map: the coast-line and contours are taken from Philippson's map of the Peloponnesos.
[2] On Greek maps it appears as Πόρτο Καίο.

edge, well-watered by the rivers Dhíkova, Turkovrysi, and Passava, and separated from each other by rocky promontories. Except for a few acres of vines close to Kyparisso (the site of Kainepolis, *vide infra*), this is the only part of southern Maina which produces wine. The entire district along the east coast between Skutari and Cape Matapan is really wild, with the exception of a rich upland plain of corn-land to the south of the village of Lagia, and the tracks deserve all the hard words said of them by Frazer,[1] Philippson,[2] and others. In this southern part the country is badly off for water; every village has its wells and an occasional cistern, but all the river-beds were dry and springs seemed very scarce.

Travelling in Maina is not so bad as it has been painted by those who have never done any; on the west coast, the road from Liméni as far as Geroliména and for a mile or two beyond has been made with considerable care, but is not intended or used for wheeled traffic; in fact, there is no wheeled vehicle of any sort to be found in Maina south of Gythium. But on the east coast, with the exception of a driving road leading from that place for about three miles in the direction of Passava, the roads are apparently left to take care of themselves. Hospitality, however, is no less ready than elsewhere in Greece; Κακοβουλία,[3] as far as I could see or hear, is nowadays an undeserved description of the extreme south of the peninsula; certainly there was no trace of evil intention towards strangers. I gathered that the vendettas are practically things of the past, and though the Mainiote towers are still prominent in every village, a man's house is no longer his castle in the literal sense. Bloodshed is probably no commoner than elsewhere in Greece, though the roughness of the country enables many of the guilty to escape justice.

II.—Ancient Sites.

The most satisfactory method will probably be to describe these in the order in which I visited them. From Gythium I travelled via Kosiári to Areopolis, and after a brief visit to Oetylus, back to Areopolis again and thence via Kávalos to Pyrgos. Mr. E. S. Forster had covered this ground three years before and nothing fresh had turned up at any of these places since his visit.[4]

[1] *Apud* Pausanias, iii. p. 396. [2] *Der Peloponnes*, i. p. 224.

[3] There is some doubt as to the origin of the name, which is given sometimes, incorrectly, I think, as Κακοβουνία, *vide* Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 171.

[4] *B.S.A.* x. p. 158.

PYRGOS.

This does not seem to have been an ancient site: the inscription (*vide infra* p. 260) partially copied by Leake in 1805 and apparently unnoticed since, was probably brought from elsewhere.

KOULOUMI.

About four miles south of Pyrgos is the village of Kouloumi, consisting of a few scattered houses close to the main road from Areopolis to Geroliména. Here was undoubtedly an ancient site, as there are several traces of antiquity to be found among the terraced cornfields which descend to a shallow ravine to the south-west of the modern village. In the north wall of the church of Ἅγιος Ταξιάρχης, which stands in this depression, I saw a grave-inscription (*vide infra*, No. 1, p. 259); there were also several small worked marble fragments built into this church, and lying near it; none were *in situ*, but they seem to have belonged to the sill-course of some ancient shrine. In the fields close to the church were several fragments of ancient bricks and tiles, and I was shewn a small votive vase, from the same part of the site, in coarse reddish clay with dull brown slip, similar in style and purpose to those found in such numbers at Sparta in 1907, but interesting as being of 'hydria' shape, which is unknown there. On the bare stony plateau to the west of this depression there were a number of sculptured fragments[1] indicating the existence of one or more sanctuaries, but I could see no walls. A few minutes' walk southwards from here brings one to a large round opening in the ground, due to natural causes, measuring perhaps fifty metres across and twenty to thirty deep. It apparently has no outlet and the bottom is planted with fine trees. This is alluded to by Aldenhoven.[2] Almost on the lip of the hole on the north-west is a rock-cut relief, ·67 m. high, representing Herakles (Fig. 1). Its attitude resembles that of the rock-cut relief near Gythium described by Mr. Forster (see p. 227), but the proportions are slenderer and the workmanship more careful. In both cases we have the cult of Herakles close to a

[1] (*a*) Broken male torso life-size: local marble (white, with grey veins and patches); round dowel hole for head, r. arm missing, and l. arm below elbow; upper l. arm covered with cloak hanging from shoulder in front and behind, roughly rendered in deep folds. From proportions and muscular type probably a Herakles, standing with the body inclined slightly to r. Surface much weathered by exposure, date probably 3rd century B.C. (*b*) Fragment of drapery, similar treatment in similar marble, badly damaged, possibly legs of standing female figure, life-size. Other fragments were of similar marble and even less recognisable.

[2] *Itinéraire de l'Attique et du Péloponnèse*, p. 343.

natural cleft in the ground, and it seems as if he were worshipped as a god of the nether world, to which these holes were regarded as entrances: the prominence of Herakles in the myths of Taenarum, 'the mouth of hell,' is too well known to need more than a passing allusion in this connection. I saw no remains of buildings on the site, and the only other object of interest was a small sculptured slab (probably funerary) in high relief, at the house of Mr. Malevrés; this represents a standing male figure clad in a long garment reaching below the knees, but it is broken away above

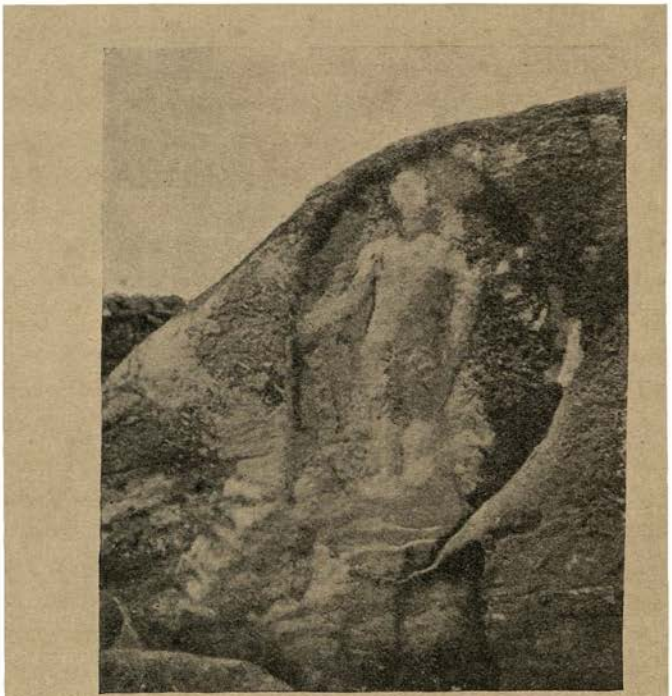


FIG 1.—HERAKLES-RELIEF AT KOULOUMI.

the hips: height originally about ·25 m. of whitish-yellow (not local) marble, probably Roman work.

Close to Kouloumi is the village of Vámvaka, about a mile to the east of the road; here is an inscription (*vide infra*, No. 9, p. 265) copied by Leake, which may well have been brought from the site at Kouloumi. We get no clue to the name of this site from any classical author: even Pausanias fails us here, as he seems to have travelled from Caenepolis to

Oetylus by sea; so its name must remain a problem, and, apart from its interest for us owing to its cult of Herakles, we cannot claim for it any great importance.

MESSA.

Two miles to the south-west of Kouloumi is the striking little promontory of Tigani, the 'frying-pan': the 'pan' itself is crowned by a little Venetian fort, and the 'handle' joins the mainland a bare mile to the west of the modern village of Mézzapo. In this neighbourhood Leake[1] places Messa, one of the earliest settlements in Maina, whose existence we hear of in Homer (*Il.* ii. 582), where it is described as πολυτρήρων. Pausanias also would lead us to look here for Messa, as he locates it between Hippola (for the site of which *vide infra*) and Oetylus. He must, however, be mistaken in saying that it is 150 stades from Messa to Oetylus, and there was probably some confusion in his mind. Distance by sea is much harder to estimate than distance by land, and there seems little doubt that Pausanias went from Caenepolis to Oetylus by sea. Strabo[2] somewhat surprisingly says that Messa cannot be identified, that possibly there never was such a place, and that the name may be merely an abbreviation for Messenia. Further evidence is afforded by the name of the modern village Mézzapo, for it is not unusual to find the ancient name surviving almost unaltered, as we do at Oetylus, at Hippola (the modern Kipoula), and at Taenarum itself. And πολυτρήρων is to-day the correct description of the cliffs in this neighbourhood, which are honeycombed with holes in which nest countless pigeons and sea-fowl. Of the ancient Messa I saw nothing: there are some ancient blocks built into the Venetian fortress at the end of the promontory, and Leake[3] thought he saw traces of an ancient road descending beside the bed of the stream which runs into the little bay close to the modern village, but I failed to see where this was, and the exact site must remain uncertain. Not improbably the Homeric fortress stood where the Venetian one now is, and the town on the bay to the east of the little headland.

About two miles south of the stream just mentioned stands the town of Kitta, now the capital of a deme and famous in Mainiote song and legend as Κίττα Πολύπυργος; it still boasts more towers than any other village in the district and travellers in the early part of the

[1] *Travels in the Morea*, i. p. 287. [2] viii. 5. 3. [3] *Loc. cit.* i. p. 307.

last century all heard that in it the blood feud raged more fiercely than elsewhere in Maina. It possesses no antiquities, but in a ruined church at Nomia half a mile to the west, I saw some inscriptions (*vide infra* Nos. 10, 11, p. 265); these however probably came from Hippola, which is only about two miles to the west, as Nomia does not seem to have been an ancient site.

HIPPOLA.

On the top of the narrow rocky ridge which on the west descends abruptly into the sea in the cliffs of the 'Thyrides,' and on the east to the plain about 150 feet below, are a large number of rough walls of the local stone, a coarse kind of grey marble, which contain many roughly squared blocks. These are especially noticeable a short distance to the north of the highest point of this ridge, which is called *'στῆς ὡραιᾶς τὸ κάστρο*. Some of these blocks may be ancient, but I could see no trace of ancient foundations. At a point almost due west of the modern village of Kipoula I found a number of potsherds lying on the surface of the soil. The peasants told me that they turned them up in large numbers when they dug on the spot. A handful or two collected at random proved on examination to contain Geometric Laconian sherds of the Orientalising style, black-figured sherds (of which 3 belong to Kylikes), and Hellenistic pottery of good quality, as well as black-glazed fragments common to all these periods, but there were none at all which seemed to be of the Roman age. Here then we have good evidence of a sanctuary site, in more or less constant use for the whole period from the Geometric down to the Hellenistic age. The local name for the site is *Ἄνω Ποῦλα*, and it is in all probability the site of Hippola. Pausanias tells us that it was in ruins in his time, but the cause or date of its overthrow is unknown. It appears on an inscription found by Mr. Forster at Leuctro (*B.S.A.* x. p. 177) as a member of the Eleuthero-Laconian League, but otherwise its history is a blank. We read in Pausanias that there was a shrine of 'Athena Hippolais' here, and it may well have been her sanctuary that stood on the Acropolis; if the inscription at Nomia also came from here (No. 11), we have evidence that Hippola also possessed a cult of Eileithyia. There seems to have been a settlement of some sort here in Roman times, in spite of Pausanias' evidence to the contrary. In the modern village of Kouno, close to Kipoula, I was shewn several coins found in the

neighbouring fields, which included specimens of the Laconian series of the first century B.C. and of Antoninus Pius, and Roman coins of Faustina, Lucius Verus, and Constantine the Great. There were also fragments of brick and tile in the fields near the village, but no architectural remains or inscriptions. If the ancient town was overthrown by an earthquake, for instance, a new settlement may quite well have sprung up in the plain below, and Pausanias coming round by sea, would only have seen the ruins on the Acropolis.

The imposing rock-wall known to antiquity as 'Thyrides' terminates to the south in the cape now called *Κάβο Γρόσσο*; this projection shelters on the west the insecure harbour where there has recently sprung up the busy little village of Geroliména.

CAENEPOLIS.

About two and a half miles to the south-east is the site of Caenepolis. There is no doubt about its identification; the distance from Cape Taenarum agrees well with that given by Pausanias (*loc. cit.*) of forty stades, and there are numerous inscriptions recording dedications by 'the city of the Taenarians' and the Eleuthero-Laconian league, of which we know from Pausanias it was a member. The site consists of a hill rising sharply from the beach to a height of about 100 feet; on the west side it descends steeply to a dry river bed which runs nearly due south and ends in a little creek, and on the north to the plain, in terraces built up with enormous walls of loose stones sometimes four feet thick and eight high, not used to enclose anything in particular, but chiefly, it would seem, to baffle progress and clear the soil for cultivation. On the west bank of the river bed and close to the beach is the ruined church of *Ἁγια Παρασκευή*, of which the east end consists of ancient blocks; here, I think, we may locate the temple of Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias as *ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ*.[1] In the west end stands a statue-base with a dedication to the Emperor Gordian (*C.I.G.* 1322). On the top of the hill is the ruined church of *Κοίμησις τῆς Παναγίας*, by the west entrance of which are the inscriptions in honour of Lakon and Tanagros (*C.I.G.* 1389, 1394). Into the south wall is built a fine cornice block from, apparently,

[1] This identification is uncertain, no two writers agree on the point; Bursian puts the *μέγαρον* of Demeter here and the temple of Aphrodite on the top of the hill. Weil puts the latter at the church of *τοῦ Σωτῆρος*, which I could not find at all.

an Ionic shrine: length 3·20 metres. This may well have been the site of the '*μέγαρον* of Demeter' alluded to by Pausanias: there are no ancient foundations visible, but it is hard to believe that such a large block of marble could have been carried far, for building into a church in later times. Weil says that he saw distinct traces of a theatre cut out of the hill on its east side, but I was unable to see them. North of the church last mentioned, is that of *Ἅγιος Πέτρος*, now likewise in ruins; buried among its débris I was able to see the inscription to Lysicrates.[1] Whether there are other ancient blocks here it is impossible to say. Leake saw numerous inscriptions built into the walls on the hill, but after considerable search I could only see one (*C.I.G.* 1321); the only other traces of antiquity, apart from a few minor inscriptions, all previously published, are an old road leading up the hill from the river bed, and a small Ionic capital built into the chapel of *Ἅγιος Χαράλαμπος*.

There seems no doubt that Caenepolis, or the 'city of the Taenarians,' does not date further back than Roman times. Pausanias[2] tells us that it was formerly called Taenarum; this may be a mistake on his part, for we know that the town on the cape itself, the site of the temple of Poseidon, was called Taenarum, and there are hardly likely to have been two towns of the same name so close together. If he is right, we must suppose that the older Taenarum beside the temple was more or less abandoned, and that a new town was built and called Caenepolis subsequently, though at first Taenarum. In any case Taenarum is not one of the towns in the list of members of the Eleuthero-Laconian League; which lends colour to the view that the ancient town had lost its importance by the time of Pausanias. Caenepolis shews us by its inscriptions that it continued to flourish during the first three centuries after Christ.

VATHIA.

From the little village of Kyparisso at the eastern end of the site of Caenepolis I went to Vathia, to enquire for the two inscriptions said, by Bursian, to have been brought here from the temple of Poseidon at Taenarum. Unfortunately they have disappeared, and I could see or hear nothing of them. The only object of antiquity to be seen was a small relief of grey marble built into the church of *Ἅγιος Σπυρίδων* over the

[1] Collitz-Bechtel, No. 4596.

[2] iii. 25. 9.

door. Its height is about ·20 m., breadth about ·12 m., and it represents Athena standing facing, her right hand on her spear, the left hanging by her side. She wears a crested helmet and long chiton, but no breastplate or aegis. The workmanship, as far as I could tell from the badly weathered surface, is poor, and may be Roman.

From Vathia the distance is about two miles to the isthmus separating the actual promontory of Taenarum from the rest of the peninsula. The aspect of the rocky hill side, rent into fantastic shapes by some great upheaval of nature, cannot fail to impress anyone who sees it, but one soon passes through this wild spot and emerges on to the grassy ridge which separates the modern harbours of Porto Quaglio and Marinari; the actual isthmus is little more than half a mile across at its narrowest part, and at its highest point rises to 445 feet.

ACHILLEUS AND PSAMATHUS.

The literary evidence as to these two harbours is considerable, though somewhat confusing, but I think that there is no doubt that the former is to be identified with the modern Marinari, the latter with Porto Quaglio. Strabo[1] says: 'after Taenarum on the way to Malea comes Amathous,' by which he must surely mean Psamathus, and Scylax[2] says that they 'are back to back and between them the sanctuary of Poseidon runs out into the sea.' The scholiast on Ptolemy is utterly confused, and Pausanias is not clear, but with the aid of Strabo and Scylax it is hard to see how they could be otherwise identified with any degree of probability. Pouqueville is the first to place them correctly, and he is followed by Bursian and Curtius: Leake, followed by Gell, put Psamathus correctly at Porto Quaglio, but Achilleus at Vathý, an unsafe little creek between Porto Quaglio and the site of Taenarum: Aldenhoven and Kiepert follow Boblaye in putting Achilleus at Marinari, but Psamathus at 'Kisternais,' and the French map puts the former at Porto Quaglio and the latter at Vathý.[3] These can in no sense be described as 'back to back.' Achilleus does not seem to have been an important harbour at any time,[4] but may have been convenient for anyone who wished to sail from Taenarum into

[1] viii. 5. 2. [2] *Periplus*, c. 46.

[3] Frazer in his note on Pausanias iii. 25. 4, cites all the references and gives the correct identification.

[4] I was told on the spot that it is very little used now, and quite unsafe in westerly winds.

the Messenian Gulf without rounding the cape, no easy task in certain winds. We gather from Stephanus of Byzantium,[1] quoting Artemidorus, that there was a city named Psamathus as well as a harbour: no remains of it can be seen, though Boblaye saw broken columns and other traces of antiquity[2] on the south side of the bay; but a feature of considerable interest is a row of tombs high up on the ridge of the isthmus to the south-west of Porto Quaglio. These, of comparatively recent discovery, date from the Hellenistic period, and consist of a long row of small holes cut horizontally into the rocky hillside, running roughly south-east and north-west; the largest measures perhaps two metres high and three wide, with an entrance large enough to enter if one stoops; the smallest is less than half this size and could only contain a skeleton in a contracted position. They numbered about twenty to twenty-four in all, and approximated generally rather to the smaller than the larger of the two sizes. One, however, was different in style, being built of regular courses of grey poros stone, with internal measurements of about 2·80 metres in length, ·70 in width, and 2 in depth; its style and shape resembled the tomb excavated by Mr. Dickins at Sparta in April, 1907 (*B.S.A.* xiii. p. 155). From the sherds lying about in some earth not completely excavated, one must attribute them to the Hellenistic age; more accurate dating is unfortunately impossible under the circumstances, as I was unable to see the majority of the small objects found in them. One broken inscription was visible (*vide infra*, No. 4(*a*), p. 260), which has no particular value, and I heard of, but could not see, another, which was said to be on a marble slab with two roses in relief on the top, and to read below Κισσάβος Κύπριος. I do not publish it among the inscriptions below, as my informant was uncertain as to the spelling of the name and ignorant of the letter forms. The pottery[3] does not call for a lengthy description. These graves may well have been those of some of the mercenaries whose presence in the promontory of Taenarum is often brought into prominence

[1] *s.v.* Ψαμαθοῦς. [2] *Recherches*, p. 89.

[3] I saw no complete painted vase: one, with neck missing, was a tall-necked, wide-bellied jug with ring foot, with yellow bands round the top of the shoulder and a design like an Irish harp in yellow on the shoulder, all on a fine matt-white slip. For these vases see Zahn's list in Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 399, 400. There is also one in the museum at Chalkis, and one in the Château Borély at Marseilles, both unnumbered. One striking sherd was of good black glaze with a white band across it and on this band a crimson maeander pattern. The unpainted ware, which predominated, was typical of Hellenistic sites.

in the events of the third and second centuries B.C. That a Cypriote should be among them would not surprise us.

Less than a mile to the south of these graves one sees on the left the creek of Vathý, and a mile further on is the site of Taenarum.

TAENARUM.

From the head of the creek at Vathý to the lighthouse at the extreme point of the cape, is a distance of two miles, all but 250 yards; almost exactly halfway between these two points is the little bay which was the harbour of the ancient Taenarum. It is known both as Porto Kisternais and Porto ton Asomáton, the former from the number of rock-cut cisterns on the site, the latter from the little chapel 'Τῶν 'Ασωμάτων,' the only prominent feature of the site. The bay measures at a rough guess a quarter of a mile across; a low rounded hill some fifty feet high projects a short distance into the bay on the north and is crowned with the chapel in question. Along the sides of the bay, and extending as much as 300 yards to the south-west, are traces of the ancient city. The large number of rock-cut houses, as well as of rock-cut cisterns testifies to the importance of the site in antiquity. These is no masonry preserved in any of the houses, which probably consisted of unbaked brick. Thirty or forty metres north-east of the chapel, I found a small staircase cut out of the rock, with steps (measuring 1·10 m. in width, depth ·35 m. from back to front, height about ·30 m.) leading from one room up to another. On the western slope of the hill are traces of a rock-cut road with a width of 1·80 m. extending for a distance of several metres. Close to this, and not far above the water's edge, are some of the larger houses, one of which was at least 12 metres in length. In the matter of domestic architecture the most interesting find was a mosaic floor, in a large room about six metres square, situated 200 metres or so to the south-west of the bay. It consists of a geometric design in dark blue marble tesserae with a white background, edged with small red bricks set vertically in mortar. It is slightly damaged, but the design can be reconstructed. Other tesserae of different colours were lying about the neighbourhood.

Temple of Poseidon.

The principal evidence from ancient authorities as to the temple is briefly this: Strabo tells us that 'Taenarum has a Temple of Poseidon in

a grove; near to it is a cave through which Herakles, they say, dragged up Cerberus from Hades.'[1] Pausanias says 'on the cape is a temple resembling (ἀπεικασμένος) a cave, in front of it is an image of Poseidon. . . . Herakles drew up the hound of hell here . . . . but no road leads underground from the cave.'[2] From Thucydides[3] we gather that the temple was in two compartments, or more, for when Pausanias went to Taenarum to see his servant, who had fled here for sanctuary after giving information against him, their conversation was overheard by the Ephors hidden in the other part of the building. Finally Pomponius Mela[4] says 'the promontory of Taenarum has on it a temple and cave of Neptune, similar to what was described as the Acherusian in Pontus, both in appearance and in its legend.' Various emendations have been suggested for the word (ἀπεικασμένος) in Pausanias, and certainly, a 'temple like a cave' is not easy to understand or to bring into relation with the other passages. We may in any case infer that the temple and cave were close together, and alike sacred to Poseidon. Now in the west side of the small shallow ravine which runs into the harbour to the east of the chapel-crowned hill, there is a natural cave in the rock, of irregular shape and measuring perhaps ten metres from back to front, and rather more in width. It is dark, damp, and dirty, and as Pausanias says, has no path leading downwards through the floor. Close to this cave it seems we must look for the temple. Curtius,[5] thinking that the north wall of the little chapel consisted of ancient blocks *in situ*, would identify it with the site of the temple; but Bursian,[6] who points out that the jointing of the stones is comparatively modern, would locate the temple in the ravine inself. All the joints of the stones of the north wall that I examined had mortar in them, and this, coupled with the fact that the church is thirty or forty metres at least away from the cave, leads me to agree with Bursian's view. For a view of the wall see Fig. 2. In the ravine itself, and immediately west of the entrance to the cave, are distinct traces of an oblong building of good Greek masonry, almost buried in the shingle of the beach, for the blocks which are visible are not more than two metres above the sea-level. At the north end alone are there any blocks *in situ*; these consist of the remains of two courses of wall built of poros

[1] Strabo, viii. 5. 1. [2] Pausanias, ii. 25. 4.
[3] Thucydides, i. 133. [4] ii. 3. 49.
[5] *Peloponnes*, ii. p. 283. Leake, *op. cit.* i. p. 297, had come to the same conclusion.
[6] *Ueber das Vorgebirge Tainaron*, p. 777.

blocks. The only stone which I could measure was of these dimensions: length 1·05, breadth ·90, height ·40 metre. Of the south wall nothing remains, but there are loose blocks of the same material lying scattered about the east side. Both sides of the building seem to have abutted on the rocky sides of the ravine, which have been cut away perpendicularly for a few centimetres above the ground-level. Bursian, who saw more of the walls than is visible to-day, gives the dimensions at 19 × 16 metres; but the inner walls to which he alludes have quite disappeared. If, as is not improbable, there was an opening in the west wall of the temple leading directly into

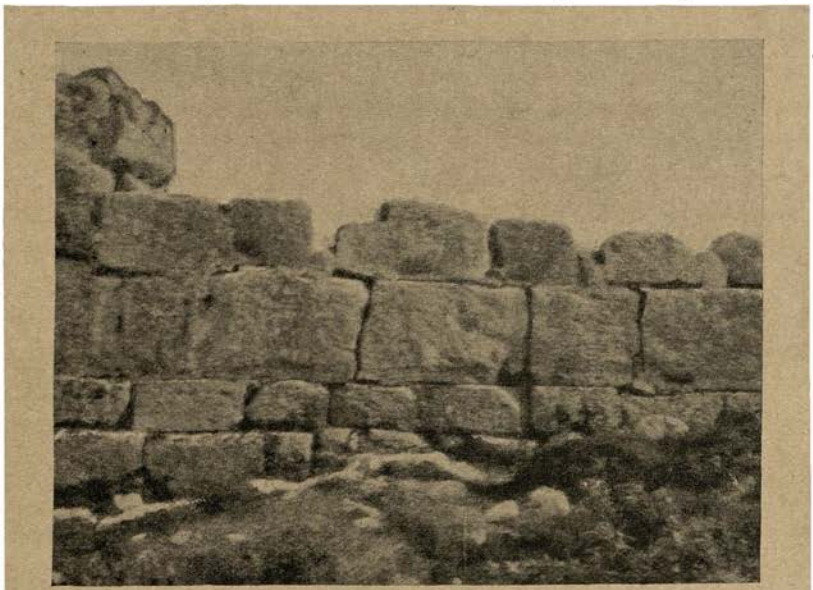


FIG. 2.—ANCIENT BLOCKS IN WALL OF CHAPEL AT TAENARUM.

the cave, this might have given Pausanias the impression that the temple resembled a cave. I could see no traces of pottery or votives of any kind, but it appears that about fifty years ago peasants found a deposit of bronzes here;[1] if the cave and temple site were completely cleared it would not be surprising if other small objects came to view, though the depth of the soil is very small. I could see nowhere any traces of columns or other architectural marbles that might have belonged to the temple, but

[1] *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1857, p. 155. Frazer (*apud* Pausanias, iii. 25. 4) has no authority for saying that one represented Arion.

it should be mentioned that one or two of the blocks in the north wall of the chapel resemble in material and in dimensions those *in situ* in the ravine; the majority of those visible in the photograph are much larger. Excavation might prove that some of the blocks at its western end, now very much overgrown with brambles, were those of an ancient building *in situ*, and Bursian[1] says that in front of the church he saw traces of polygonal foundations.

A Shrine in Antis.

The only other ancient masonry I could see, consisted of an oblong building of large poros blocks, on a terrace of the hill to the extreme west of the site. Some of the stones were of considerable size, one measuring over two metres in length; in no case are there more than three courses of masonry in position, and as the terrace has collapsed at one corner, bringing down the foundations with it, it is impossible to tell exactly what its plan was. It is built of irregularly-laid squared blocks and is apparently to be attributed to a later date than the best period of Greek architecture. It may very well have been a shrine *in antis*: excavation might enable one to reconstruct its ground-plan, but there are no remains of columns or entablature to be seen. We have no clue to the identification of this building in any ancient writers; in fact the only building at Taenarum, except the Poseidon temple, which is alluded to at all is the ψυχοπομπεῖον,[2] which, if indeed it was a building at all, we may imagine was close to the mouth of Hades.

Inscriptions.

All the inscriptions seen at various times at Taenarum have absolutely disappeared, but I saw one (apparently unpublished) cut roughly on a boulder on the beach on the west side of the bay, recording a dedication to Dionysos (*inf.* No. 3 (*a*), p. 259) This is of interest as giving us a new cult at Taenarum, but of no great value; it does not seem to have been a base of any sort, and to dedicate a boulder, particularly in Maina, involves no great act of sacrifice. The building last mentioned may have been sacred to Dionysos, but it is not warrantable to attribute it to him on the strength of the inscription alone.

Returning from Taenarum, after a stiff half-hour's climb uphill from the north end of the isthmus, one finds a spring of good water and beside

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] Plutarch, *De sera numinum vindicta*, c. 17.

it, a square rock-cut room measuring six metres each way. This may be the spring alluded to in Pausanias[1] 'in which one could see reflected the ships and the harbours,' but probably not, though one gets from it a fine view over the harbours of Psamathus and Achilleus; he seems to have meant some spring near the actual temple, but I was unable to find one. After one-and-a-half hour's ride, mostly through a rich upland plain of corn-land, one reaches Lagia, the capital of the deme of the same name. Here there are no antiquities to be seen, but about two miles to the north-west are rich quarries of *rosso antico*, first identified by Bursian[2] who saw undoubted traces of their having been worked in antiquity, in particular a rock-cut road near to them high up on the steep slopes of the hill of the Prophet Elias. They are opened again and are being worked, but not regularly, by the 'Marmor' company. Two miles and a half to the north of them, is the interesting site of Kourno, first discovered by Boblaye.

KOURNO.

With Mr. Forster's kind permission I include his notes made when he visited the site three years ago.

'The site lies on a rocky edge of a promontory overlooking the Laconian Gulf, rising to a height of about three hundred metres above the sea, three-and-a-half kilometres south of the village of Nymphi. The nearest habitation is the now half-ruined monastery of Kourno, remarkable for the copious stream which gushes out of the rock immediately below it. In front of this fountain are what appear to be the remains of an ancient cistern, built of large blocks of the local marble and still standing to the height of several courses. It was probably thesource of the water supply of the ancient town to the south.

The plateau on the top of the promontory is covered with ancient remains, which are far more numerous than the French explorers imply; the most important are the two temples (Fig. 3 *a*, *b*) of which elaborate plans and elevations are published by Le Bas.[3] These two temples both lie to the

[1] iii. 25. 4.

[2] Bursian (*op. cit.*) discusses the problem whether these are the quarries alluded to in ancient writers; see also Philippson's geological note on them: *Peloponnes*, i. p. 267.

[3] *Bibliography*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 89; Curtius, *Pelop.* ii. p. 277; Bursian, *Geog.* ii. p. 149. *Plans*: Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique*, Architecture, II. i.–ii. (*N.B.* Apparently Curtius merely copies the account given by the French explorers.)

north of the ridge which forms the backbone of the promontory and intersects the plateau on which the site lies. The most numerous remains lie to the south of this ridge, but it is difficult to distinguish the separate buildings: the ground-plan of what seems to be a small shrine *in antis* (3·17 by 3·04 m.) is noticeable; the walls are ·27 m. thick, and a block of the threshold is 1·04 m. in length, ·55 m. in height, and ·45 m. in depth. To the south-east of this is a large structure, about 15 m. square. The masonry is preserved to a height of five courses at the south-east corner.

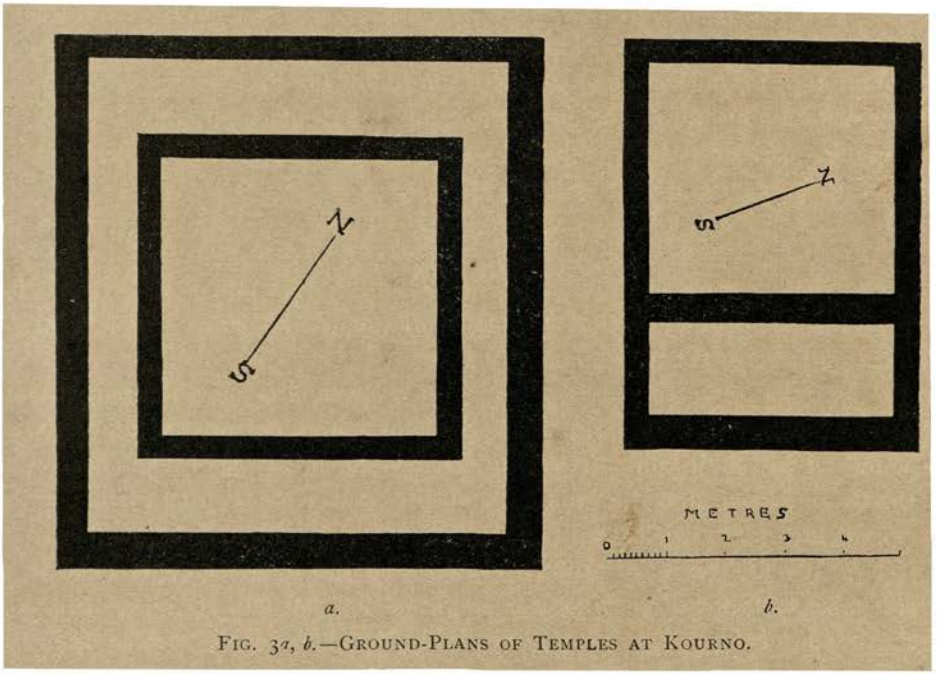


FIG. 3*a*, *b*.—GROUND-PLANS OF TEMPLES AT KOURNO.

At the north-west corner of this building is a hole two-and-a-half metres square, apparently a cistern.

Just west of the small shrine is the rock-cut relief figured, but not described, by Le Bas (*Mon. fig.* pl. 96). The face of the rock on which it is cut measures ·44 m. in height, 1·0 m. in length, divided into three panels respectively ·22, ·24, and ·28 m. broad. The right hand panel represents a male figure, ·33 m. in height, standing on a pedestal ·05 m. high. He is clad in a chiton, which is fastened over both shoulders and extends almost to the knee; in his right hand he holds a staff with a large head, his left

arm is bent at the elbow and the hand rests on the hip. The central panel represents a headless seated female figure, ·36 m. high, holding a large cornucopiae with both hands against the left breast. The third panel has been completely destroyed.

It is difficult, owing to the roughness of the work, to decide the subject and the date of this relief. It seems to me most probable that the male figure represents some Roman Emperor, while the female figure is perhaps a Tyché. The third panel contained quite a small relief, perhaps a shield or a trophy of arms. A small open space surrounds the relief, partly rock-cut and partly of masonry. Behind is a shaft running at right angles into the ground, apparently a tomb. To the south there appear to be the remains of some houses.

As regards the probable date of the site, the relief seems to point to Roman times; there are, however, no traces of either brick-work or mortar. Hence it would seem to go back to Greek times, or, if it was a purely Roman settlement, the abundance of material supplied by the bluish marble of which the rocks are made, and the inaccessibility of the place, prevented the importation of the usual building materials of the Roman epoch. The temples, according to the French explorers, 'belong to the time of the decline of Greek architecture.'

It is difficult to imagine why such a site should ever have been chosen for a town. It is possible that the temples were built first, perhaps in connection with the fountain of Kourno, and that the town afterwards grew up round them.

No inscriptions on the site give any clue to its name: it might possibly be the town of Aegila, which is mentioned by Pausanias (iv. 17. 1) in another connection, while Pliny (*N.H.* iv. 8) mentions a 'Sinus Aegilodes' on the Laconian Gulf. Further, while Pausanias states positively that Aegila was in Laconia, he did not himself visit it, and we know from his *Laconica* (Bk. III.) that he did not visit the coast between Taenarum and Teuthrone.

Owing to the fact that there is practically no soil, it is unlikely that excavation on the site would be of any use.'

E. S. F.

Le Bas' elaborate restorations of both temples cannot be accepted without hesitation; in the first place his measurements appear to be inaccurate in almost every case, and secondly, Bursian, who visited the site soon after, questions his restoration of the larger temple as peristyle, and is of opinion that, like the smaller one, it was *in antis*. My own measurements support Mr. Forster's as against either those of Bursian or Le Bas. Complete accuracy in details is impossible, owing to the mass of fallen material that covers the stylobate everywhere. Only if this is all cleared and examined are we likely to be in a position to make satisfactory attempts at restoration, or even to determine for certain to what period the building belongs. I do not doubt that Le Bas is right in attributing it to the decline of Greek architecture; if we are to differentiate at all, I should say that the smaller temple shews the more careful workmanship of the two.

TEUTHRONE.

Rather more than five miles north of Kourno is the village of Kótrones, on the bay of the same name, which Leake (*op. cit.* i. p. 277) is no doubt right in identifying as the site of Teuthrone. We know from Pausanias that it was on the sea-coast, distant 150 stades from Taenarum, and that he embarked here after visiting Pyrrhichus. It never seems to have attained to much importance and its name is not found in any other classical author. He tells us (iii. 25. 4) that it possessed a shrine of Artemis Issoria and a spring. The small rocky promontory called Skopá which runs out into the middle of the bay is covered with mediaeval masonry, evidently, from the scale of the walls, a castle of some importance. It has one or two ancient blocks built in, one having a large 'A' cut on it, probably a mason's mark, beside the chief entrance. Close to the southernmost point is a small basin cut out of the rock (measuring 2·06 × 1·385 × 1·10 metres deep); at the bottom it is cut out into a narrow channel, and the upper edges have traces of mortar round the outside. Possibly it was built up with courses of brick to give extra depth when used as the reservoir for the fortress in Byzantine or Venetian times. This may be the actual spring (now dry) to which Pausanias alluded, and it welled up through the rock. Close to the beach, N.W. of the spit of shingle separating the promontory from the mainland, peasants found several years ago the remains (to judge from local descriptions) of a brick hypocaust; this

had all been covered up again and not destroyed. Near this spot I was shewn a marble relief representing Artemis, dug up by a native a few days before my visit. The stone is ·64 m. high, ·30 m. in width; the height of the goddess herself is ·33 m.; she stands facing, her right hand hanging by her side, her left arm bent at the elbow, and holds some object at the level of her breast. Behind her is a hound vigorously rendered, with his right fore paw raised, lifting his head towards her left hand. She wears a long clinging garment reaching to her feet, with a short peplos over it ending in carefully rendered folds which run across from her waist on the right to the left hip; her left knee is slightly bent, and her weight evidently thrown on to her right foot. The relief is low and the surface flattish; her face is weathered away and one cannot distinguish what she holds in her left hand. In style it seems to belong to the third or second century B.C. It is interesting to remember that the shrine of Artemis Issoria is the only one mentioned here by Pausanias; this might be a further guarantee if any were needed, that we had here a representation of that goddess. The inscriptions seen here at various times have all disappeared, and the only other object of antiquity to be seen was a slab from a Doric entablature, consisting of a triglyph and metope [1] built into the wall of a house at the E. end of the village.

SKUTARI.

About 3 miles north of Kotrones, after crossing the steep ridge which terminates on the south-east in Cape Stavro, one descends through a forest of pine and oak, and reaches the village of Skutari, delightfully situated at the head of the bay of the same name, which marks the northern limit of the area described in these notes.

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(1) *Geographical and Topographical References.*

Messa. Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 582; Strabo, viii. 5, § 3; Pausanias, iii. 25, § 9.
Hippola. Pausanias, iii. 25, § 9.

[1] The dimensions were: metope, ·13 m. wide; triglyph, ·14 m. wide, ·22 m. high, ·285 high from bottom of 'guttae' over all. The building this came from, whether it was the shrine of Issorian Artemis or not, must have been on an unusually small scale, for these measurements are very little more than half those of the entablature from the *smaller* temple at Kourno.

Thyrides. Strabo, viii. 2, § 2; 4, § 4; 5, § 1; Pliny, iv. § 56. Pausanias, *loc. cit.*

Caenepolis. Pausanias, *loc. cit.*; Ptolemy, iii. 16, § 9.

Taenarum. Scylax, *Periplus*, c. 46; Strabo, viii. 4, § 4; viii. 5, §§ 1, 2, 7; viii. 6, § 14; Pomponius Mela, ii. 3, §§ 49–51; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. §§ 15, 16; v. § 32; Statius, *Thebais*, ii. 32 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ii. 33, § 2; iii. 14, § 7; iii. 21, § 7; iii. 25, § 4; Ptolemy, iii. 16, § 9.

Psamathus. The above, and Stephanus, *s.v.* Ψαμαθοῦς.

Teuthrone. Pausanias, iii. 25, § 4.

(2) *References to Cults and Myths.*

Taenarum. *Homeric hymn to Apollo*, ll. 411–413; Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 44; Herodotus, i. 23, 24; Euripides, *Cyclops*, 292; Eupolis, *frag.* 140; Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 187, *Acharnians*, 509 (and *schol.*); Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 1106; Apollonius, *Argonautica*, i. 102 (and *schol.*); Palaiphatus, Περὶ ἀπίστων, p. 59; Apollodorus, Βιβλιοθήκη, ii. 5, § 12; Pediasimus, § 30 (these three in *Mythographi Graeci*); Scymnus, *Periegesis*, ll. 512–514; Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 467; Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 662; Plutarch, *De sera numinum vindicta*, c. 17, *Sept. Sap. conviv.* c 17; Pausanias, *loc. cit.*; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, xxxvii. p. 297; Aulus Gellius, xvi. 19 (for story of Arion[1]); Stephanus, *s.v.* Ταίναρος.

(3) *Historical Allusions to Taenarum and District.*

Thucydides, i. 128, i. 133, vii. 19; Polybius, iv. 34, v. 19, ix. 34; Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 108, xviii. 19, xx. 104; Plutarch, *Lives*, *Phocion*, c. 29, *Cleomenes*, c. 22, c. 38, *Antony*, c. 67, *Pompey*, c. 24, *Agis*, c. 16; Polyaenus, vii. 47; Suidas, *s.vv.* ἀπέσπασε, Ταίναρον.

Bibliography of Modern Authors.

Meursius, *Miscellanea Laconica*, pp. 289 *sqq.* (contains nearly all the above references), Amsterdam, 1661; Coronelli, *La Morée*, pp. 41 *sqq.* 1687; Stephanopoli, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, pp. 256 *sqq.* 1800; Pouqueville, *Travels in Morea, Albania, etc.* pp. 112 *sqq.* (English translation) 1813, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, v. pp. 599 *sqq.* 1827; Walpole, *Memoirs*, pp. 33 *sqq.* 1817; Cockerell, *Diary*, pp. 91, 96; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. pp. 294 *sqq.* 1830, *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 156 *sqq.* 1846; Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 89 *sqq.* 1835; Bory de St. Vincent, *Expédition Scientifique*, pp. 435 *sqq.* 1836; Fiedler, *Reise durch Griechenland*, i. pp. 340 *sqq.* 1840; Aldenhoven, *Itinéraire de l'Attique et du Péloponnèse*, pp. 342 *sqq.* 1841; Curtius, *Peloponnes*, ii. pp. 277 *sqq.* 1852; Bursian, *Ueber das Vorgebirg Tainaron*, pp. 773–795 (*Bayrisch. Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1855), *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. pp. 148 *sqq.* 1872; Lord Carnarvon, *Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea, passim*, 1869; Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, ii. part 1, pp. 52, 518; part 2, p. 111, 1856–1870; Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp.

[1] I have not thought of trying to collect all references to Arion.

43, 44, 1893; Philippson, *Der Peloponnes*, pp. 225 *sqq.* 1891; Frazer, *Commentary on Pausanias*, iii. pp. 392–399, 1898; Weil, *Ath. Mitt.*, i. pp. 158–172, 1876, *Bull. dell' Inst.* p. 154, 1857.

III.—Inscriptions from the Maina.

Inscriptions Hitherto Unpublished.

1 (*a*). In north wall of church of Ἅγιος Ταξιάρχης at Kouloumi, one-and-a-half hours south of Pyrgos, on rectangular block ·63 × ·22 m. Letters 6·5 cmm. high.

ЄΡΑΤΩ — Ἐρατὼ
ΧΑΙΡЄ — χαῖρε.

2 (*a*). Lying in the churchyard of Ἅγιος Παντελεήμων at Nomia. Poros block broken on all sides, 27·5 × 15 cmm. Letters 2·5 – 3 cmm. high.

ΙΣΣΤΟΤЄ — Perhaps [Ἀρ]ισστοτέ[λης]
Α Σ — [ζήσ]ας [ἔτη]

The reduplicated σ occurs frequently in such names: cf. Ἀρισστοφάνης in *C.I.G.* 1638, Ἀρισστοκλῆς *C.I.G.* 1211*l*. For Ἀριστοτέλης as a Laconian name cf. Roehl, *I.G.A.* 83, *S.M.C.* Nos. 204, 212, 446.

3 (*a*). On a boulder about 80 × 40 cmm., on the beach at Kisternais, the ancient Taenarum. Letters 7–9 cmm. high, roughly cut, and surface much worn.

ЄΛΗΣΙΗΣ — [Μ]ελησίης
ΔΙΟΝΥЄΩΙ — Διονύσωι.

Ἐλησίης is not a known name, whereas Μελησίης (*i.e.* Μελησίας), an easy restoration, gives us a common name: there is plenty of room for an Μ on the stone, and the opening letters of both lines are very faint, so it may

quite likely have disappeared. This gives interesting evidence of a cult of Dionysos at Taenarum, hitherto unknown.

4 (*a*). From a grave of Hellenistic date on hillside above Porto Quaglio. Marble slab complete on left side and beneath. Height ·28, breadth ·24, thickness ·074 m. Letters about 2.5 cmm. high.

Καλ - - -

χαίρετ[ε.]

The shape of the ρ is striking, but the reading is unmistakable.

PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

The following is, I believe, a complete list of the published inscriptions from Southern Maina: references are given to the works in which they are most easily accessible. The majority of the stones are no longer visible. I could only find seven of all those seen at various times on the site of Caenepolis (*infra*, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 35). Of the inscriptions from the Poseidon temple at Taenarum, all seem to have disappeared except two (Nos. 46 and 47) which are in the British Museum, and two in Athens (*infra*, Nos. 49 and 50). Those from other sites in Maina have fared better, though at Kotrones I could hear nothing of those seen there by Le Bas (*infra*, Nos. 52–55). The inscriptions are arranged according to the sites to which they belong, or the places where they were last seen, described in the order in which I visited them. Those still existing are marked with an asterisk.

At Pyrgos:

1. Le Bas-Foucart, 278 e.

2.* Leake, *Travels in Morea*, vol. iii. No. 29. This stone had not apparently been seen since Leake saw it. His copy runs as follows:—

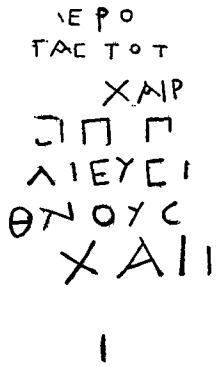
'At a church near Pyrgo, in Mesa Mani.

ωΝΕΦΟΡΩ . . . . ΠΟΝ
ΑΠΟ . . . ΧΑΙΡΕΝ
ΝΑΤΟC . . . . ΗΜΙΝΥΠΕΡ
ΤΟΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ . . ΕΡ
. . . ΜΕΝΙΔΑCΟΠΟ
. ΕΛΕΥΤΗΚΕΝΥΟCΕ
. . ΜΕΝΕΠΙCΗΜΩΝ
. ΑΤΑΔΕΔΕΙΞΑCΕΝΟ
ΤΗCΖΩΗCΕΩΦΡΟCΥ
ΤΟΥΤΟΜΟ . ΟΝΙΑΙ
ΟΤΙΤΟΚΟ . ΙΟΝΤΟ

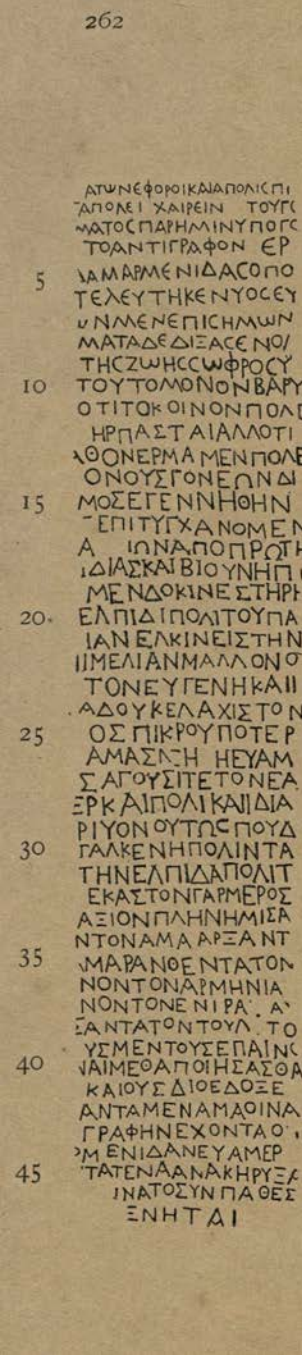
followed by about twenty lines much defaced.'

When I found it, it was built into the church of Ἅγιος Ταξιάρχης (rebuilt since Leake's day out of the material of the ruined Ἁγία Μαρῖνα, which had stood on the same site), and served as lintel over the door. I had it removed, and it now lies inside the church, which is about a mile S.E. of the village of Pyrgos. Both sides have been cut away and on one has been cut a Christian cross in relief. Leake's copy is full of mistakes and omissions.

Total length of stone 1.30 m., width ·18 m., depth ·27 m. Letters on grave-inscription above, ·015–·03 m. high; on long inscription ·01–·015 m. high.



- - - ερο - -
- - τας τοτ - -
χαῖρ[ε].
- - σιππ - -
- - λιευς - -
- - θνους - -
χαῖ(ρ)[ε].



- (ϵ)ατῶν ἔφοροι καὶ ἁ πόλις Π - - [ων ἐφόροις]
[καὶ τ]ᾷ πόλει χαίρειν. τοῦ γ(ϵ) -
- ματος παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπογε[γρα] - -
- (ν) τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἔρ[ρωσθε.]
- [Δ]αμαρμενίδας ὁ πο[λίτης] -
- [τε]τελεύτηκεν ὑὸς Εὐ(α)[μέρου] -
- [τ]ῶν μὲν ἐπισήμων (ἀ) -
- ματα δὲ δίξας ἐν ὅ(λ)
- τῆς ζωῆς σωφροσύ(ν) -
- τοῦτο μόνον βαρυ[νόμεθα] - -
- ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν πολ(ϵ)[ίτην] -
- ἥρπασται ἀλλ' ὅτι -
- [ἀγ]αθὸν ἔρμα μὲν πόλε[ως] -
- ονους γονέων δι -
- μος ἐγεννήθη ν -
- . ἐπιτυγχάνομεν -
- α . . . ιων ἀπὸ πρώτη[ς] - - -
- δίας καὶ βίου νηπ[ίου] -
- μὲν δοκῖν ἐστηρ(η)[μένον ?] -
- ἐλπίδι πολίτου πα - -
- (ἡ) ἀνέλκιν εἰς τὴν - -
ἐ](π)ιμελίαν μᾶλλον ο - -
- τὸν εὐγενῆ καὶ (ϵ) - -
- α δ' οὐκ ἐλάχιστον - -
- (ν)ος πικροῦ πότερ(ο) - -
- ἁμαΣ . . H H Εὐαμ(ϵ)[ρο] - -
- ς ἄγουσί τε τὸν ἐα - -
- [π](ϵ)ρ καὶ πόλι καὶ ἰδίᾳ - -
- [?πϵ]ρὶ ὑὸν οὕτω σπουδ[αῖον] - -
- [ἔσ](τ)αλκεν ἡ πόλιν τα - -
- τὴν ἐλπίδα πολιτ - -
- ἕκαστον γὰρ μέρος - -
- ἄξιον, πλὴν ἡ μισά[νθρωπος τύχη] - -
- ν τὸν ἅμα ἄρξαντ(α) - -
[ἅμ](α) μαρανθέντα τὸν - -
- νον τὸν Ἀρμηνια - -
- νον τὸν ἐν . ρ - α(ν)[τα] ? - -
- (σ)αντα τὸν τοῦ Α . το - -
- υς μὲν τοὺς ἐπαίν(ο)[υς οὐκ ἂν] - - - -
- [δυ](ν)αίμεθα ποιήσασθα[ι] - -
- [δι]καίους· διὸ ἔδοξε (τ) - -
- [ἀνδρι]άντα μὲν ἅμα οἰνά[νθῃ ἐστεφανωμένον] ? - - - -
- [ἐπι]γραφὴν ἔχοντα οὕ[τω] - - -
- [Δαμαρ]μενίδαν Εὐαμέρ(ο)[υ] - - -
- τατενα ἀνακηρῦξα(ι)
- ἵνα τὸ σύνπαθες - - [φανερὸν ?]
(γ)ένηται.

Of the names in the grave-inscription I can make nothing. The lettering is rough and uneven, and it may be considerably later than the long inscription which is below. Owing to the mutilation of the stone very little restoration is possible: we are unable to tell its original width and have no evidence for the exact length of any line. The stone contains apparently a short letter from one city to another, occupying the first four lines and covering a long enclosure, which is a copy (*ἀντίγραφον*) of a resolution passed by a town council or similar body, on the occasion of the death of an illustrious citizen. The name Damarmenidas is only known in one other instance, *C.I.G.* 1389, where he is mentioned as *ἐπιμελούμενος* at the erection of a statue at Caenepolis to Caius Julius Laco by the Eleuthero-Laconian Confederacy: this may well be the same man, in which case this inscription would belong to the first half of the first century A.D. (*vide* my note in *B.S.A.*, xii. p. 372). Nothing in the letter-forms goes against this conclusion.

Notes.

The inscription presents the unusual feature of a change in the letter-forms: in line 12 and subsequently (except for C once in line 29) C becomes Σ; in line 11 Є becomes Ε; and in line 14 Ω becomes Ω. This may be due to a change of engravers. The substitution of *ι* for *ει* in *δίξας* (l. 8), *δοκῖν* (l. 19), *ἀνέλκιν* (l. 21) etc. may be paralleled in inscriptions of every period, though it becomes more common in texts of the Roman age: *vide* Jannaris, *Hist. Greek Grammar*, § 34. Further A and H are used indifferently in feminine terminations; in lines 21 and 31 we have *τήν*, in lines 1 and 2 *ἁ* and *τᾷ*.

Line 1. Unfortunately the names of both the cities are irrecoverable. I think there are traces of an Є before - - *ατῶν*, in which case our choice is not very wide; it might be *Γυθεατῶν* or *Ἀβεατῶν*. The recipient city might be Pyrrhichus, which was only about three miles distant from where the stone was found: the second letter of the name is quite uncertain however. It seems certain that the letter opened thus—*ατῶν ἔφοροι καὶ ἁ πόλις* Π - - *ων ἐφόροις καὶ τᾷ πόλει χαίρειν* (cf. *S.M.C.* 241, 262.).

L. 4. ЄР may be abbreviated for, or may be the beginning of, *ἔρρωσθε*, which closes the letter, the sense of which is 'we are sending you the enclosed copy of our proceedings on the occasion of the vote of sympathy

passed on the death of Damarmenidas.' (For this use of ἔρρωσθε cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[2] 253, l. 15, 278 l. 19, etc.)

L. 6. Εὐαμέρου can be restored from l. 44. As a Spartan name it occurs in *C.I.G.* 1260, *S.M.C.* 205, 206, 207 and Εὐήμερος in *C.I.G.* 1244.

L. 10–13. The general sense probably is οὐ περὶ(?) τοῦτο μόνον βαρυνόμεθα ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν πολείτηι οὕτω σπουδαῖον (in private life) ἤρπασται, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὕτως ἀγαθὸν ἕρμα πόλεως [*i.e.* 'in his public capacity'].

For ἤρπασται cf. Euripides, *Androm.* 661: in l. 11 after πολ I seem to see traces of the ε on the stone: πολ(ε)[ίτην] as object of ἤρπασται seems a satisfactory restoration. Ἕρμα πόλεως is borrowed from Homer, where it occurs *Il.* 16. 549, *Od.* 23. 121: cf. also Plato, *Legg.* 737 A.

L. 14–17. Restoration seems impossible. In l. 17 we perhaps have some participle, but the first four letters are practically undecipherable.

L. 26. Of the middle of the line I can make nothing, but the Σ after ἅμα and the two H's are certain.

L. 28. - ερ is probably ὅπερ or ὥσπερ: καὶ πόλι καὶ ἰδίᾳ is an unusual variant for καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ.

L. 32. The general sense would seem to be: 'for each part [of his life] was worthy of [admiration], but that misanthrope fate snatched away from us one who no sooner had begun his career than he withered away, one who not only' . . . .

L. 35. \ is almost certain to be the end of ἅμα to balance ἅμα in the previous line.

L. 36–38. Seem to contain a catalogue of his achievements. NON may be the ending of μόνον or of the accusative of an aorist participle middle. AIMHNIA - - or AIMHNIA - - or APMHNIA - - are the only possible variants: the first letter is not Δ, and the second seems to be P. It is hardly likely to be an allusion to Armenia, which is written Ἀρμενία in Greek.

L. 37. Seems to be an aorist participle active, but here, as in the next line, the surface is too damaged to restore safely.

L. 39–41. Evidently the sense is 'we could not praise him in sufficiently high terms.'

L. 41–47. The ending ran somehow as follows: 'wherefore it was resolved . . . both to set up a statue crowned with vine-shoots, with this inscription: "to Damarmenidas son of Euameros (for his many virtues"), and also to communicate this our resolution [? to his children] in order that our sympathy towards them may be manifested.'

L. 42. - *αντα* is almost certainly *ἀνδριάντα*, and *οἰνα* - - , which is quite certain, is presumably *οἰνάνθῃ* or *οἰνάνθαις*: the inscription perhaps ran '*ἡ πόλις Δαμαρμενίδαν Εὐαμέρου ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα*' . .

L. 45. *τατενα* is unintelligible, unless conceivably [*πρὸς*] *τὰ τέκνα* from which the K has been omitted by mistake.

L. 46. *φανερόν* or some such word may safely be supplied.[1]

At Charouda, S.W. of Pyrgos:

*3. Le Bas-Foucart, 278 b (= Collitz-Bechtel, 4585), *vide* note in *B.S.A.* x. p. 159.
*4. *Ibid.* 278 a (= " " 4586).
*5. *Ibid.* 275 (= " " 4587).

At Kavalos (Pyrrhichus):

*6. Le Bas-Foucart, 249 (= " " 4580).
*7. *Ibid.* 250 (= " " 4581).
*8. *B.S.A.* x. p. 167, No. 3.

At Vamvaka:

*9. Le Bas-Foucart, 278 f.g. This is, as Leake said, all on one stone, though Le Bas edits it as two separate inscriptions.

At Nomia:

*10. Collitz-Bechtel, 4583. (Weil in *Ath. Mitt.* i. p. 162.)

Though the stone is badly weathered, my squeeze showed that Weil's copy is not correct. I reproduce the two copies for comparison.

[1] I wish to thank Mr. M. N. Tod for much valuable assistance in the elucidation of this inscription.

(1) *Weil.*

ΠΕΡΙΛΑΛΕΧΟΙΠΡΑΞΙΟΝΜΙΙL
ΛΑΒΙΠΑΛΕΧ - - - -
ΠΑΝΙΡΑΠΔΑ - - - -
ΧΑΙΡΕ - - - - - - -

(2) *A. M. W.*

ΠΕΡΙΛΑΛΕΧΟΙΠΡΑΞΙ◡ΝΧΑΙΡΕ
ΝΑΒΙΠΑΛΕΧ ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ
ΧΑΙΡΕ . . . ΛΕΧΑΙΡΕ

Περίλα Λεχοῖ Πράξιον χαῖρε
Ναβίπα Λεχ[οῖ] χαῖρε
Πανκρατίδα
χαῖρε . . . λε χαῖρε.

Ναβίπα (=Ναβίππα) is the undoubted reading, though not a known name.

*11. Collitz-Bechtel, 4584 (Weil, *loc. cit.*).

Above the heads of the figures in the relief I read ΕΧ . . . . / ΙΟΣ. Weil does not transcribe them, otherwise his copy is correct.

At Cyparisso (Caenepolis):

12. *C.I.G.* 1315.
13. *Ibid.* 1317.
*14. *Ibid.* 1321.
*15. *Ibid.* 1322.
*16. *Ibid.* 1389.
17. *Ibid.* 1393.
*18. *Ibid.* 1394.
19. *Ibid.* 1483.
20. Le Bas-Foucart, 256 a (=*C.B.* 4595).
*21. Le Bas-Foucart, 257 (=*C.B.* 4596).
*22. *Ibid.* 266 (=*C.I.L.* iii. 492).
23. *Ibid.* 267.
24. *Ibid.* 268.
25. *Ibid.* 269.
26. *Ibid.* 270.
27. *Ibid.* 271.
28. *Ibid.* 272.
29. *Ibid.* 273.
30. *Ibid.* 273 a.
31. *Ibid.* 273 b.
32. *Ibid.* 263 b.
33. *Ibid.* 259.
34. Leake, *Travels in Morea*, iii. No. 30.

At Alika (North-west of site of Caenepolis):

*35. Le Bas-Foucart, 264.
36. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, Vol. v. No. 9 (=*C.I.G.* 1510).

At Vathia, N.E. of Caenepolis:

37. Le Bas-Foucart, 255 a (= *C.-B.* 4590).
38. Le Bas-Foucart, 255 b (= *C.-B.* 4592).

At Kastraki, S.E. of Vathia:

39. Le Bas-Foucart, 273 c.
40. Le Bas-Foucart, 273 d.
41. *Ibid.* 273 e.

At Kisternais (Taenarum):

42. *C.I.G.* 1412.
43. *C.I.G.* 1486.
44. *C.I.G.* 1493.
45. Collitz-Bechtel, 4574 (= *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. 140).
*46. Collitz-Bechtel, 4588. Now in British Museum [*vide* Newton, *Gk. Inscrs. in B.M.* 139].
*47. *C.I.G.* 1498. Now in British Museum [*vide* Newton, *Gk. Inscrs. in B.M.* 146].
48. Collitz-Bechtel, 4589 (= Le Bas-Foucart, 255 c).
*49. Collitz-Bechtel, 4591. Now in Athens [*vide B.C.H.* iii. p. 96].
*50. *Ibid.* 4593. Now in Athens.
51. *Ibid.* 4594 [*vide A.E.M.* 1897, p. 88].

At Kotrones (Teuthrone):

52. Collitz-Bechtel, 4582 = (Le Bas-Foucart, 255).
53. Le Bas-Foucart, 254.
54. *Ibid.* 243 d.
55. *Ibid.* 253.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

MEDIAEVAL FORTRESSES OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PELOPONNESUS.[1]

KARYTAENA.

THE Castle of Karytaena[2] was built by Hugues Bruyères de Champagne and his son Geoffrey in 1254. The Barony was one of the twelve original fiefs of the Morea, and from its position, guarding the fertile plain of Megalopolis against the inroads of the wild highlanders of Skortá, the castle must have been of the greatest importance. By the year 1278 the family of Bruyères was extinct in the male line and the Barony had passed to the house of Brienne. In the will of the Princess Isabelle of Achaia, in 1311, the castle of Karytaena, along with Beauvoir and Beauregard in Elis, is assigned as dowry to her younger daughter Marguerite; it was, however, captured by the Greeks in 1320. After Mohammed II.'s invasion of the Morea in 1458 we find Karytaena included in the list of towns which opened their gates to the Venetians under Bertholdo d' Este. There still remains, built into the wall of the Panagia, a Sicilian coat of arms of the seventeenth century (Plate VIII.). The fortress was garrisoned by the Turks and later was held by Kolokotrones in the War of Independence.

The Castle stands on a very imposing rock at the head of the plain of Megalopolis, surrounded on three sides by the river Alpheius (Plate

[1] See *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 259-276.

[2] I have particularly to thank Mr. W. Miller for help in the historical notes. He has not only made valuable suggestions, but has very kindly permitted me to read in proof his forthcoming book *The Latins in the Levant*, and to take from it much material, without which many of the architectural problems would have remained unsolved.

VIII). The town stands on the ridge between the castle and the mountains and on the southern face of the rock. The entrance, on the southern side, is by a long and involved road passing through at least three outworks. Of the first, only traces are left; at the second the road passes through a gate with a flanking tower into a small square fort, on the north side of which, against the rock, is a small cross-planned church. The central dome is supported within, on two columns and two square piers, between the latter of which is the Eikonostasis. The capitals of the columns are carved with an elaborate though rather meaningless pattern of *guilloche* and bosses.

From this fort the road seems to have turned completely round and to have led up to the castle gate, but all traces of the walls which must have supported it are gone. At the gate is the third outwork, a simple court enclosing the entrance, flanked on the east by a large square tower, set above which are still three machicolations and an empty panel which once held the escutcheon; the central court is entered through a large vaulted chamber with a guard-house, still partly vaulted, on one side.

The castle is very long and narrow (Fig. 1). It terminates to the east in a rounded point, and the walls, following the irregularities of the rock, widen towards the west, forming a long triangle. It has evidently been much altered at various times, and the only building of which the walls remain is that against the western wall, a rectangular hall with large windows, from which, however, all the dressings have been removed. This is evidently the building to which Mr. Tozer refers (*J.H.S.* iv. p. 220) as showing traces of trefoil arches. The windows and door are now mere shapeless holes and the general appearance of the building, both in plan and masonry, is late. The arches seem to have been originally segmental, but have been broken into their present slightly trefoiled shape by the removal of the 'dressing' stones. The main walls of the Castle are of rubble with bricks and with large stones at the angles, there is a distinct line of rebuilding towards the top, but the lower parts are probably Frankish. The upper parts still show a few traces of battlements loopholed for musketry and a few embrasures for the cannon, of which one or two are still lying about.

The churches in the town have all been modernised. Built into the wall of the Panagia is a seventeenth century Italian coat of arms surmounted by what looks like an ecclesiastical hat of dignity (Plate VIII.).

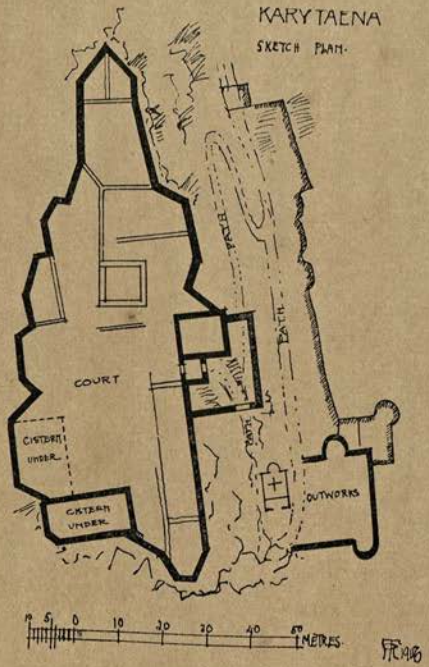


FIG. 1.

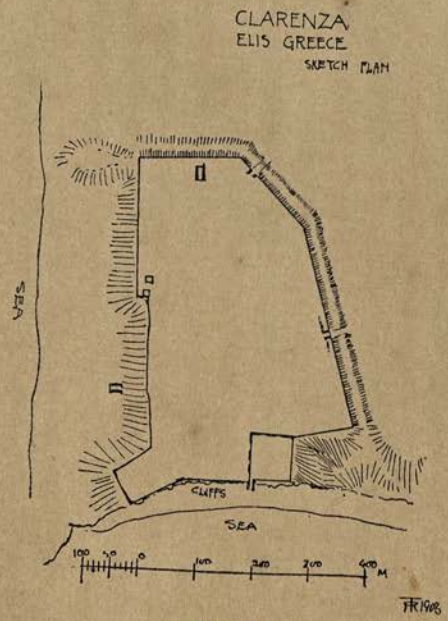


FIG. 3.

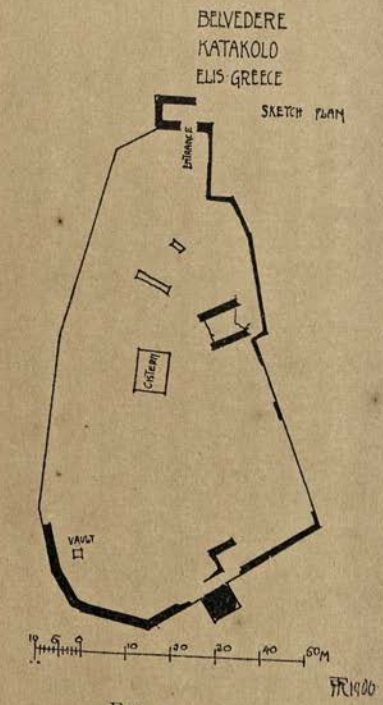


FIG. 4.

Mr. M. Rosenheim has been kind enough to identify this coat as that of the Albamonte family from Sicily. Inserting the tinctures, which of course are absent in the carving, it reads (*de gules*) *un soleil* (*d'or*) *se levant derrière une montagne* (*d'argent*) *mouvante de la pointe.* It is the one witness of Italian influence at Karytaena.

KALAMATA.

Kalamata was one of the first conquests of the Franks in 1206, and was used by them as a base for their further operations. Later it was granted to Villehardouin and became the hereditary fief of his family. Here Guillaume II. de Villehardouin, fourth prince of Achaïa, was born in 1218, and here he died in 1278. In 1304 it was granted to Guy de la Roche on

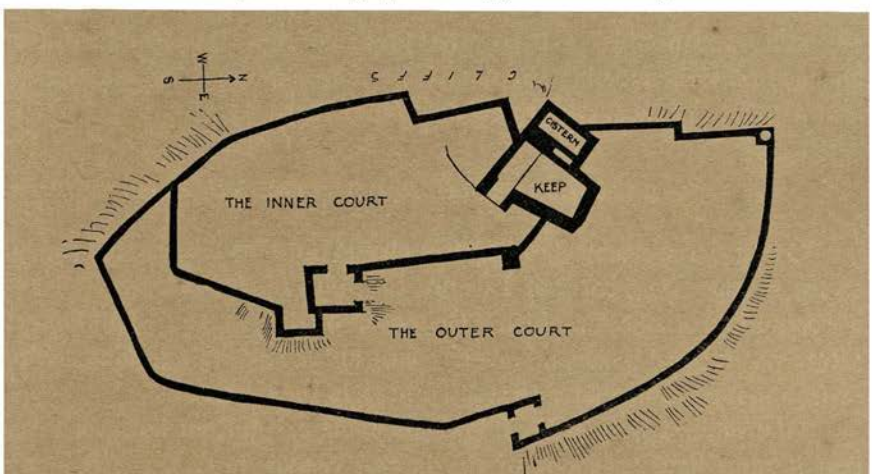


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF THE CASTLE OF KALAMATA.

his marriage with Maud of Hainault, but the family became extinct on his death in 1308, and in 1338 we hear of its being refortified by Nicholas Acciaiuoli (Buchon). In 1347 it was assigned by Robert to his wife Marie de Bourbon, widow of Hugues IV. King of Cyprus, along with other estates. On the Greek reconquest of the Morea it passed into the hands of Constantine, afterwards last Emperor of Byzantium, and was captured by Mohammed II. in 1458. Towards the close of the Turco-Venetian war which followed on this invasion we hear of its being burnt by the Venetians

to prevent its falling into Turkish hands. Subsequently in 1659 and again in 1685 it was taken by the Venetians and, after its second capture by Degenfeldt in Morosini's campaign, was ruined.

The present plan is in three parts (Fig. 2), the keep, the inner fortress, and an outer court. The keep is a very solidly built structure of large square stones, and is much better built than the other walls, indeed several of the vaults are still standing. It is situated on the highest point of the hill at the north end of the inner fortress, overlooking the precipice on the west and the outer court on the north (Plate IX.). The inner fortress, an oblong court, communicates with the outer bailey by a vaulted gatehouse on the east side. The walls of the outer court encircle the central buildings on the north, east, and south; they are Venetian and closely resemble the town walls of Monemvasia, even to the little domed sentry-box at the northern end. Above the entrance is a slab with the Lion of St. Mark, badly worn, but still recognisable. It is very probable that the Frankish Castle included only the existing keep and inner fortress, and that the outer court is an addition of the Venetian occupation of 1659.

CLARENZA, KATAKOLO, AND CASTEL TORNESE.

On the large peninsula known in classic times as Chelonatas and lying on the north-eastern coast of Elis are the ruins of three castles—Clarenza, a corruption of the Frankish 'Clarence,' on the north;—Pontikocastro, 'Rats' castle' or 'Beauvoir,' on the south, above Katakolo; and Clairmont or Chlomoutsi, called later Castel Tornese, in the centre.

Of Clarenza only a few fragments remain, sufficient however to show that it must have been one of the largest castles in Greece (Fig. 3). It is some 480 metres in length, as compared with 110 at Karytaena, and is broader in proportion. The line of the walls is now marked only by a mound and to the western and landward side by a deep ditch, here necessary owing to the level nature of the site. It had a gate to the south and one to the east, both still marked by fragments of the wall, and on the steep northern side was perhaps a gate communicating with the sea. At the southern end are the ruins of an early building with a large circular arched window, decorated with a notched ornament in brick.

The remains of Pontikocastro at Katakolo are slightly more extensive, but are so overgrown with bushes and thistles as to be very difficult of

examination (Plate IX.). In plan the castle is an irregular rectangle (Fig. 4) crowning the top of the hill, which though steep, is nowhere precipitous. The entrance, at the southern end, passed through a large square tower beneath the pointed arch which is still standing. At the northern end is a second large tower square at the base and having the angles rounded off above. The masonry of this tower is of squared ashlar, with tiles in both horizontal and vertical joints; elsewhere it is of the usual rubble. Within are a number of cisterns, cut deep into the rock, and a few fragmentary walls. The keep may have been at the southern end, but the ruins are not sufficient to decide this point definitely.

The castle of Chlomoutsi stands on a considerable hill, steep but not precipitous, and commands a view both of the whole peninsula and of the great plain which stretches back from the coast to the mountains (Plate IX.). No finer site could have been chosen from which to guard the most prosperous of the Frankish possessions. The buildings consist of a large keep with a courtyard on the northern side (Fig. 5). The keep buildings are for the most part in two stories, a low basement and a lofty hall, evidently originally floored in wood and covered by a pointed barrel-vault in cut masonry, and enclose an irregular hexagonal court, from which broad stone staircases lead up to the various rooms. The vault is strengthened at intervals by flat unmoulded transverse arches supported on pilasters, built quite independently of the vaults and not bonded into them in any way. The doors and windows are mainly in the inner wall and were covered by semicircular or segmental arches, principally the latter, though, as usual, the 'dressing' stones have been torn out. The masonry of the walls is of rubble with a few tiles.

In spite of its ruined state the principal hall on the southern side is still most impressive (Plate IX.). It measures 7·50 metres in breadth by some 46 metres long, and from the floor to the top of the vault 7 metres. The door, with its double external staircase, was in the centre with windows on either side of it. Opposite was a great fireplace whose back of brickwork and great vent, a metre square, in the vault above, can still be seen, but the hood and jambs which completed it have disappeared; on either side of the fireplace are arched niches. The hall is divided into five bays by transverse arches with an irregular bay at the east end.

On the north side a large hall extended over the entrance. It terminates in an apse and may have been the chapel, though there are no

traces of decoration. The remaining rooms are similar to the hall but smaller, and in some are brick fireplaces of the same type; at the east end, however, there is no basement. This part may have been used as a store, or as stables. The only cistern in the keep is a very large one under the great hall.

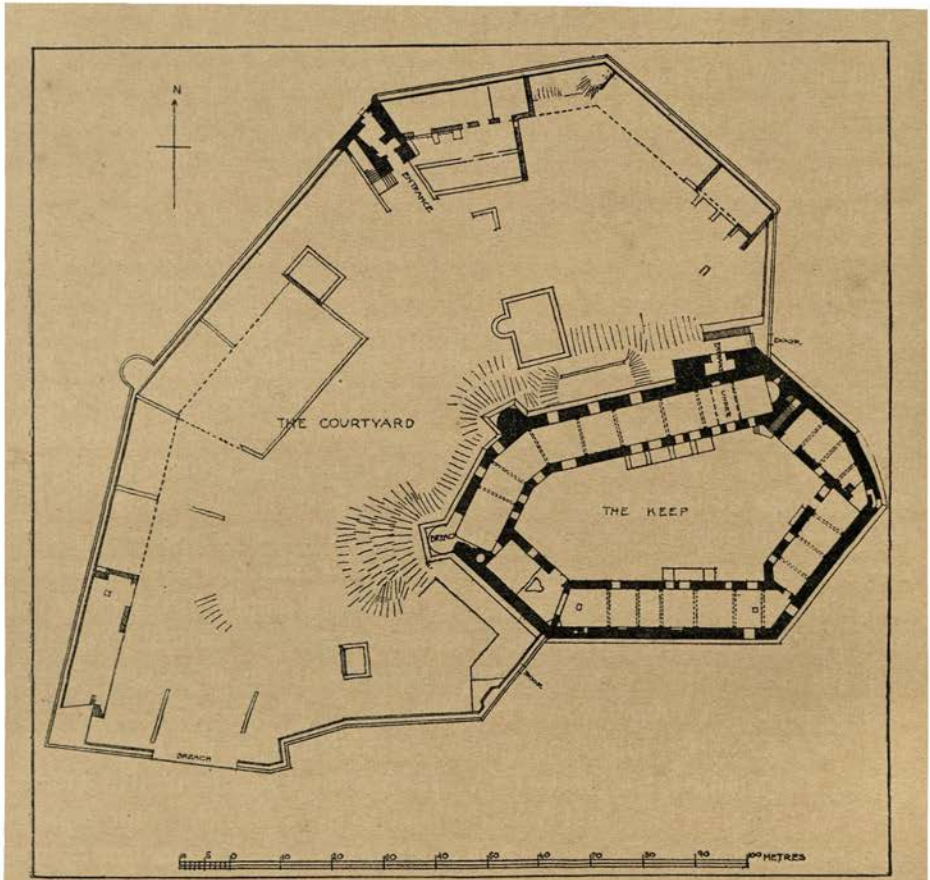


FIG. 5.—PLAN OF CASTEL TORNESE.

At the east end of the court a stair leads up to the flat roof over the vaults, a broad and level platform suitable for artillery, or engines of the largest kind; the battlements remain only in part and are of a very simple type (Plate IX.). Beside the staircase are the remains of a watch tower

rising to a considerable height above the rest of the building. This tower is the one feature which is not shown in M. de Neovin's drawing.[1]

There are only two flanking towers on the keep, both placed, rather curiously, on the side enclosed by the outer court. This court is attached to the northern and north-western sides of the keep and is very irregular in plan. The entrance, by an elaborate gatehouse on the north side, is in two parts, the outer covered by a dome, the inner open above and provided with a portcullis for which the grooves can still be seen at either side. The only tower on the *enceinte* is that placed in the centre of the long north side; it was evidently considered necessary here, to defend so long a stretch of straight wall.

The houses and barracks for the garrison were built against the outer wall; little more than the foundations are now left, but the brick backs of the fireplaces still show on the walls. In the centre of the court, between the entrance and the keep, is a square building with a circular projection on one side, probably the mosque shown on M. de Neovin's drawing. On the outside, the walls have in places the familiar Italian form with a torus and long slope to the base, so well shown by the walls of the Castle of Corinth (Plate VIII.). A small masonry *glacis* has been added at numerous points both to the *enceinte* and keep walls.

The history of the three castles is necessarily closely interwoven, and they may with convenience be considered together. In 1210, when Robert, the claimant to the Principality on the death of Champlitte, arrived at the port of S. Zacharias, later known as Clarenza, he was told that Villehardouin was at Vlisiri or La Glisière, a castle near Katakolo.[2] No remains can now be identified with this castle, but the Castle of Clarenza was not yet built, nor had the town received its Frankish name. In 1217 Geoffrey II. built a great fortress at Clarenza, which took three years to construct and was called *Clairmont* or Chlomoutsi,[3] and here a mint was established by William de Villehardouin, whose coins bore the inscription *de Clarenziâ*. From these coins, known as *tournois* from their being originally minted at Tours, was derived the later name of 'Castel Tornese.' From the earliest times Clarenza was a town of great importance. The Minorite church of S. Francis is mentioned in the Chronicle as a meeting place of the High Court of the Principality, and the town is spoken of as the

[1] See below, p. 277.

[2] *Chronicle of the Morea*, ll. 2096–2437.

[3] *Ibid.* ll. 2631–57.

first town in Achaia and as an important trade centre. When the wife and daughter of the Emperor Peter of Courtenay put in to Katakolo on their way to Constantinople, we hear that Geoffrey de Villehardouin invited them to the adjoining castle of Pontikocastro.[1] This identifies the ruin above Katakolo with this castle of Pontikocastro or Beauvoir. In 1278 the list of castles ordered to be handed over to Charles I. of Naples includes Chlomoutsi and Beauvoir. In 1315 Ferdinand of Majorca landed near Clarenza, routed the force sent to oppose him and followed up his success by capturing Pontikocastro, though had the existing powerful fortress of Castel Tornese been built, we should have expected its capture to be noticed rather than that of the smaller fortress above Katakolo. Further, in consequence of having married her daughter to Ferdinand, Marguerite, Lady of Akova, was at this time imprisoned in 'Chlomoutsi' by Nicholas Mavro and her deliverance must have been of some account with Ferdinand. On his defeat at Manolada in 1316 we read that he was urged to escape to Chlomoutsi, which was evidently in his hands, but, being killed, his head was next day displayed before the gates of Clarenza, which shortly afterwards surrendered.[2] Throughout this account there seems to be some confusion between Clarenza and Chlomoutsi.

In 1324 John of Gravina[3] received the homage of the barons at Clarenza, and in 1364 the list of the Achaian Baronies owned by Marie de Bourbon includes Chlomoutsi and Katakolo. In 1391 Clarenza and Belveder (or Pontikocastro) were in the hands of the Navarrese. In 1427 Constantine, who had married Carlo Tocco's niece Theodora and had obtained Clarenza as her dowry, fixed his court at the castle of Chlomoutsi. The town of Clarenza was captured by the Catalan galleys sent to the relief of Patras when that town was besieged by Constantine, but was at once sold back to him, when he ordered its destruction, lest it should again give foothold to an enemy.[4]

In the lists of 1463 and 1467 Chlomoutsi appears as 'Chiaramante'; in the former list with a garrison of eighty men. In 1471 it is given as Venetian, but after 1479 Venice had no possessions in this part of Greece. In 1620, however, it was captured and partly destroyed by the knights of Malta.

[1] Sàthas, *Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, i. p. xxxiii.
[2] *Libro de los Fechtos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea*; see Miller, *op. cit.* p. 254.
[3] Schlumberger, *Numismatique*, 31.
[4] Phranzês, pp. 122–139, 144–158; *Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, ll. 52–62.

Coronelli, after Morosini's campaign, speaks of Clarenza as ruined, and gives a drawing of Castel Tornese 'following the drawing of M. de Neovin, aide-de-camp to Prince Maximilian.' This renders the castle quite accurately enough to be recognizable as the present building in the centre of the Peninsula, and shows that no alteration has taken place since then. In 1825 it was finally dismantled by Ibrahim Pasha.

Architecturally the existing remains of Clarenza and Pontikocastro are quite distinct from those of Castel Tornese, and belong evidently to an earlier period. At Pontikocastro the northern tower is built of large squared stones with flat tiles or bricks in both horizontal and vertical joints; at Clarenza the one considerable fragment which still stands shows the typical Byzantine brick dentil ornament. The masonry in both is a mixture of stone and brick, and in neither do we find cut masonry without bricks. The chancel of St. Sophia at Andravida, built in the early days of the Frankish occupation, is an excellent example of the mixed style adopted by the invaders; the walls are of purely Byzantine type of cut stone with tiles in the horizontal courses, and support true Gothic ribbed vaults with a rubble infilling. No vaults now remain at Pontikocastro, but the masonry of the northern tower is of the same type as that of the church. The mixed rubble walling is paralleled at Geraki, where it dates from 1254, and is found in the walls of every Frankish castle.

The general masonry of Castel Tornese is of very large, strong rubble with but few tiles, and the splendid barrel vaults are of cut and polished stone with unstructural transverse ribs applied underneath. In a Gothic castle these ribs would have been moulded, or at least chamfered; here they are square and rest on simple chamfered impost blocks of rather Byzantine type. The few remaining arches at Castel Tornese are of cut stone, without any attempt at brick ornamentation, and are struck to the low segment of a circle, a form quite unknown to either Gothic or Byzantine architecture. The late Renaissance churches of Monemvasia, however, are roofed with similar pointed barrel vaults and have segmental arches in cut masonry without tiles.[1]

In plan also Castle Tornese differs from the typical mediaeval castle of Greece. The monumental character of the hexagonal court, the double external staircases to the principal rooms on the *piano nobile*, the

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 271, and Plate III.

wooden floors to these rooms, the numerous and well constructed fireplaces, and above all the method of forming a courtyard by great surrounding halls, in place of building on houses or rooms against the external enceinte wall, all these points indicate a date not earlier than the fifteenth century. At the same time the lofty walls crowned by battlements in place of embrasures, prove that the castle was built previous to the full development of cannon fire. The castle of Bracciano in Italy, built in the fifteenth century, shows such lofty walls with the Italian torus and sloping glacis, here surmounted by elaborate machicolations. At the Turkish castle of Hissarlik on the Bosphoros, built about the year 1400, we have a closer parallel. Here the lofty walls are flanked by large solidly-built towers of rubble masonry with a glacis and plain battlements which have sloping copes, and are pierced with loopholes in the same manner as those of Castel Tornese (Pl. IX.). Over the gatehouse we have already mentioned a dome; this is of cut stone and, like the vaults, is built without tiles. Similar domes are found over the little sentry-boxes and on the late churches of Monemvasia. They are quite unknown to pure Byzantine architecture.

In the historical accounts the distinction between 'Clarenza' and 'Castel Tornese' or 'Chlomoutsi" is exceedingly difficult to unravel. The mint, from which Castel Tornese took its name, issued coins inscribed *de Clarenzia*; and early accounts of conquests, or lists of castles in the Peloponnese, record the capture or surrender of two fortresses—Pontikocastro and Chlomoutsi—and of the town of Clarenza. Now the remains at Clarenza are those of a very large fortress; they cover an area about thirty times as great as Pontikocastro, and are surrounded by a well-marked ditch. It is difficult to imagine that such a castle, built, as the remains show, in the early years of the conquest, could have remained unchronicled, and it seems certain that here we have the castle of Chlomoutsi which Geoffrey II. spent three years in building at Clarenza. Here too, were coined the 'tournois' with their quite accurate inscription. It is quite probable, that the present ruins are not only those of the castle of Chlomoutsi, but mark also the fortifications of the town of Clarenza. The position, on the very beach, is well suited to a seaport, and the name Chlomoutsi, Clairmont, or Castel Tornese, may have been more especially applied to the fortress whose walls still stand in great fragments on the cliffs overlooking the sea. Such a castle, placed here at one end of the

town *enceinte* and in close communication with the sea, was indeed an integral part of the defences of a mediaeval town.

We read that Constantine settled at Chlomoutsi in 1427, and in 1430 destroyed Clarenza. His work of destruction must have included both town and castle; indeed at this time he perhaps also ruined Pontikocastro, which is heard of no more. The need of a stronghold more removed from the attacks of sea-rovers may then have led to the erection of the present 'Castel Tornese' on its commanding site. The architectural evidence will hardly permit us to date it earlier, and we shall see that at about the same time Patras was strengthened with walls of similar type, the last efforts of Constantine to hold his own against the Turkish deluge. It is not probable that the castle was built by the Turks, for in 1463 the Turkish garrison numbered only eighty men, and it is unlikely that they built so large a fortress only to hold it with so meagre a force.

The evidence both of history and architecture seems to show that the ruins above Katakolo are those of the castle called Pontikocastro, Beauvoir or Belveder. The large ruin at Clarenza is that of the mediaeval town with its citadel Chlomoutsi, Clairmont or Castel Tornese, whilst the castle in the centre of the peninsula is the second Castel Tornese, built probably by Constantine in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

PATRAS.

At the time of the Frankish invasion the hill of Patras was already fortified and was captured by Geoffrey de Champlitte. The Barony was assigned to Guillaume Aleman, who pulled down the Archbishop's palace and even his church, to use the materials in the castle walls, where fragments can still be seen. As a seaport the town was second only to Clarenza and, after the destruction of that town, became the leading city of Achaia. The Barony early passed from the Aleman family and the town was governed by the Archbishops under various suzerains. In 1408, Venice rented Patras from Archbishop Steven Laccaria at an annual rent of 1000 ducats, and again in 1417, we find a Venetian Governor here for two years. In 1426, we learn from an inscription now built into the keep door that Archbishop Pandulph Malatesta restored the church of St. Andrew inside the fortress, which had been destroyed by Aleman; in 1429, the town opened its gates to Constantine, but not till 1430 did hunger

compel the castle to surrender. Murad II. captured and sacked the town, but, though he breached the walls, he was unable to take the castle. In 1458 both town and castle finally surrendered to Mohammed II.

The castle (Pl. VIII.) consists in a keep with a central citadel and a large courtyard ; the walls show signs of at least two rebuildings. The lower walls of the keep, and particularly those of the northern side of the court, are full of fragments of classic buildings, whilst the upper part is of rubble and in places is smeared with plaster. On the east wall of the keep are the remains of stone corbels which must originally have supported the hoards or *huchettes* of the Frankish castle.

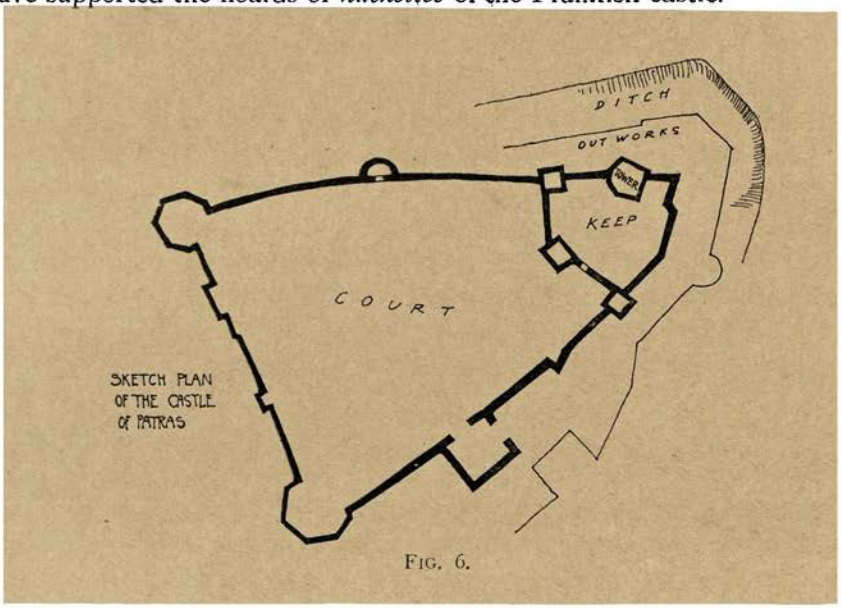


FIG. 6.

The entrance is on the south side by a fine vaulted gatehouse, the sheeted iron doors are still in use, and above the arch is a little *huchette* on two brackets. The western end of the court, and particularly the south-western tower, are fine examples of Italian fortification ; the tower is octagonal, with the usual torus and batter at its base, and is built in irregular courses of well cut stone. On the outer face is a little Italian niche, now empty. The defence is in two stories, a battlemented rampart above, with under it, a range of chambers and loopholes.

The plan is typically mediaeval (Fig. 6) and is probably very little changed from the castle so ruthlessly constructed by Aleman, to whom we

may attribute the greater part of the keep walls and the northern wall of the court. To Italian influence are due the notched battlements, and at some time in the fifteenth century an extensive reconstruction must have taken place which included the upper parts of the keep walls, the gatehouse and the southern and western walls of the court, with their octagonal towers. These are very carefully built of cut stone and without bricks, and it may be suggested that both here and at Castel Tornese, we find the efforts of Constantine to defend Achaia against the Turks. The later Turkish repairs are easily distinguishable by their plastered surface.

Patras is in some ways the most interesting of the Greek castles; it is still in fairly good preservation and has never been completely rebuilt, unlike so many of the famous Frankish castles whose sites are now marked only by crumbling Turkish walls.

At Kalavryta, nothing remains of the castle of the Tremouilles but a few stones on the summit of the magnificent rock which towers over the little town (Pl. IX.). The castle must have been large and well-nigh impregnable, but now even the ground plan cannot be distinguished.

RAMSAY TRAQUAIR.

NOTE ON THE ARMORIAL INSIGNIA IN THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE, GERAKI.[1]

THE armorial insignia existing at the church of St George, Geraki, may be grouped in three categories: I, carved shields over the door of the church and at the apex of the shrine within; II, insignia (?) upon the exterior of the frame or shrine; and III, the shield borne by Joshua in the painting within the latter.

Concerning I, it is a legitimate inference that arms placed so prominently exemplify either the builder of the church or his successors and, possibly, a family allied with one or the other. But the scanty data embodied in the Nivelet pedigree, as known, and the fact that Western armorial records may be searched in vain for arms answering to the name so spelt,[2] are against a direct verification of either shield. As regards the shield at the apex of the shrine's gable, however, there are grounds for supposing that we have here the arms of Nivelet. Regarded in the light of thirteenth century methods of cadency (*i.e.* of means employed to difference the arms of various branches of a house by the superimposition of labels, bends, or

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. 265–9.

[2] The Flemish house of Nivelles, which might conceivably have furnished an ancestor to the barons of Geraki, bore *argent a cross gules*.

bordures upon the shield common to all members of a house) the possibility that this is a coat so differenced and that, consequently, its prototype was merely *lozengy*,[1] becomes at once apparent. If this process of authentic armorial evolution, or its possibility, be admitted in this case, the kinship of the Geraki shield to that of another house, its name having a strong likeness to that of Nivelet, follows. In Rey's edition of Du Cange's *Familles d'Outre-Mer* (pp. 570–1) are various recorded occurrences in the Latin Orient, of the name Neufville or Neuville from the twelfth century: Gui de Nova Villa (1168), Eustache de Neuville (end of twelfth century), Baudouin de Neuville killed at Adrianople, 1205, whose daughter married Robert de Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople; Pierre de Neuville, who fought at Mansurah (1250), a messire de Néviles, butler of the kingdom of Cyprus, whose wife died 1393, and the form Nevile. Most of these are found in Cyprus, whence also Johannes de Nivillis (1390), and two monuments to individuals which appear to be the only published armorial records of the Neuville in the East. These monuments are portions of engraved sepulchral slabs in the church of the Austin Friars (now the Omergheh mosque) at Nicosia. They are reproduced in Major T. J. Chamberlayne's *Lacrimae Nicossienses*.[2] The first bears the effigy of 'NOBLE CHEVALIER MÖSEIGNOR JOHAN D'NEVILES, NOBLE SEIGNOR DARSUF QUI TREPASSA . . . . . LAN MCCCXC,' etc. His shield is *lozengy*. The second, a mere fragment, has the head and shoulders of a younger man, with the date 1403, and the arms *Lozengy a label of three points*—the difference of an elder, or only son, in his father's lifetime. It is interesting to compare the variants of these Eastern Neufvilles' surname with those of the English Nevilles.[3] The Cypriote *Nivillis* suggests the latinisation of a vernacular itself corrupt; the same might be urged for the original *Nivelet*.

Upon the frame or exterior of the shrine are (II) *A crescent between six stars*, and *a fleur-de-lys between four rosettes*. That these are armorial is, in the writer's opinion, doubtful. But assuming the latter to be the Angevin lily, and dismissing its accompanying rosettes as mere enrichments or space-fillings, the cause of its representation at Geraki, and the light thrown thereby upon the date of the work, result as follows. In 1267, Charles I. of Anjou, king of Sicily, became suzerain of Achaia. In 1270, Philip of Anjou, his third son, married Isabelle de Villehardouin, heiress of Achaia. He died in 1277. A second, lengthier and more effective period of French supremacy commenced in 1294, when Philip, prince of Taranto, fourth son of Charles II. of Naples (titular of Sicily), received from his father the suzerainty of Achaia, etc., upon his marriage with Thamar Angela (d. 1308), daughter of Nicephoros Angelos, despot of Epirus. Philip of Taranto died in 1332. Though the writer is unconvinced as to the existence of any connection in fact between the heraldry at Geraki and that at Altamura,[4] (see *B.S.A. loc. cit.*), there are enough similarities between certain of the insignia at both places for an explanation of the same to be desirable. The

[1] Whether simply *lozengy*, *i.e.* with the lozenges perpendicular, or *lozengy in bend*, the lozenges slanting obliquely downward from the shield's right top corner, as at Geraki, is not very material. The Geraki shield would be blazoned *Lozengy in bend . . . a bend . . .* The vagaries of armorial design beyond its normal western and northern limits, as to a lesser degree within them, must be acknowledged by every armorist.

[2] I. Pl. X. No. 150, and Pl. IX. No. 137, pp. 45–47, 1891.

[3] See p. 1 of the pedigree in Drummond's *Noble British Families*, vol. ii. They include the form 'Neuvill*ie*.'

[4] The citation of the Angevin architectural details in Altamura is otherwise important, however, in view of the fact that until the seventeenth century the Greeks had three churches in that city. See Schulz's *Denkmäler*, i. 1860, and Serena in *Rassegna Pugliese*, xix. 1902.

arms upon the façade at Altamura group themselves into two periods. Those over the great door—*Semée of fleurs-de-lys a label of three points* (Anjou), *impaling a cross potence between four crosslets* (Jerusalem); and *Semée of fleurs-de-lys a label of three points and a bend* (Anjou-Taranto), *impaling a cross between four bezants, each between four, and charged with one, cross* (Courtenay of Constantinople)—exemplify, respectively, Robert[1] (of Anjou), king of Naples and Jerusalem (1309–43), and his above mentioned brother Philip, of Taranto, titular emperor of Constantinople (d. 1332) in right of his second wife (1313–46) Catherine, daughter of Charles, count of Valois, and of Catherine, heiress of the Courtenay emperors. The second group of arms at Altamura dates some two centuries posterior to the foregoing; they represent the triumph of imperial resumption of the patronage of the Altamura archpriestship. In the centre is the great shield of the Emperor Charles V.; on the left the arms of the thirty-third prelate and court nominee, Vincenzo Avila Salazar (1550–57); on the right a shield ensigned by a coronet: *Checky of fifteen* (in five rows of three), for Pedro de Toledo, second marquis of Villafranca, the contemporary viceroy and captain-general of Naples. What gives an *air de famille* to the checky shield and the shrine insignia at Geraki are the banners which, according to Spanish armorial usage, surround it in a trophy. These are emblazoned with crescents and stars (or rather, singly: a crescent, a star, four crescents, etc.), and represent the ensigns captured by the viceroy's early fifteenth century ancestor, the first count of Alba, in warfare with the Moors. The early history, as an emblem, of the stars and crescent moon in connection with Byzantium, has yet to be adequately explored, so also has to be fixed the exact period in the later middle-ages when a star, combined with the crescent of the Moslems, came definitely to be associated with their creed.[2] The Geraki *crescent with six stars* bears a close resemblance to a standard captured, according to a sixteenth century Spanish writer,[3] by Alfonso VIII. of Castile from the 'Muramolin' or Almohade sultan at the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, which bore: *a crescent* (its points downwards) *between five stars*. But, even if the Spanish tradition be correct, it is at least open to doubt that Moslem insignia would have been employed in the decoration of a thirteenth century Christian church. It is consequently impossible to decide definitely the character of the Geraki crescent and stars. The checky shield, over the door of St. George, must also, for the present at least, remain unidentified; it is a common bearing, and its verification would depend finally, in any case, upon tinctures; these are unknown. The insignia (III) upon Joshua's shield, in the painting within the shrine, belong to the very curious class of fictitious arms assigned during the armorial age to scriptural personages, saints, mythical and national heroes, impartially, but by no means always consistently.[4]

A. VAN DE PUT.

Mr. W. Miller of Rome has been kind enough to investigate the dates of the ambo in Bitonto Cathedral and of the Falcone tombs in S. Margherita, Biseglio, monuments which are of particular interest as they closely resemble in style the

[1] The great portal dates from his reign. See Schulz, etc., *loc. cit.*

[2] Some of the materials for the question are to be found in Artin Pasha's *Contribution à l'étude du blason en Orient*, 1902.

[3] Argote de Molina, *Nobleza del Andaluzia*, 1588.

[4] Some examples of arms attributed to Joshua are: three bulls' heads; a lion's head; the sun; the sun in glory, winged and darting thunderbolts, etc.

work at Geraki. The Bitonto ambo bears the inscription '*Hoc opus fecit Nicolaus sacerdos et magister anno* 1229.' The chapel of S. Margherita at Biseglio contains three Falcone tombs, of which one is said to have been built in 1246. The particular tomb which so closely resembles the Geraki shrine is undated, but belongs to the same period. Both are given by Avena, *Monumenti dell' Italia Meridionale.* 1903. Plates 59, 87.

Jehan de Nivelet founded the castle in 1254 and, as Pachymeres is almost certainly right in stating that Geraki was surrendered along with Mistra and Monemvasia to Michael VIII. in 1263, the shrine which bears his arms must have been built in the intervening nine years. In any case the Nivelet family left Geraki, for Jehan established himself later at Nivelet near Vostitza, on the Gulf of Lepanto, and died there in 1268.

The church was evidently built before the shrine, yet over the door is a coat '*checky*,' which can hardly be a mistake for the '*lozengy*' of Nivelet. Equally difficult is it to imagine anyone but the lord of the castle placing his arms in this prominent position, and we seem driven to assume the existence of some Frankish knight who established himself here between the conquest and 1254. The *fleur-de-lys* in this case cannot be the Angevin emblem, as Charles I. of Anjou was not crowned King of Sicily until 1266.

The monuments are of peculiar interest as being amongst the very few remains of the first Frankish Barons of the Peloponnese.

RAMSAY TRAQUAIR.

BITHYNICA.

THE following notes are the results of several journeys in the district between Brusa and Mihallitch, which, in spite of its accessibility, is archaeologically ill known.

They deal with :—

1. The Byzantine Churches of Triglia and Syge.
2. The Byzantine fortresses: Caesarea Germanice, Katoikia, Koubouklia.
3. Besbicus-Kalolimno.
4. Inscriptions.

(1) THE BYZANTINE CHURCHES.

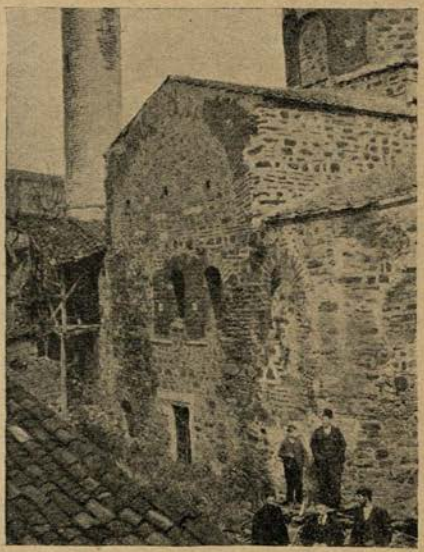
(a) *Triglia: S. Stephen, Pantobasilissa, Medikion, Pelekete.*

THE village of Triglia lies about two hours (12 kilometres) west of Mudania on the high-road recently built to connect the latter with Mihallitch. The place is picturesquely situated at the opening of a short, narrow valley to the Sea of Marmora, and almost surrounded by steep hills wooded with vines, olives, and mulberry-trees. Triglia boasts about 1,000 houses, the population being almost entirely Greek. A stream, bridged at frequent intervals, bisects the main street, from either side of which a disreputable crowd of decrepit wooden houses crawls up the hillside. There is no natural port, though in fine weather the Mudania steamers sometimes call at Triglia on their way to or from Constantinople; but a Greek writer of forty years ago[1] speaks of ruins in the sea which may be remains

[1] Κλεώνυμος καὶ Παπαδόπουλος, *Βιθυνικά*, 1867, p. 43 . . . σώζονται· παραλίως πολλὰ ἐρείπια ἐντὸς τῶν θαλασσίων ὑδάτων. As far as I could gather from enquiries at Triglia these remains are slightly east of the village.

(1) S. STEPHEN:
COLONNADE OF FORECOURT.

(2) S. STEPHEN:
CAPITAL OF N.E. COLUMN.



(3) S. STEPHEN: SOUTH WALL.

(4) PANTOBASILISSA: SOUTH SIDE.

FIG. 1.—CHURCHES OF TRIGLIA.

of a built port possibly belonging to Caesarea Germanice.[1] Triglia was certainly inhabited in ancient times, to judge from the fairly numerous inscriptions found there.[2]

The village is, however, chiefly noteworthy for its numerous monasteries, frequently cited in the *Synaxaria*,[3] round which probably the modern village has gathered. My attention was first drawn to them by a series of articles entitled Περὶ τινῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων Μονῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ[4] by M. Tr. Evangelides, a native of the place. The author, whose chief interests seem to be historical, gives a somewhat inadequate account of the most remarkable architecturally of the surviving churches, now the mosque of the village. This building he calls (on what authority I do not know) Μονὴ τοῦ Χηνολάκκου[5]: a monastery of this name is cited several times by the hagiographers[6], in one record as πλησίον Μυρλείας (Mudania), which is curious, if the monastery stood in Triglia, itself a monastic centre of some importance. The church is called by Evangelides and Kleonymos ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου,[7] but the dedication appears to have been to the Annunciation.[8] It is probably the saint's name which has given rise to the identification with Χηνόλακκος, which was founded by a ὅσιος Στέφανος about 720–20.[9] Ἅγιος Στέφανος lived under Leo the Armenian (813–820)[10] and is called ἡγούμενος Τριγλείας. Evangelides identifies the μονὴ Τριγλείας with the existing church of Pantobasilissa: it is at least possible that the present mosque really bore the name.

Of the history of the building we know only that it was converted

[1] See below.

[2] Cf. *B.C.H.* xvii. 545 ff., cf. xxiii. 592 (2). Evangelides identifies it with Bryllion (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*) in Πλάτων, x. 159.

[3] See especially the *Synaxarium Cons'politanum*, M. J. Gedeon's Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον, and Tr. Evangelides Βίοι τῶν Ἁγίων (Athens, 1895).

[4] Triglia and Syki certainly existed in the fourteenth century, being marked on the Catalan (1395) and other maps. Triglia is mentioned earlier by Cantacuzenus (i. 45, ii. 34).

[5] Σωτήρ, xii. (1889), 93–96, 154–157, 275–281; cf. Πλάτων, x. (1889), 274–286; Περὶ Τριγλείας ἀρχαίου Βρυλλίου, by the same author. The monastery of Medikion (see below) is the subject of a special study by A. Hergès in *Bessarione*, v. (1899), 9–21.

[6] M. J. Gedeon, Ἐγγραφοι Λίθοι καὶ Κεράμια, p. 27.

[7] Kleonymos, p. 43, ἁγίου Στεφάνου ἢ τοῦ Βαθέως Ῥύακος: the latter is certainly wrong, as the monastery τοῦ Βαθέως Ῥύακος was dedicated to the Saviour and still exists behind the village.

[8] The two names are of course not incompatible. Similarly the monastery founded by Theophanes on Kalolimno is called indifferently τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοφάνους after its founder or Σωτῆρος after the dedication.

[9] Gedeon, Βυζ. Ἑορτολόγιον, Jan. 11.

[10] Acta SS. Mar. 26, Βυζ. Ἑορτολόγιον, Mar. 26, 27, Sept. 3.

into a mosque in 1661,[1] which Evangelides read on the *mimber*, and severely damaged by the earthquake of 1855.[2]

The church (Figs. 1, 2) is so shut in by houses that a general view is impossible. I have never been allowed to examine the outer face of the north wall, which abuts on a Turkish garden. The chief point of interest externally is the dome which rests on a round drum, intermediate in form between the early flat, and later high and narrow shape. It rises out of a square base and is decorated with eight slightly recessed blind arches with plain tile *voussoirs*: one on the north side has been opened. There were originally three apses, of which only the central and northern remain. The central is rectilinear in plan and has two ranges of windows: they are arched with tile and retain traces of mosaic in their soffits. The north apse is segmental and slightly overlaps the central.

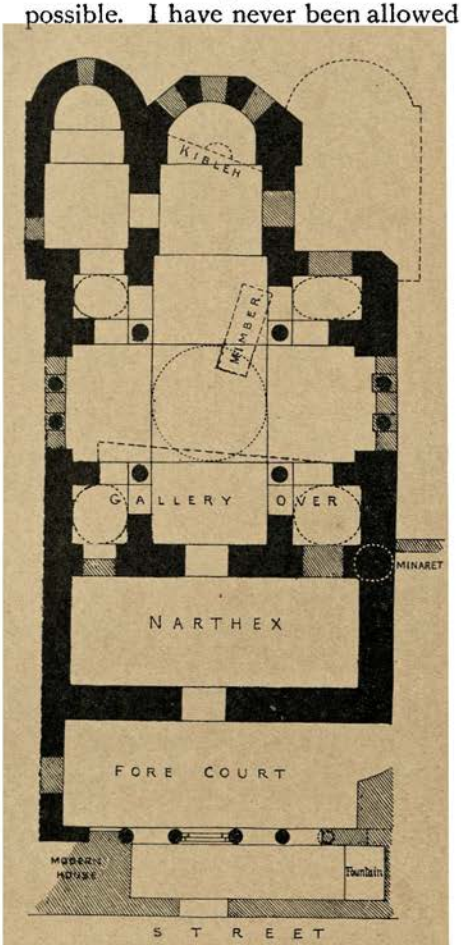


FIG. 2.—SKETCH-PLAN OF CHURCH OF S. STEPHEN. (SCALE 1 : 300.)

The entrance to the church from the west opens first on a portico of four columns; they have caps of coarse yellowish marble, cushion-shaped and decorated with acanthus leaves: a free use of the drill is combined with rather coarse surface-cutting. The two central columns are connected by a lintel.[3] The southern end of the colonnade is occupied by the fountain, while the northern bay is obstructed by a house.

[1] This is the date given with the Hegira year 1039 by Evangelides in Βίοι τῶν Ἁγίων, p. 85: 1613, the date given in Σωτήρ thus appears to be an error.

[2] Evangelides mentions especially the minaret and dome: the south wall has also been extensively repaired.

[3] A similar lintel lies just inside the threshold of the west door of the church.

The northern anta with its cap marks the original extent of the colonnade on this side. The southern anta is not original, and there was probably an extra bay in this direction: a cap of similar style and dimensions lies in the street opposite the church; the asymmetry implied by this restoration is followed out, as will be seen from the plan, in the church itself, the southern aisle being consistently broader than the northern. The colonnade forms the western side of a narrow open court, in front of the church. To the latter access is gained by a plain round-headed doorway with tile *voussoirs*: a similar doorway, now blocked, opened from the north end of the court. The simple narthex, roofed with a barrel-vault running north and south, communicated originally by three squareheaded doorways with the main body of the building: the lateral doorways are now blocked.

The church itself is a fully-developed example of the cross-in-square type. The dome is carried by four monolithic columns of dark-brown marble; these have caps of the same general type as those in the colonnade but more deeply undercut, and with double *abaci*: the capitals have been repeatedly whitewashed, which has blurred the sharpness of the outlines. The eastern pair bear on their upper *abaci* the following monograms:

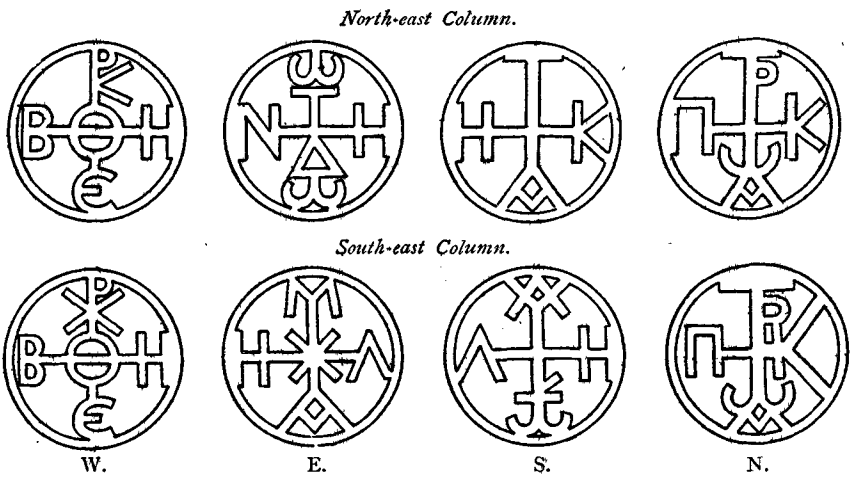


FIG. 3.—MONOGRAMS FROM CAPITALS OF S. STEPHEN, TRIGLIA.

They should probably be read:

(*North-east column*) Κύριε βοήθει | τῷ δούλῳ Νη|κήτα | πατρικίῳ.
(*South-east column*) Χριστὲ βοήθει | αὐλητικῷ | Μιχαὴλ | πατρικίῳ.

At the ends of the transepts, especially in the southern one, are plainly visible two slender columns built into the wall; these originally supported a triple arcade which is easily seen from within and from without in the southern wall. The columns have capitals of a rather heavy cushion-shape, carved with an intricate surface-pattern in very low relief without undercutting: in the soffits are traces of mosaic. These arcades probably gave access to low side-chapels, the gable of the transept being pierced to light the church.[1] Similar arcades are frequently used in the churches of Constantinople, generally to connect adjoining churches: Mefa Jami (Panagia τοῦ Λιβὸς) is probably the best instance.[2]

For the date of the church our only evidence, apart from that of the building itself, is the inscription of the north-eastern capital, which contains the name of a Niketas Patricius. If this refers to the saint of that name[3] and he was concerned in the building of the church, the date may be placed with certainty between 780 and 813 A.D. Niketas Patricius lived under Irene, who shewed him special favour, and the succeeding iconoclastic emperors Leo the Armenian, Michael, and Theophilus, who persecuted him, so that 813 (the accession of Leo) is a probable latest date. It is also in accordance with what we know of the history of the Triglia foundations: Chenolakkos, as we have seen, was founded a hundred years earlier, Pelekete in 700, Medikion about 780, while the monastery of Triglia certainly existed under Leo Armenius.

External evidence, therefore, is in favour of the date given by the monogram. As to that of the church itself, the plan might well be a century later, resembling as it does that of churches like Mefa Jami in its early form (first half of tenth century). It is certainly posterior in type to the Koemesis at Nicaea (c. 750), which shews the last remnant of the basilican plan in its division into nave and aisles, as opposed to the nave and transepts of the final cross-in-square type. On the other hand, the *atrium* at Triglia is an early feature, and the carving of the capitals (which we have no reason to doubt are original) might be even earlier than

[1] The tile arch in which this window was set is plainly visible in the outer face of the southern wall.

[2] The arcade here seems to have opened on a colonnade along the south side of the church.

[3] *Synax. Cp.* Oct. 6. Two local saints of the name are known, Niketas, bishop of Apollonia (Mar. 20) and Niketas, Hegoumenos of Medikion (Ap. 3); both, however, lived at about the same time as Niketas Patricius.

the proposed date: moreover, though the plan is essentially identical with that of Mefa Jami, there are in this latter both added refinements in the plan and essential differences in the elevation, notably the *external* subsidiary domes. It does not, then, appear unreasonable to accept the date c. 800; thereby classing the church among the earliest of the fully developed cross-in-square type.

The parish church of Panagia Pantobasilissa (Figs. 1, 4) now measures about 20·00 by 9·00 metres, but the three western bays of the nave were

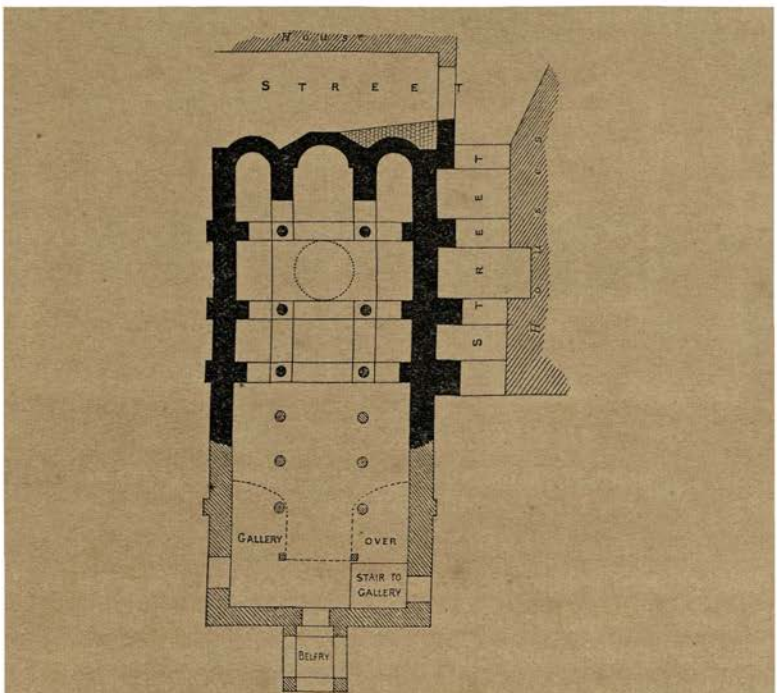
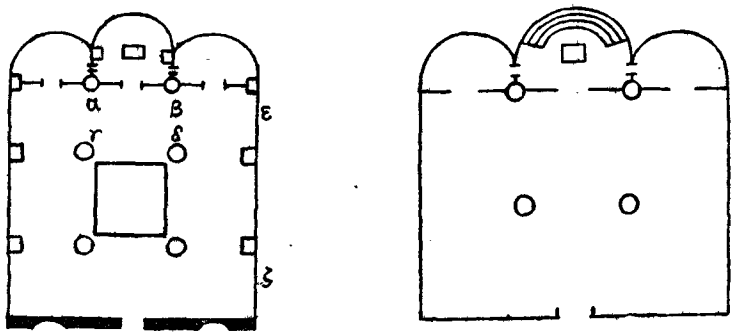


FIG. 4.—SKETCH-PLAN OF PANTOBASILISSA. (SCALE 1 : 300.)

added at the restoration of the church after the earthquake in 1855. The original church was of the cross-in-square type with three apses (the central rectilinear) and a nave extending two bays west of the small dome, which in its present form seems to date from the rebuilding. The old walls are of rubble, tile being used for *voussoirs*. The central apse is decorated with three niches segmental in plan, the side walls divided by shallow blind arcades into three compartments: the

voussoirs of the central arches are treated with alternate stone and tile, those of the side arches with plain tile. The now vanished western wall was similarly divided, and the single doorway flanked by shallow niches.[1] 'Take it on the whole,' says Covel, 'and it seems a very pretty model': his sketch plan is given below.

The columns inside have old caps, Corinthian and Byzantine-Ionic, evidently taken from earlier buildings; some are reversed to form bases.[3] A panel of black, white, and grey *opus sectile* pavement shewn in Covel's sketch[4] still remains.



A *B*

FIG. 5.—SKETCH-PLANS OF CHURCHES, (*A*) PANTOBASILISSA,[2] (*B*) PELEKETE, IN 1676 (COVEL).

The church holds its panegyris on August 18, and is famous for its cures of cripples: patients incubate three days' fasting.

Two monasteries near the village—Medikion and Pelekete—deserve notice rather for their history than their architecture. Of the former, also called *τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων*,[5] little need be said here. Its history is discussed

[1] 'On the side to the west are on either side the door a shallow neech, and over these are arches in the wall from pillaster to pillaster' (Covel, B.M. *Add. MS.* 22, 912 f. 266).

[2] *α*, *β*, *γ*, *δ*, shew the space covered by the dome; *ε*, *ζ* windows.

[3] One of the columns supporting the dome—the north-eastern—is reputed to be of an artificial and semi-translucent stone: it is really of very ordinary granite. Many 'lords' have attempted (in vain) to steal it, as it contains gold. For this reason, presumably, I was forbidden to complete my measurements of the interior of the church.

[4] 'The floor hath been all finely tessallated: in the nave remaine many pieces; one pane is very entire where I have placed it, of black and white marble.' Covel, *loc. cit.*

[5] Also *Ἁγίου Σεργίου τοῦ Μηδικιῶνος* (*Acta Nicetae*, Ap. 3).

at length by Hergès[1] and the building has suffered so much by fire and consequent reconstruction that it retains hardly any architectural features. It stands about a quarter of a mile behind the village (near the high road), and is inhabited by an abbot and a reader. The monastery is entered by a gateway defended by a rough *mâchicoulis*: the arch is of stone and tile alternately; above the door is the inscription + 1801 *κατὰ μῆνα Μαΐου | ἀνεκενίσθη ἐκ βάθρου | ἡ παροῦσα Μωνὴ τοῦ Μιδικίου.*

The church itself stands in a court: it is a rough barn-like building with a long nave divided from the single (north) aisle by piers of masonry[2]; the apse retains its semi-circular seats. On the south side is a chapel with remains of a pavement in *opus sectile*. The interior of the church is not without impressiveness, due mainly to the gloom and the array of old gilded pictures on the screen.

The monastery *τῆς Πελεκητῆς*, dedicated to S. John the Divine, stands about three miles west of Triglia close down by the shore and backed by the wooded undercliff. The monastery is mentioned frequently in the *Synaxaria*[3]: it was founded in 709 and burnt under Constantine Copronymus. Covel saw it in 1676 when there were twenty monks; it then belonged to the patriarch.[4] The church was domed and triapsidal. It is now a poor modern building, having been damaged and repaired after the earthquake of 1855 and burnt and rebuilt in 1880: a fair amount of old detail, including fragments of a marble pavement, a Byzantine cornice and some old capitals, has been used in the reconstruction. It is tenanted by a single priest. A rock-hewn hermit's cell near the church explains the name of the monastery.

[1] *Bessarione*, v. 1899, 9–21, where 780 is given as the probable date of the foundation. Other references are to be found in *Acta SS.* Apr. 3 and May 4; Theod. Stud. p. 1317 (Migne); Mich. Pselli, *Ep.* 29; Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, iii. 382, No. 13 (*Sigillion*, 1657); Sathas, Μεσ. Βιβλ. iii. 601 (do. 1674).

[2] This is also the plan given by Covel's rough sketch: he found twenty-five monks there. *Add. MS.* 22,912 f. 266.

[3] Mar. 17 (S. Theostericus), 28 (S. Hilarion), Apr. 1 (S. Macarius); cf. *Anal. Boll.* xvi. (1857), 140 *sqq.* (*Acta S. Macarii*); cf. also Theod. Stud. Ep. ii. 146; Migne, *Patr. Gr. C.* 1165 (*Vita S. Stephani junioris*).

[4] Sathas, Μεσ. Βιβλ. iii. 587, cites a *sigillion* of 1652, *Περὶ τῶν χωρίων Τριγλίας καὶ Ἐλεγμῶν ὅτι σταυροπήγιά εἰσι καὶ οὐχὶ ὑποκείμενα τῷ Προύσης.* The metropolitan of Brusa, however, claimed the title of Τριγλίας in 1658 (Evangelides) and in a patriarchal *sigillion* of 1657 Triglia is *ὑποκειμένη τῇ μητροπόλει Προύσης* (Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, iii. 1906, p. 382, No. 13): but the freedom of the *monasteries* Pelekete and Medikion is vindicated by later *sigillia*, Sathas, Μεσ. Βιβλ. iii. 594 (1658), 601 (1675), respectively, that of Pelekete again in 1788 (Ξενοφάνης, i. 333) and 1794 (Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, iii. 398, No. 76).

(b) *Syge: Church of the Archangels.*

Syge[1] is a coast-village half-way between Triglia and Mudania. It contains about 350 houses, of which twenty-five are Turkish: the Turks here, as at Triglia, speak or at least understand, Greek. The village is said to have grown up round the monastery of the Archangels which is its chief attraction.[2] According to popular tradition some children of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who was then staying at Brusa, lost their way at Syge and were guided by local monks, for whom the emperor out of gratitude built the monastery. An inscription, said to be a copy of an older one now lost, was placed in the church at its restoration in 1818: it runs as follows:—

+οὗτος ὁ θεῖος ναὸς τῶν παμμεγίστων Ταξιαρχ|ῶν ἀνεγέρθη τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κων|σταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου κατὰ τὸ ἑ|πτακοσιοστὸν ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος, ἀνεκαινίσθ|η δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πα|λαιολόγου κατὰ τὸ χιλιοστὸν τετρακοσιοστὸν τε|σσαρακοστὸν ὄγδοον ἔτος, ἤδη δὲ ἀνοικο|δομήθη ἐπὴ [*sic*] τῆς κραταίας βασιλείας τοῦ κ|ραταιοτάτου καὶ εὐσπλαγχνικωτάτου ἄνα|κτος Σουλτὰν Μαχμοὺτ τοῦ β' διὰ πρ|οσκυνητοῦ Χατίου κατὰ τὸ χιλιοστὸν ὀκτακο|σιοστὸν δέκατον ὄγδοον ἔτος ἀρχιερα|τεύοντος τοῦ πανιερωτάτου μητροπολίτου | ἁγίου Προύσης Κυρίου Παναρέτου διὰ | συνδρομῆς τῶν εὐσεβῶν | χριστιανῶν.

The church (Fig. 6) lies among the houses of the village not far from the sea, on a site sloping sharply to the south and east. The exterior especially has suffered from repeated repairs and the only noticeable features are the two domes. The main dome was repaired in 1818 by the restorer of the church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem[3] and retains no detail of interest: it has a low drum lighted by twelve windows. The lesser dome is octagonal.

Of the original church (780 A.D. according to the inscription) remain only the compartment roofed by the great dome and the single apse, the latter extensively buttressed. On the north side of the dome a triple arcade,

[1] The correct spelling is Συκή, but as this word has an obscene significance in Turkish, Συγὴ is the form in use.

[2] The village, church, and an ἁγίασμα with healing powers are mentioned by Wheler (p. 213), and some particulars of the church are given by Charles MacFarlane (*Turkey and its Destiny* (1851), ii. 87). A single inscription (funerary) is recorded by Evangelides, Ξενοφάνης, i. 332.

[3] After the fire in 1808. His name was Comnenes of Mytilene (Willis, *Holy Sepulchre*, p. 156).

supported on two columns with simple cushion caps, opens on a chapel of S. Charalambos (Fig. 7), which owing to the steep fall of the ground from N.W. to S.E. is much higher than the main body of the church. There appears, however, to have been originally no corresponding chapel or gallery on the south side, the original south wall shewing only a slightly-recessed arcade of a decorative character.

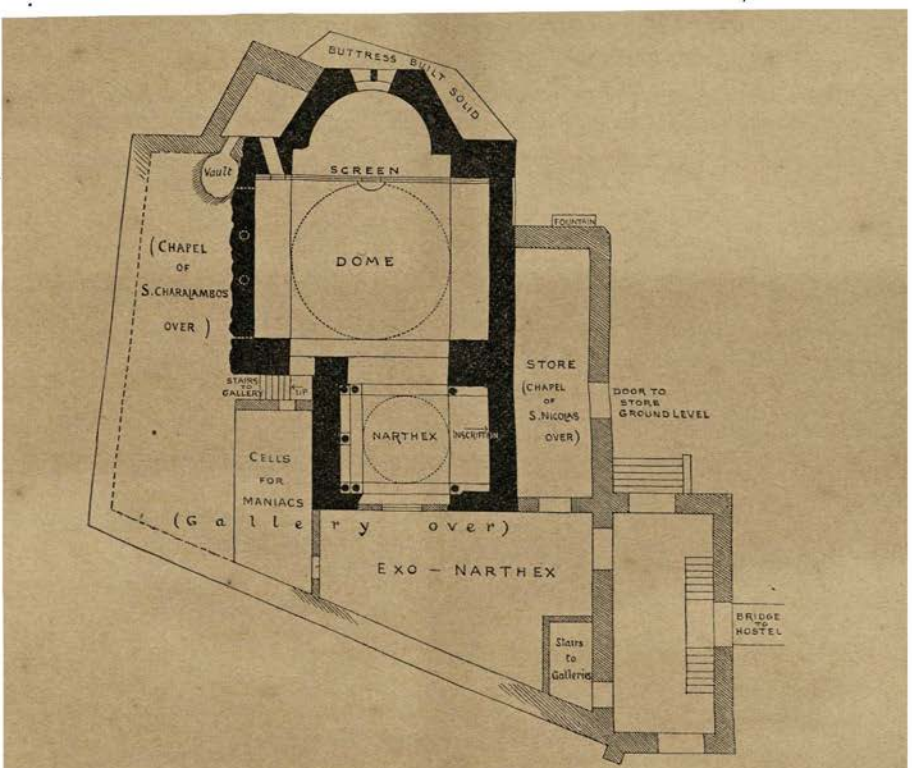


FIG. 6.—SKETCH-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE ARCHANGELS, SYGE. (SCALE 1 : 300.)

The second domed compartment forms a *narthex* to the west of the first. It is not even approximately in the same axis and can hardly have been part of the original building. The dome is supported by four arches resting on engaged columns: the latter have cushion caps with crosses or other simple designs in low relief. On the south wall of this *narthex* is the inscription before mentioned, on the north the miraculous picture of

FIG. 7.

SYGE: CHAPEL OF S. CHARALAMBOS.

FIG. 8.

KETE: HEXAGONAL TOWER OF THE FORTRESS.

FIG. 10.

KALOLIMNO: THE BAY AND VILLAGE.

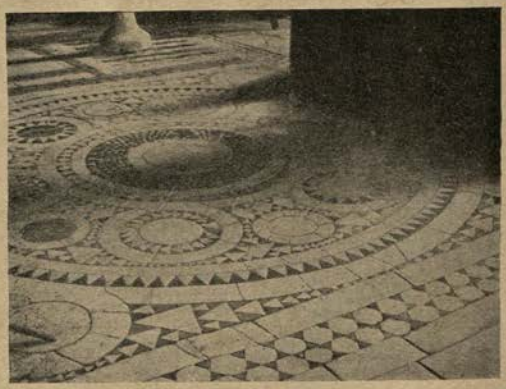


FIG. 11.

KALOLIMNO: MARBLE PAVEMENT IN CHURCH OF METAMORPHOSIS.

S. Michael and that of S. Gabriel; the pictures are placed in recesses formed by columns supporting a blind arcade of masonry.

On the western side of this dome has been built (1818) an irregular quadrangular *exo-narthex*, from which open, north a cell for the confinement of violent patients, and south a modern porch (1862). The latter again gives access east and west to the street and communicates by a bridge with the church-house across the street, which contains lodgings for pilgrims frequenting the panegyris (September 6).

An upper floor surrounds the church on three sides: north and south are the chapels of S. Charalambos (before mentioned) and S. Nicolas, both, in their present form, of modern date, and west a spacious women's gallery. The floor is approached by (*a*) a door from the street level on the north side of the church, (*b*) a staircase from the west end of the church proper, and (*c*) by a staircase from the outer porch.

The church is a religious centre of some importance as well as an architectural monument. It is one of the most frequented pilgrimages of the district and has a great reputation for its miracles of healing, especially in cases of brain trouble. Patients usually incubate forty days in the church (at any time of the year) using the *exo-narthex* for the purpose; during this period they keep to a fasting diet—thin soups, etc.—and are exorcised more or less frequently, according to their means, by the priest. From my own observations it appears that a certain amount of liberty is allowed during incubation; the patient pays his devotions to the pictures and takes part in the services. Violent patients are chained in the dark cell opening off the *exo-narthex*. MacFarlane in his interesting notes on the church[1] mentions cases of its use by Turks in search of cure.

A curious *ex-voto* hangs on the staircase leading from the porch to the upper chapels: this consists of a suit of leather-jacket, trousers, and boots,[2] all in one piece, and a hat of the same material; the suit is called *ἐνδυμασία τοῦ ἁγίου Ταξιάρχου* and is believed to be worn by the Saint when he appears to sufferers.[3]

The conception of S. Michael as a healer is widely spread and of old standing. There are several cases where he certainly succeeded to

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] Boots are a regular offering to S. Michael in Lesbos: *B.S.A.* ii. 151.

[3] This is especially interesting as the only hint I have heard of apparitions in this or the neighbouring churches.

the cults of Apollo, Asklepios, and other healers.[1] We may cite the definitely healing shrine of Pythia Therma in Bithynia[2] and Poemanenum in Mysia, where Aristides[3] speaks of a shrine of Asklepios, and Acropolita[4] of a church of S. Michael. In the Brusa district, the churches of S. Michael at Tepejik[5] and Ulubad on the Rhyndacus[6] are both incubation-shrines. In this region the only competitor of S. Michael is the Panagia,[7] who presumably succeeds a female pagan deity in popular estimation.

(2) THE BYZANTINE FORTRESSES.

(a) *Caesarea.*

The town of Caesarea Bithyniae is known only from casual references in Pliny,[8] Ptolemy,[9] Dio Chrysostom,[10] Hierocles, and the *Acta Sanctorum*, and from coins.[11] Pliny and Ptolemy state distinctly that it lay inland, Dio describes it as a small place near his native Brusa. The route of S. Quadratus[12] mentions it as a stage between Apamea (Mudania) and Apollonia ad Rhyndacum (Aboulliond), which gives a further clue to its position. A rather rhetorical passage in a Life of S. Niketas[13] (c. 824) refers to its fortifications, healthy position, and fertile territory,[14] and shews that

[1] Deubner, *de Incubatione*, 65 ff.; M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, p. 139; cf. W. Lueken, *Michael*, pp. 74 ff.

[2] Procopius (*de Aedificiis*, 316) speaks of a church of S. Michael and a hospital there (ἀρχαγγέλου τέμενος καὶ τῶν νοσούντων ἀναπαυστήριον), and the name *Pythia* is sufficient warrant for the assumption that Apollo was the original patron of the baths. Some description of Pythia Therma (Kouri near Yalova) is given by G. Makris (Τὸ Κατιρλί, p. 61) and M. Gedeon in Νεολόγος (Constantinople, Sept. 1887, No. 5490). The church retains its dedication.

[3] *Sacr. Serm.* iv (i. 503, *Dind.*). [4] P. 37 B.

[5] Hamilton, *loc. cit.* 222. The church at Tepejik is modern, but a cell has been specially built off the south aisle for violent lunatics. Another instance of this function of S. Michael can be cited from Nenita in Chios where (in 1638) madmen were brought to regain their sanity at the church of the Taxiarchs (see *inf.* p. 345). I was told in Chios this year that though the Anargyri and the Panagia were now the chief healers of the island, S. Michael was still credited with such powers at Nenita.

[6] Hamilton, 218.

[7] She has healing shrines at Kapu-Dagh (succeeding Dindymene?), at Kurshunlu (succeeding Placiane) especially for eye diseases, at Kios (Παζαριώτισσα), and at Triglia (see above).

[8] *N.H.* v. 143. [9] v. i. 14. [10] *Or.* xlvii. p. 546 R.

[11] The best view of the coinage is given in the *Recueil des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, i. 2. 280.

[12] *Acta SS.* May 9. [13] *Acta SS.* April 3.

[14] These details are given by the version published by T. E. Evangelides in his Βίοι τῶν Ἁγίων. The text runs: Καισάρειαν τὴν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πάντες ἴσασιν ὡς ὑπερεξηρημένην τῶν πλησιοχώρων πόλεων καὶ οἱονεὶ ἀποτετμημένην διά τε τὸ τοῦ πολίσματος ὀχυρώτατον καὶ ὡραῖον καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος εὔκρατον καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ καὶ τὸ κατὰ καιροὺς τῶν ἐπικαρπίων ἀφθονώτατον.

the point on the coast nearest to Caesarea was Triglia, since the saint, a native of Caesarea, making for the sea, came to the Monastery of Medikion.

The fairly well defined position thus obtained harmonises well with the evidence of some coins of Caesarea bearing the legend Καισάρειας Γερμανικῆς-Ὄλυμπος,[1] but is at variance with that of others which bear the type of a galley under sail [2] or in harbour.[3] We can only conclude that the town lay at some distance from its port, if the port or town were not on an inland lake.

The most likely site known to me is Tachtali,[4] which lies in a healthy and well-watered position on the northern spurs of Olympus, overlooking a plain barely separated from that of Brusa by a low ridge.[5] This village lay on the old road between Smyrna and Brusa, as is shewn by the routes of Thevenot,[6] Covel,[7] and Tournefort.[8] It has been visited in more recent times by Hamilton,[9] J. A. R. Munro,[10] and myself (1907), and now contains about two hundred families, of which half are Turkish-speaking Greeks.[11] Munro found there several inscriptions, including the third-century elegiacs in honour of a Cornutus called *θρεπτῆρα μουσῶν καὶ λόγων κοσμήτορα*[12] and an epitaph of a bishop John:[13] there was a bishop John of Caesarea Bithyniae in the sixth century.[14] Further, there exists in the village street a corner of the basement of an ancient building constructed in well-cut blocks of granite laid in

[1] Imhoof, *Mon. Gr.* 439, where the coin is attributed to the Germanicia Commagenes: this is corrected in the same author's *Gr. Münzen*, p. 73 [597]. I bought a coin in Brusa with the legend Καισάρειας Γερμανικῆς πρὸς Ὄ. (*Recueil des Monn. d'Asie M.*, Pl. XLIV. 3 = No. 3, p. 281.)

[2] *B.M. Catal.* (*Bithynia*), No. 7. [3] *Ibid.* No. 2.

[4] The derivation of Tachtali from *takt* (=*throne*) and *aali* (=*sublime*), which gives some colour to the theory of the ancient importance of the place, is nevertheless erroneous; the name is really from *takta*=*plank*; Kleonymos (Βιθυνικά, p. 97) says the inhabitants are wood-cutters.

[5] At Besh-Evler. [6] Ed. 1657, i. 285. [7] B.M. *Add. MS.* 22, 912.

[8] ii. 191. [9] i. 78 (Tartali). [10] *J.R.G.S.* 1897, 154.

[11] This implies probably that the village dates back before the Turkish conquest. The later (but still old) settlements of immigrant Greeks retain their language: the Turkish-speaking Greek villages of the district are Ainasi, Anachori, Dansari, Derekeui, Miletler, Yailajik.

[12] *J.H.S.* xvii. 268 (1). The inscription was first copied about 1670 by Faulkner of Smyrna, who gave his copy to Covel. It is bound at f. 73 of *Add. MS.* 22, 914 with the note *Taken at Tachtale on a Greeke church wall named St. Teodoro*: Covel remarks that he was unable to find Mr. Faulkner's inscription. Cornutus is mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3671: he seems to have been a Cyzicene, probably therefore not the Pro-praetor (Waddington, *Fastes*, 123).

[13] *J.H.S.* xvii. 269 (3). I was unable to obtain a fresh copy, as the bath where it is, was occupied by women.

[14] Lequien, *Oriens Xt.* i. 628.

courses apparently without mortar. Many similar blocks are to be seen built into the fast-vanishing remains of the Byzantine castle, which is also in the village itself; the only recognisable feature is a vaulted passage opening by a tile-arch on to the street. There are two granite sarcophagi with the usual garland-and-label design in the village fountain, and many more are said to have been found with these; built into the church and its court is a great quantity of Byzantine detail.

The ideal solution of the inland-port difficulty with which the coin-types of Caesarea confront us would be to suppose that the town had a harbour at the east end of the lake for the export of timber; as, however, the lake is two hours and a half distant, and the lake and river route, always devious, would be further hampered for Caesarea by the competition of Apollonia, it seems more rational to suppose that Caesarea shipped from Triglia, which is shewn by the life of Niketas, mentioned above, to have been the nearest point on the sea-coast.

(b) *Katoikia, Kete.*

In the plain below, is the important Byzantine fortress of Kete, about a mile south of the Brusa road. The fortification is an irregular hexagon in form; the long south-western side, which measures about 130 metres, contains what appears to have been the only gate. The wall is about 6 ft. thick, and built of rubble with irregular bands of tile: stone and tile alternately are used to vault the arch of the gate, which is flanked by small square towers. Elsewhere the towers are irregularly placed and vary in form; one is hexagonal (Fig. 8), at least one triangular, and several of horseshoe form. The construction resembles the fortress of Ulubad (Lopadium), which is said to have been built by John Comnenus, the castle at the opening of the Balaban-dere on the Sangarius, and the walls of Philadelphia (Alashehr). It is very well preserved; breaches are comparatively insignificant, and for long stretches the wall still stands to nearly its full height. Kete, which is mentioned only once in history, viz., at its capture by the Turks in the early years of the fourteenth century,[1] is called Κατοικία by Pachymeres. It was obviously not a strategic point, but rather designed as a refuge for the people of the surrounding plain.[2]

[1] G. Pachy, 417 B (1305 Muralt). Von Hammer gives the date as 1307 (immediately before the capture of Besbicus). The first may have been a temporary occupation.

[2] Cf. Pachy, *loc. cit.* γύναια καὶ παιδάρια πλῆθος μύριον πρὸς τὸ φρούριον φεύγοντα.

(c) *Koubouklia.*

A third fortress of the district mentioned, like Kete, only once by Pachymeres at its capture by the Turks is Koubouklia. It was betrayed in 1308 by a garrison of Catalan mercenaries sent from Lopadium to defend it by Macrenus.[1] Very scanty remains of it—little more than the name *kastro*—exist in the village of Koubouklia,[2] which stands about a mile north of the Brusa road at the western extremity of the plain of Caesarea. The village, like many others in the district, claims to be a settlement of Peloponnesians; the date of its foundation is placed in the reign of Sultan Suleiman 'the Magnificent' (1520–66).

(3) BESBICUS-KALOLIMNO.

Kalolimno, the ancient Besbicus, is a narrow hammer-shaped island about six miles long, lying north and south opposite the mouth of the Rhyndacus (Fig. 9). The northern end, which forms the head of the hammer, is high, rising at one point to an elevation of 680 feet. The rest of the island slopes gradually down to the sea westwards from the low cliffs of the eastern coast, and, though for the most part treeless, is fertile and cultivated (Fig. 10).[3]

The island is first mentioned (as Βύσβικος) in the tribute lists of the Delian league, as paying a modest contribution of 3,000 drachmae. Various legends accounted for its origin:[4] Stephanus quotes from Agathokles a myth representing it as a loose rock with which giants attempted to block the mouth of the Rhyndacus; their attempt was frustrated by Persephone, who fixed the island fast and gave it the name of a giant. The introduction of Persephone and the obvious debt of the story to the story of the blocking of the harbour Chytus at Cyzicus,[5] stamp the legend as of comparatively late origin. It is probably based on an etymology of the name Βύσβικος from *βύω*.

[1] G. Pachy ii. 380 B *φρούριόν τι κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν τὴν ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ τὰ Κουβούκλεια λεγόμενον.*

[2] The word Κουβούκλια is the Byzantine form (surviving in modern Greek) of the Latin *Cubicula.* The village is better known by its Turkish name, Giubekler.

[3] A geological sketch of the island is given by Texier, *Descr. de l'A.M.* ii. 155–6, *Asie Mineure,* (*L'Univers,* xii. 135–6). Pliny regarded it as an island detached by an earthquake from the continent, *N.H.* ii. 204 (Natura) . . Besbicum Bithyniae avellit. Dioscorides (*Mat. Med.* v. 135) and Belon (p. 176) refer to the island as a place where the mollusc ἀλκυόνειον was found.

[4] *s.v.* Βέσβικος. [5] Ap. Rh. i. 989 ff.

An older legend is that preserved by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius' lines :

'Αλλ' ὅτε δὴ Μυσῶν λελιημένοι ἠπείροιο
'Ρυνδακίδας προχοὰς μέγα τ' ἠρίον Αἰγαίωνος
Τυτθὸν ὑπὲκ Φρυγίης παρεμέτρεον εἰσορόωντες,[1] etc.,

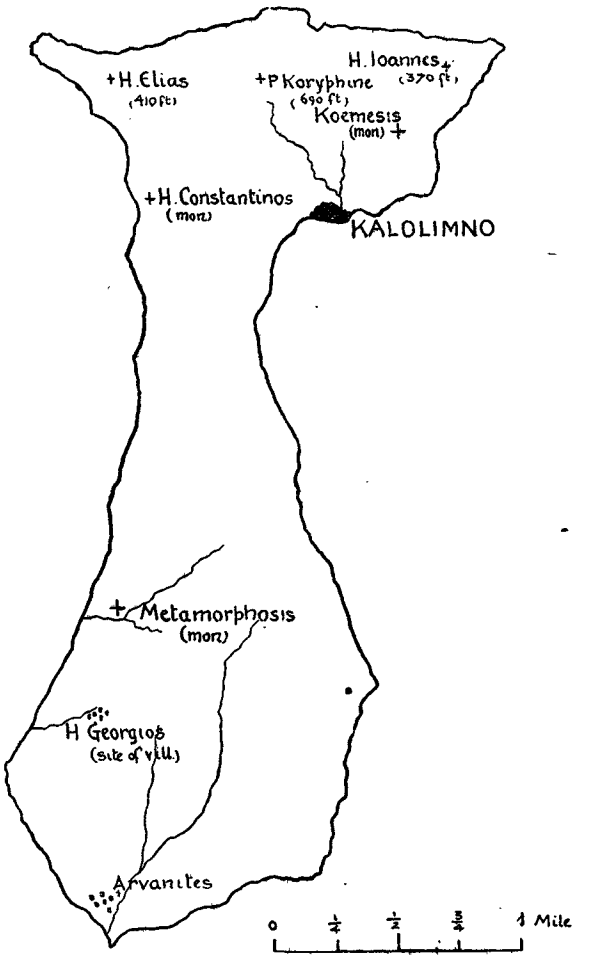


FIG. 9.—KALOLIMNO ISLAND. (FROM ADMIRALTY CHART 844.)

describing the course taken by the Argonauts from Cyzicus eastwards. According to the Scholiast the ἠρίον Αἰγαίωνος marked the place where

[1] *Arg.* i. 1164 ff.

Aigaion was overwhelmed (*κατεποντίσθη*) by Poseidon. Arrian says[1] that the tomb of Briareus, a hill also called after Aigaion, was shewn near the Rhyndacus; from it flowed a hundred springs called the 'hands of Briareus.' The last makes it clear that no artificial tumulus was meant, but a natural hill. Anyone who has sailed in these waters must recognise that some mention of the island is necessary in a description of the Argonauts' course, and Apollonius' account is here full of local colour. Aigaion, therefore, was probably the Eponymos of the island mentioned in the Persephone legend. The later name Besbicus is said to have been that of a Pelasgian[2] hero who settled in the island and with the help of Herakles drove out the rest of the giants.[3]

We have no further record of Besbicus in the classical period: it next appears under the name Kalonymos[4] in the middle of the eighth century, when it was colonised by the historian Theophanes from his monastery of Megas Agros on the mainland opposite.[5]

The monastery of the Metamorphosis founded by Theophanes is the only church of interest on the island. It is situated in a prettily-wooded valley near the west coast, about three-quarters of an hour from the village. Of the original church remains only the fine pavement of coloured marble (*opus sectile*) which occupies the greater part of the nave (Fig. 11). The

[1] *Frag.* 42, *σῆμα δέ αὐτοῦ δείκνυσθαι κατὰ τὸν Ῥύνδακον ποταμὸν οὐ πόρρω θαλάσσης λόφον τινὰ καὶ τοῦτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι Αἰγαίωνος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου τούτου πίδακας ἐκδιδόναι ἑκατὸν καὶ ταύτας καλεῖσθαι παλάμας Βριάρεω.*

[2] Aigaion also was said to have come from 'Pelasgian' Euboea (*Schol.* Ap. Rh. i. 1165), and we may surmise that the population was of the same stock as that of Scylace and Placia on the mainland. A dedication to 'the Hero' after the Thracian manner was found in the island by Evangelides (*B. C. H.* xxiv. 874 (14) from *Ξενοφάνης*, i. 327), where are ten other inscriptions copied by him at Besbicus.

[3] Steph. Byz., *Schol.* Ap. Rh.

[4] The type of name seems euphemistic, possibly implying a popular derivation of *Βέσβικος* from *βδέω* or some such word. It occurs first in the seventh century, *Jo. Ant. fragg.* in *F. Hist. Gr.* v. p. 38. The later authors waver between *Kalonymos* and the modern *Kalolimnos* or *Kalolimiona* ('fair haven'). Randolph and the *Sailing Directions for Marmora* mention the name *Papa* ('the Pope's Island' in Covel) evidently from the number of monks: it is, however, possibly Besbicus which is referred to by Lupazzolo (1638, B.M. *Lansdowne MS.* 792) as one of the Symplegades . . . 'isola del Papa a quale fu datto da esso Sanmo la maladicione che non producesse alcuna cosa, che cossi sta sin hora.'

[5] See the various *Vitae Theophanis* prefixed to de Boor's edition: there are considerable remains of the monastery *τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ* (*Παναγία Καρὰ Δὰγ*) half an hour west of Kurshunlu; it is the 'castle' marked on Pococke's and Chevalier's maps, and Carabella's 'temple of Neptune' (*Rev. Arch.* 1879, 202). The church is a ruin, though here also are remains of an *opus sectile* pavement. The place has been described by T. E. Evangelides (*Βίοι τῶν Ἁγίων*) and W. Judeich (*Sitzb. Pr. Akad.* 1898, ii).

building itself is probably of the sixteenth century, and of very rough construction, though the interior with its gilded screen and dim wall-paintings[2] is effective. The church is divided into a flat-ceiled nave and lean-to aisles by three plain built piers: the easternmost bay is taken up by the chancel. The pier-arches of the aisles are lightened by slightly-pointed windows, but there appear never to have been galleries, if we may judge from the level of the corresponding windows in the outer walls. The plain narthex at the western end gives access to the north chapel of S. Demetrius. A porch on the west and south and various monastic buildings, all of the roughest, complete the group.

In 1308 the island was taken and sacked by the Turks under Kara Ali,[3] from whom it takes its Turkish name Emir Ali Adassi (Imrali). In the fifteenth century it was uninhabited.[4] The Turkish island-book of Piri Reis (c. 1520)[5] speaks in the text of three villages on the island, and marks four in the map.[6] Covel[7] in 1677 speaks of two villages, Kalolimno and Arnaut-Keui or Albanitochori (Albanian village); Luke[8] in 1682 of 'two or three villages, the chief, Liman Keuy.' Kalolimno, on the north-eastern bay exists; the name of the 'Albanian village' still survives at the south end of the island, though the Albanians have gone[9] and their place is taken by a small settlement from

[1] It was already 'of old ffabrick' in Luke's time (1680).

[2] Amongst them is the figure of the founder holding a conventional domed church: the original church was probably domed, to judge from the design of the pavement.

[3] Von Hammer, *Gesch. Osm. Reichs*, i. 180.

[4] Cf. Buondelmonti (1420) § 63, 'ad dexteram Calonimon insula videtur in montibus posita nimis: et quia olim per omnem Graeci dominabantur, tunc temporis haec erat habitata: nunc vero in desolationem redacta est et indomita animalia vagantur per eam.' Martelli (c. 1489, B.M. *Add. MS.* 15,760 f. 39 r.) is slightly more explicit: 'Calonimon et ipsa angusta et deserta insula sequitur, vel mons potius editissimus in mari, in quo *oppidum olim fuisse vestigia declarant.* Nunc vero omnino deserta insula, ambitus P.M. XVIII, indomitis ferisque animalibus tantum pervia.' His map, which bears no relation to the real shape of the island, shews a conventional castle and ruins on the northern bay: this and the statement about the *vestigia* are probably borrowed from Buondelmonti's map; Bordone (1528) also probably draws on the same author, when he calls the island 'tutta montuosa e da bestie posseduta' f. LXII. *v.*

[5] See the notice in *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii. 418 ff.

[6] Quoted by Mordtmann, *Ausland*, 1856, p. 650. 'Die Insel Emir Ali hat ein röthliches Ansehen wie Tenedos, und hat 18 Miglien im Umfange. Sie hat drei Dörfer und ist gut umgebaut.' Gerlach also (*Türkisches Tagebuch*, p. 255) speaks of it ('Calominum') as 'von etlichen Dörfern bewohnet' in 1576.

[7] B.M. *Add. MSS.* 22, 912 f. 29 r.

[8] B.M. *Harl. MSS.* 7021 f. 419 r. B. Randolph (*Archipelago*, 1687, p. 67), generally a first-hand authority, says the island was uninhabited, but Covel and Luke both landed.

[9] Already in 1835 when Texier visited the island (*Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, ii. 156).

Kalolimno: a third village site, S. George, now deserted, is pointed out just south of the monastery of Metamorphosis.

The island thus seems to have been colonised under the early Sultans, possibly by Albanians, but the language is no longer spoken.[1]

The population is now assessed at two hundred[2] families (all Greek except the *mudir* and one or two other Turkish officers) chiefly resident in Kalolimno; they pay in taxes 52,000 piastres,[3] most of which goes to the support of the Shahzadeh[4] mosque at Constantinople. The island is administratively under Brusa and ecclesiastically under Nicomedia. The greater part of it is under cultivation, the chief crop being onions which are exported: the silk-industry is small and mulberries only beginning to be planted; the wheat grown in the island does not suffice for the population, and wood is imported from the Kara-dagh: there is fairly regular communication by caique with Mudania and Panderma.

(4) INSCRIPTIONS.

Tachtali.

1. In the yard of Hadji Mehmetoghlu Sherif. Two fragments apparently of the same inscription, though there are no points of contact. Letters about ·04 m. high.

(*a*) 0·365 × ·049 m., entire on left side:

+ЄΙΚ⁄	
ΘЄΟΚΤΙϹΤѠ	*θεοκτίστῳ* . . .
ΦΙΛΟΧΡΗϹΤΟΙϹ	*φιλοχρ(ί)στοις* . .
ΜΝΗΜΗΔΑΥΤ	*μνήμη δ'αὐτ* . .
ΚΑΚΙΝΗΝΟΧ	? . . . . .
ΤΑΥΤΗΝΔЄ⁄	*ταύτην δ'* . .

[1] Evangelides (in Πλάτων, x. 83–9) mentions as peculiarities of the Greek spoken, the 'liquid' (ὑγρόν) pronunciation of ρ, and the use of a *ch* sound for χ. The true Greek descent of the inhabitants is defended by Chourmouzes (Ἡ νῆσος Ἀντιγόνη, p. 54, note) on the curious ground of their frequent quarrels.

[2] Luke says 110 persons paid Haratch at 10 dollars each; for population Mordtmann, (1854) gives 100 houses, Chourmouzes (1869) 80–90 houses, Evangelides 2,500 persons.

[3] Mordtmann gives 19,564 p. land-tax, 17,000 tithes, 6,000 head-tax, 1,200 fisheries and shipping, 1,000 silk, 750 wine, total 46,414.

[4] So Luke: I ascertained that the revenues still went to a mosque at Constantinople but was unable to discover its name.

(*b*) 0·39 high, broken all round :

ƷΥCЄΟΙCЄΦΑΠΛΩΘΙ	? *πρεσ*]*βὺς ἑοῖς ἐφαπλώθ*[*η*
ΙΜΑΡΙΑΤΟΙCΟΜΟΖΥΙ	? *καὶ*] *Μαρία τοῖς ὁμόζυ*[*ξι*
ϽΥΤΩCΗΝΑƷΙΑΤΓ	*οὕτως ἦν ἄξια* - -
ΛƷΙΑΚΑΙΖΩΗΤЄ	*ἄξια καὶ ζῶ*(*ν*)*τε*[*ς*
ΛΦΑΝΙΖΙ (stop)	*ἀφανίζ*(*ε*)*ι*
ΤЄΦΑΝΟΥCΙΝ	*σ*]*τεφανοῦσιν.*

Characteristic letters in both fragments are the round Є with disjointed cross-stroke and N with curved cross-stroke. The sloping lines of M and the angular cross-stroke of A have vertical continuations downwards.

Koubouklia.

2. By the church. Large bluish marble altar with rough mouldings top and bottom, broken in two pieces. Letters ·04 m.

(*a*)	ωΦΑΔΙωЄΙCΑΥ	. . . *ῳ Φαδίῳ Εἰσαυ*[*ρι-*
	ΙΓΥΝ	(*κ*)*ῷ καὶ τῇ*] *γυν*[*αικὶ*
(*b*)	ΧωΙ	*χω* (?) - - -
	ΥΤΟΥΑΜΑΔΟ	*α*]*ὐτοῦ Ἀμαζ*(*ω*)[*ν-*
	ΙΔΙCωCΙΔΗΜΟC	*ίδι Σωσίδημος*
	CΝ ΗCΑΛΚΙΜΟΙΚΑ	*εν* - (-*σ*) *Ἀλκίμο*(*υ*) *κα*[*τ-*
	CCΙϹΥΑCЄΝΤЄΙΜΗC	*εσ*(*κε*)*ύασεν τειμῆς*
	ΑΙ ΙΝ	*χ*]*ά*(*ρ*)*ιν.*

3. *Ibid.* Large block with face 1·57 × 0·55 m. Letters ·04 m.

ΠΑΠΥΛΟΣ	*Πάπυλος* [*Πολυ-*
ΔΑΜΑΤΩ ΕΛΦ	*δάμα* (?) *τῷ* [*ἀδ*]*ελφ*[*ῷ*
ΖΗΣΑΝΤΙΕ Η	*ζησάντι ἔ*[*τ*]*η* . . .
ΜΗΝΜΗΣ	*μ*(*νή*)*μης* [*χάριν.*

4. Built into a well-head in the lower part of the village. Bluish marble slab, much worn. Letters irregular, about ·03 high.

ΤC ϽϽϽϽΚΑΙCω	*Τϵ*[*ιμ*](*όθ*)[*ϵ*](*ος*) *κ*(*α*)*ὶ Σω-*
ΚΡΑΤ ΕΙΜ	*κράτ*[*ης καὶ Τ*]*ειμ*[*οκ-*
ΛΗC	*λῆς* [*τῷ δεινὶ τῷ ἀδελ-*]
ΦωΜΙ ΙΝ	*φῷ μ*[*νήμης χάρ*]*ιν.*

5. In a private house. Altar 0·76 × 0·37 × 0·40 m. (thick), rough moulding top and bottom. Letters 0·25 m. high.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΣ	Ἀπολλωνὶς
ΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΑ	τὸν ἄνδρα
(Relief of man ploughing with two oxen.)	
ΠΑΙΔΕΣΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑ	παῖδες τὸν πατέρα
ΣΙΜΟΝ ΜΝ-ΙΜ-Σ	Ὀνή]σιμον μνήμης
ΝΕΚΕΝ	ἕ]νεκεν.

6. At fountain twenty minutes from village. Stele of coarse grey marble, 0·58 × 0·58 m., with rounded top, acroteria at sides, and 'tang' for fixing. Above is a relief of man on couch to l., woman seated to r., all within a frame of spiral ornaments. The man holds a snake (?) in his right hand. Below (letters ·02–·03 m. high),

ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ	Σεκοῦνδος καὶ Ἰούλιος
ΤΩΠΑΤΡΙΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΩ	τῷ πατρὶ Σεκούνδῳ
ΗΣΑΝΤΙΣΕΜΝΩΣΕΤΗ	ζ]ήσαντι σεμνῶς ἔτη
ΟΕ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ	οε'· χαίρετε.

Tepejik, near Brusa.

7. In the south wall of church of S. Michael, inside. Stele 0·70 × 0·45 m. with reliefs: (*a*) Banquet with two reclining figures and two servants, (*b*) four persons standing, the centre pair male, the outer female, flanked by two subsidiary figures, (*c*) death-bed scene: rough late work. Below, letters, ·02 m. high.

ΣΘΕΝΗΜΗΝΑΚΑΙΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΕ ? Σ̈ω]σθένη Μηνᾶ καὶ Μένανδρε

A second line below is illegible owing to the position of the stone in the wall.

Demirdesh, near Brusa.

8. In private possession. Stele 0·73 × 0·53 m. with pediment and acroteria and relief of seated woman: various objects (Gorgoneion, kalathos, distaff, etc.) in field (Fig. 12). Below, letters ·025 m. high.

ΑΙΛΙΟϹΑΓΑΘΩΝΚΑΙΛΙΑΝΗΕΛΠΙΔΙ
ΤΗΕΑΥΤΟΥΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΜΝΗ ↻
ΜΗϹΧΑΡΙΝ . ΖΗϹΑϹΕΤΗ . ΛΕ ↻
↻ ΧΑΙΡΕΠΑΡΟΔΕΙΤΑ ↻

Αἴλιος Ἀγαθὼν Καιλιανῇ Ἐλπίδι
τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ μνή-
μης χάριν . ζησάσ(ῃ) ἔτη λε'.
χαῖρε, παροδεῖτα.

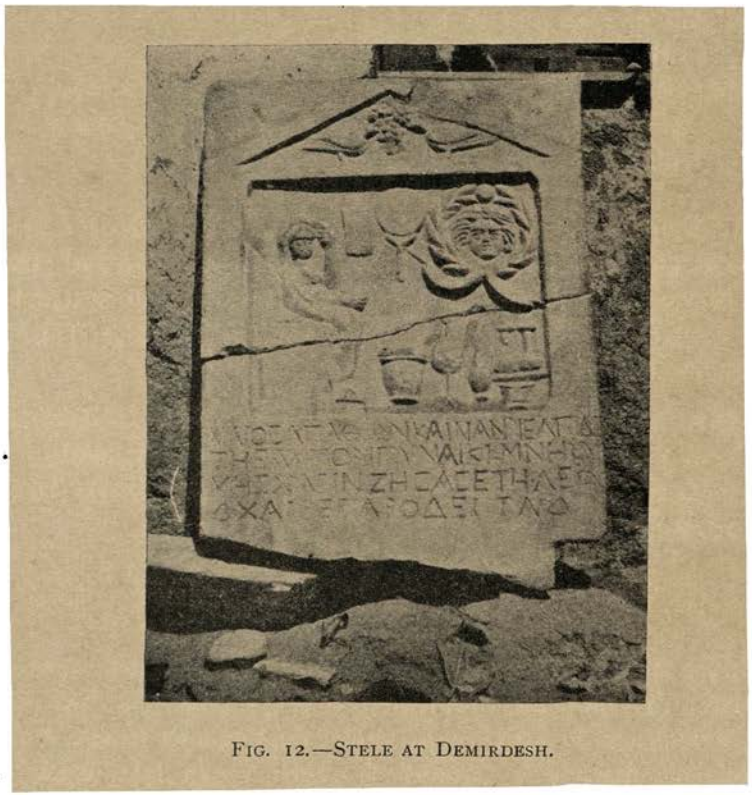


FIG. 12.—STELE AT DEMIRDESH.

9. In north wall of church (Κοίμησις Θεοτόκου) high up. Stele with reliefs of (above) banquet and (below) two bulls and a plough. Between the reliefs :

ΟΥϹΣΙΟ⊿Ι . . . . Σ
ΤΩΑΔΕ
ΦΟΜΝ
ΑΡΙΝ

? Βολ]ούσσιος . . .
τῷ ἀδε[λ-
φῷ μν[ήμης
χ]άριν.

F. W. HASLUCK.

EXCAVATIONS AT THEOTOKOU, THESSALY

(Plates X, XI.)

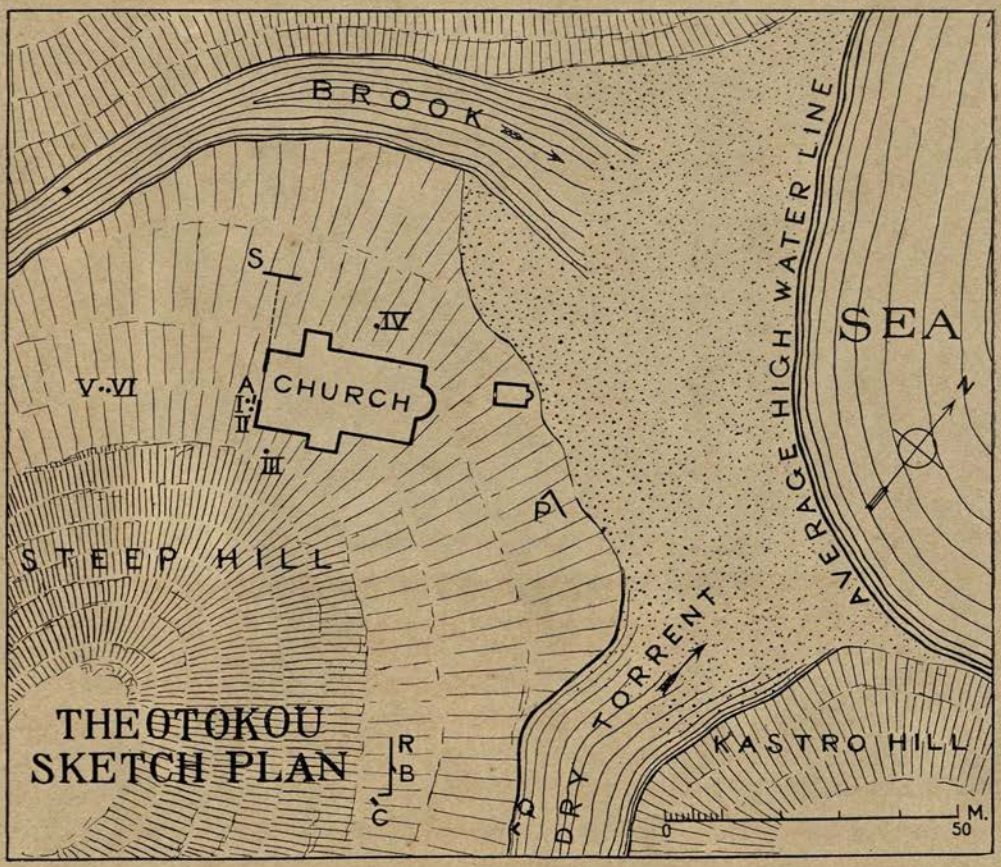


Fig. 1.—Theotokou, Plan of Site.

THEOTOKOU lies at the south-eastern corner of the Magnesian peninsula, a little to the north of the bay of Kato Georgi.[1] The site itself is the seaward end of a narrow valley, where a small brook discharges into a little cove just to the north of a hill called Kastro (Fig. 1). Here there stands a small chapel built in 1807, and dedicated to the Virgin. In the walls of the chapel itself are several ancient blocks, and north and south of it traces of walls are visible. Immediately to the west is a large mass of ruins formerly covered with brushwood; round these stand six fragments of Doric columns, and a seventh lies in a cornfield some distance to the

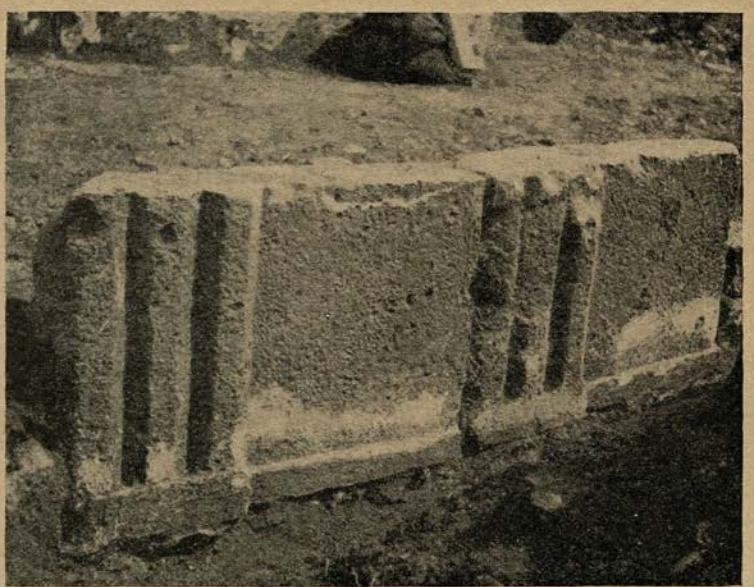


FIG. 2.—METOPE AND TRIGLYPH BLOCKS.

west: an eighth, which was seen here, has disappeared. This place, the traditional site of Sepias,[2] was first visited by a local gentleman, Theódoros Zirghános. In 1905 Mr. Wace came here while exploring the Pelion district of Magnesia;[3] and in 1906 Dr. Arvanitopoulios visited the

[1] See the map given in *J.H.S.* 1906, p. 144.
[2] Γεωργιάδης, Θεσσαλία,[2] p. 137. [3] *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 147, 148.

site, and cleared part of a wall north of the chapel, where he found two triglyph blocks (Fig. 2) by a late tomb.[1]

Naturally enough the presence of the Doric architectural fragments led all three travellers to believe that either under the modern chapel, or below the mass of ruins there existed the remains of a Doric temple. It was hoped that an excavation on this site might bring to light inscriptions which would solve the topographical difficulties as to the site of Sepias.[2] Although Theotokou is the traditional site, it seems exceedingly likely that Sepias was not here, but near the foot of Mount Pelion at Cape Porí.[3] Dr. Arvanitopoulios, on learning of our desire to excavate, most courteously and unselfishly surrendered his claims on the site in our favour. The excavations, during which we employed twenty-four men, took place in June 1907, and lasted nearly three weeks. Neither the Doric temple, nor any inscription to solve the topographical difficulty was discovered, although many traces of Greek occupation were found; but we unearthed an early Byzantine church, and some interesting Geometric tombs.

I.—THE ARCHITECTURAL[4] AND OTHER GREEK REMAINS.

We searched the whole site for the expected Doric Temple. Our pits were spread over the field between the chapel and the brook (Fig. 1), and over the field to the south of the chapel; we also made a few trials on the north or left bank of the brook, but only found traces of late houses.

As stated above, seven drums of limestone Doric columns were found on the site (marked on Fig. 1 with Roman numerals): these vary in length and circumference as shewn in the following table, all have twenty flutes, and were perhaps once covered with stucco.

[1] Πρακτικά, 1906, p. 126; cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, p. 369; *Arch. Anz.* 1907, p. 114; *Am. Journal Arch.* 1907, p. 87.

[2] *J.H.S.* 1906, p. 145.

[3] See the map in *J.H.S.* 1906, p. 144.

[4] Our warmest thanks are due to Dr. Dörpfeld for the kind assistance he has given us in this connection.

	HEIGHT	CIRCUMFERENCE
I	1·05 m.	2·03 m.
II	·90 m.	2·03 m.
III	1·25 m.	1·68 m. 1·81 m.
IV	·98 m.	1·95 m.
V	·80 m.	1·97 m.
VI	1·10 m.	1·52 m. 1·60 m.
VII	·90 m.	1·56 m. 1·68 m.

Drum VII has been half worked in later, probably Byzantine, times into a slender unfluted column. Of the capitals[1] of these columns we only found one fragment, which is ·21 m. high (Fig. 3). Its profile shews that the temple could not have been earlier than the fourth century, to which period we are inclined to assign it, judging by the style of the remains.

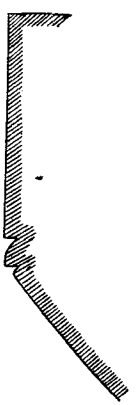


FIG. 3. — PROFILE OF DORIC CAPITAL. (SCALE 1 : 4.)

The two triglyph blocks (Fig. 2) found by Dr. Arvanitopoulios are ·84 m. long and ·59 m. wide. The metopes are ·50 m. and the triglyphs ·34 m. wide; the blocks are of limestone and are cut out behind to make them lighter. A third much damaged triglyph block forms the altar of the Byzantine church (Plate X. 1), and we found a fragment of a fourth to the south of the modern chapel. It is unfortunately impossible to attempt any restoration of the temple from these remains. It cannot however have been very large, because of the small size of the columns (·56–·60 m. in diameter) and the triglyphs (·34 m. wide).

We found on the left bank of the torrent below the Kastro hill (Fig. 1,

[1] Dr. Arvanitopoulios found a similar fragment.

Q.) part of a Greek building (Fig. 4): this consists of the angle of a well-built wall resting on a foundation of large blocks; all the rest has been destroyed by the torrent. The wall, which is ·44 m. thick and ·50 m. high, is built with large polygonal blocks on the outside, and on the inside with small cut stones laid in irregular courses; the angle measures 93°, but the wall may have been slightly displaced. On the outside there is a row of rough slabs laid against the blocks, as if to protect them. This wall may quite well have been part of a small temple, and the columns and triglyph blocks might have belonged to it, for they, as we have seen, formed part of

FIG. 4.—GREEK BUILDING AT THEOTOKOU.

a small building. If this actually was a temple, we may assume it to have been distyle *in antis*, or, more probably, tetrastyle prostyle. Round it we found many fragments of good Greek tiles, and some curious cut blocks of soft limestone, one of which is seen on the right in Fig. 4.

To the west of this building we found (Fig. 1, R) a long row of large blocks (·65 m. wide) well fitted together, with a short return at its southern end: these were obviously a foundation, for they have no substructure. Nothing remains to indicate the character of the superstructure, if it ever existed. In making further trials here we discovered Tombs B and C (Fig. 1), and also some *poros* blocks similar to those mentioned above.

Another Greek wall was found a little to the south of the modern chapel (Fig. 1, P.). This had a return at its west end, which was set at an acute angle to it. It was ·75 m. thick, and built with rather rough blocks in irregular courses. It may have been a terrace wall; by it we found five fragments of painted antefixes (Fig. 5), which resemble some from Aegina,[1] and may be attributed to the fifth century B.C.

Some trials were made on the Kastro hill, the Greek occupation of which is proved by black glazed and occasional Geometric sherds, but, owing to the extensive denudation and rapid encroachments of the sea, nothing of importance was found. In a trial pit sunk under the nave of the Byzantine church we found a fragment of a late moulded antefix, and a black glazed sherd with the letters IC in white paint on it.

FIG. 5.—PAINTED ANTEFIXES.

During the excavation we found three Greek bronze coins: one of the Magnetes (*B.M.C.* 3), one of Thessalonica (*B.M.C.* 58), and one of Corinth (*B.M.C.* 583).[2] There is no doubt that there was a Greek town at Theotokou, but the absence of any inscription leaves us still in doubt as to its name; in any case there are very serious objections to identifying it as Sepias, which we believe should be placed at Cape Porí.[3]

[1] Furtwängler, *Aegina*, Pl. 48.

[2] Other coins were: silver, a denarius of Faustina the younger (Cohen[1], 164); bronze, small, one of Constantine I (Cohen[1], 337), one of Constantius (apparently Cohen[1], 222), one of Theodosius I (Cohen[1], 49) and five illegible specimens of the fourth century.

[3] See *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 145, 146.

2.—THE BYZANTINE CHURCH.

When we cleared away the brushwood from the mass of ruins to the west of the modern chapel (Fig. 1), and began to sink trial pits, we soon found walls, loosely built with mortar, and mosaic pavements. This we at first thought might be a late house, but it soon became obvious that we had to deal with a large early church, the best preserved part of which we were able to free from the débris that filled it, and to determine the main lines of its plan (Pl. X. 1). We cleared the apse, the west ends of the nave (A) and the northern aisle (B), the narthex (C), the square room (E), and the

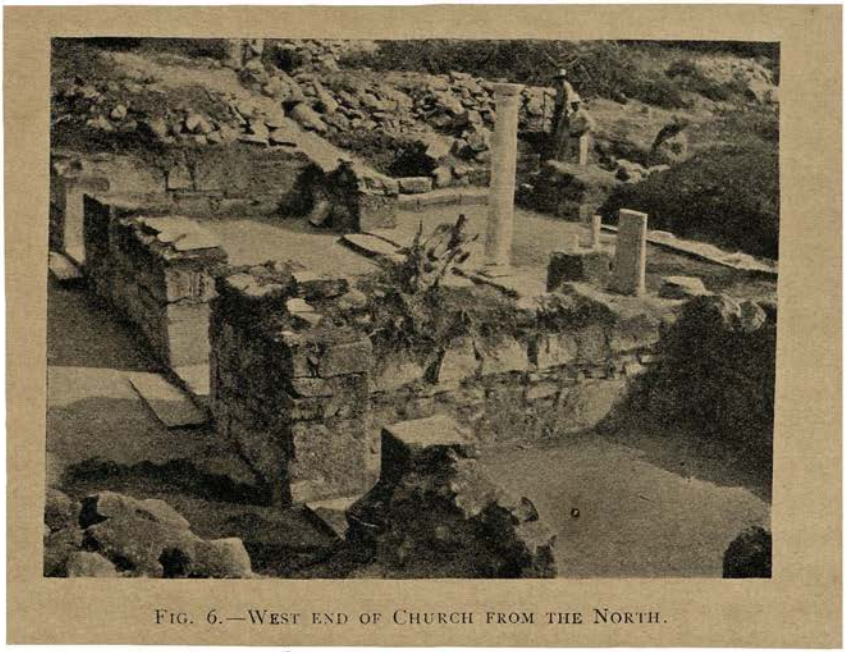


FIG. 6.—WEST END OF CHURCH FROM THE NORTH.

porches (D, F); the other walls were traced by trial excavations. The church is not orientated due east, but 60° east of north. We enter from the west between two columns, of which only the bases survive[1] (Fig. 6), into a porch (Plate X. 1, F) with a mosaic floor. The whole of the west side is not open, but the columns are set between two short walls. The mosaic floor (Pl. XI. F) has been badly damaged, but its general arrangement is

[1] They are ·31 m. in diameter, and of a debased Roman Doric type.

distinguishable.[1] There is a wide border of rope pattern (Pl. XI. C, *c*) all round the floor. Within this is a narrow belt of white edged with deep blue; in this frame are set forty-eight squares[2] containing different patterns, of which seven are shown on Pl. XI. F, and separated from one another and from the border by another wide belt of rope pattern, similar to that shewn in Pl. XI. D.

To the east of F we enter a similar porch or exo-narthex (Pl. X. 1, D); the west side of this was probably exactly like that of F, although we only found one column *in situ*, which is of the same type and size as those in F. In excavating the narthex (Pl. X. 1, C) we found a column, which by its measurements seems to fit this base[3]: the column is 2·09 metres high, is unfluted and has a plain collar at top and bottom. Round the upper collar is a much damaged inscription, which reads thus:—

- - - - ↃC - - - - / ΙΓΙΟCVΠΕΡЄ - - - - ЯΛΥΤ - - - -

It is a votive inscription, but we cannot venture on a restoration; we can only recognise in the first letters a proper name, and understand the formula as [ὁ δεῖνα] - - - ιγιος ὑπὲρ ϵ[ὐχῆς . . . κ.τ.λ.]. This column we re-erected on the base between F and D (Fig. 6), and placed on it a broken capital found near it, and similar to that in the centre of Fig. 11. This exo-narthex D is practically a reduplication of the porch, but inside its western wall is a long doorstep. The mosaic of the floor is illustrated on Pl. XI. D: the four central squares contain birds similar to that given on the plate, and the six southern squares have floral or geometric ornamentation like the porch or narthex (Pl. XI. C and F); the six northern panels are much damaged, and coated with a layer of mortar too hard to remove without harming the mosaics.

From the exo-narthex D we enter the narthex C (Pl. X. 1, A) through two doors; the steps inside (see the inset on Pl. X. 1, I) shew clear traces of the bolts and pivots of double doors. As the porch and exo-narthex already described were both open to the west, these doors are the two

[1] In the ground plan on Plate XI. F, square 1 is in the north-east corner.

[2] Twenty-one squares are destroyed (1, 3, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36); squares 6, and 41–44 all contain birds similar to Plate XI. C, 9; 31 and 46 shew a pattern like Plate XI. C, *a*; 4, 37, and 39 are like 40, cf. Plate XI. F, but the tree shewn, bears apples, not pears; 22 is like Plate XI. C, 19; 5 and 48 have a chess-board pattern; 7 is decorated with ivy leaves similar in style to Plate XI. C, *d*; 2, 13, 30, and 45 have patterns resembling Plate XI. C, 6, 16, 17; and that of 47 is marbled.

[3] Upper diameter ·28 m., lower ·31 m.

main entrances to the church. The narthex is much narrower, but larger than the porch and exo-narthex. Its mosaic floor is in very good condition (Pl. XI. C). The main composition is not placed in the centre, and this compelled the designers to fill up the south end with two different patterns (Pl. XI. C, *a*, *b*). The two doorsteps also lessen the room available for decoration; but the spaces between them are filled up with a wavy pattern of ivy (Pl. XI. C, *d*). The main mosaic consists, as in F, of a series of twenty panels surrounded by a rope pattern (Pl. XI. C, *c*); nine of the panels are illustrated in Pl. XI. C. Five of the others (squares 4, 5, 11, 12, 14), have a bird similar to number 9; one has a pattern like Pl. XI. C, *a*, another has a large and elaborate flower,

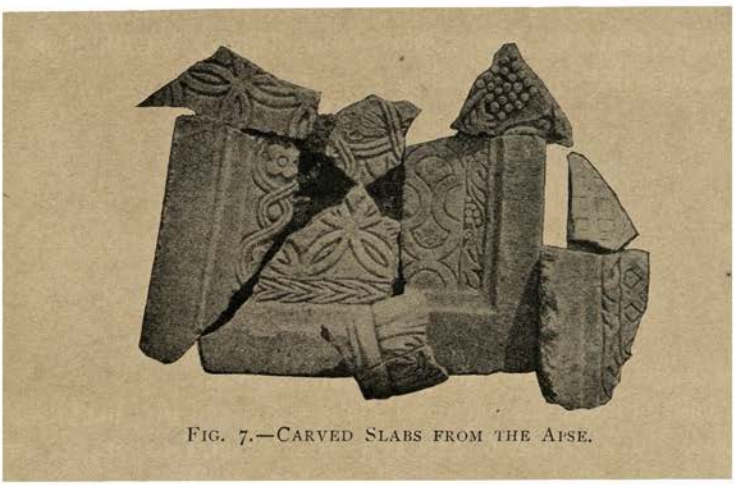


FIG. 7.—CARVED SLABS FROM THE APSE.

and the remainder all have various geometrical patterns similar to those illustrated. In the south-western corner of the narthex there is an opening for a room to the west, which probably had some communication with the chamber entered by the door at the south end of F. As the wall between F and D continues beyond them to the south, there were probably two small rooms to the south of F and D connected by a door; from the second of these there is an entrance into the narthex and also a passage round its end into the southern aisle. Opening out of the north-west corner of the narthex there is a small square room (Pl. X. 1, E), the entrance to which was closed with a door, judging by the traces remaining on the step. The floor has a most elaborate mosaic (Pl. XI. E). This might be conjectured to have been a baptistery, but there is no trace of any basin in the centre.

On the east side of the narthex there are three openings; one into the north aisle (B), the mosaic floor of which is rather carelessly executed (Pl. XI. B); another, closed by a door, into the nave, and a third into the southern aisle. The nave (Pl. X. I, A) had a very elaborate mosaic floor: the greater part is unfortunately destroyed, but that preserved in the north-western corner (Pl. XI. A) is a fine example of good and careful work. At the end of the nave is a small apse, in which the altar base, a triglyph block from the temple, still stands erect. The apse was apparently separated from the rest of the church by a screen, the foundations of which still remain; it is also possible that there were openings through the thick walls into the eastern ends of the aisles. In clearing the apse and the east end of the northern aisle a large number of fragments of carved slabs, perhaps from the screen, were found (Fig. 7); with them was a piece of an inscription, which reads:—

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - ϹΠΛ - - - - - -
- - - - - ΟΘΗΚΑ - - - - - -
- - - - - ΝΟΝΔΕΝ - - - - -
- - - - - - ˈΛˢΑ⁻ΊΕΙ - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

It is unfortunately too fragmentary to be intelligible.

The walls between the nave and aisles still stand to a height of about half a metre. In a church of this type it is natural to expect that the nave and aisles would be separated by arcades, therefore we must assume that here, as in the basilica at Olympia,[1] and that at Aladja Kisle[2] near Myra, the columns did not rest on the floor level, but on a low wall.

Of the decoration of the walls, which are largely built of good Greek blocks, we found only one trace, a small piece of painted plaster on the east wall of the narthex, but the débris in the church contained much decomposed plaster. Besides the objects mentioned we found in the narthex and exo-narthex three other Byzantine capitals (Fig. 8), one complete and one broken window jamb, the tops of two small columns, a late column base, and the upper half of another column (several of these fragments are seen resting on the walls in Fig. 6).

[1] *Olympia*, ii. p. 94, Fig. 52. [2] Strzygowski, *Kleinasien*, Fig. 31.

There were apparently other buildings connected with the church, for the western wall of F extends some distance to the north till it meets a thick cross wall, which shews signs of having been repaired (Fig. 1, S). Between it and the brook are ruins of a domed building, and to the west and north we found plentiful traces of walls; probably there was in connection with the church a monastery or some kind of inn for priests and pilgrims.

As regards the date of the church we fortunately possess a *terminus ante quem*. Of the six Byzantine coins found in it, five are of the type usually attributed to John Zimisces,[1] but the sixth is far more important. It is a *follis* of Justin II and Sophia, struck at Nicomedia in the sixth year

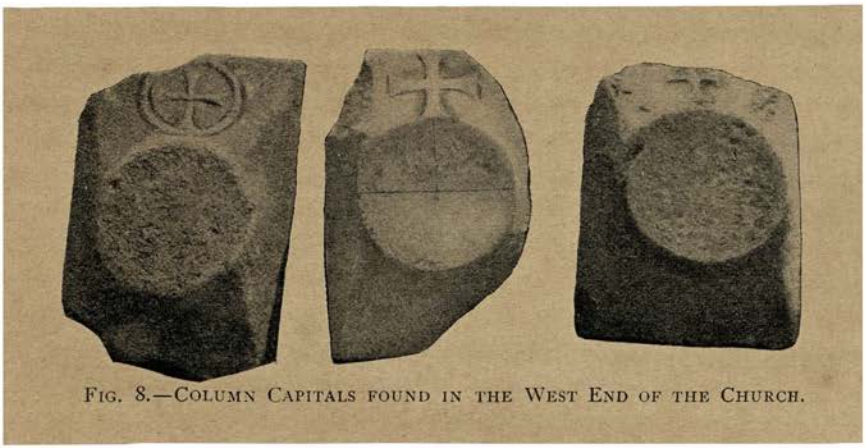


FIG. 8.—COLUMN CAPITALS FOUND IN THE WEST END OF THE CHURCH.

of their reign, 570–571 A.D.[2]; therefore our church must have been built before that date.

Now its mosaics have much in common with late Roman mosaics of the third and fourth centuries:[3] there are no pagan mythological subjects, but with the colourless patterns of birds, flowers, and geometrical designs[4] there appear the chalice (Pl. XI. F, 17), and the peacock (Pl. XI. A), the Christian

[1] Cf. Sabatier, *Monn. Byz.* ii. Pl. XLVIII.

[2] Cf. Sabatier, *op. cit.* i. 225, 21; we have to thank Mr. Wroth of the British Museum for identifying the coin.

[3] Daremberg-Saglio, iii. pp. 2108–2113. The technique shews the intermixture of *pavimentum tessellatum* and *vermiculatum* characteristic of late Roman days (*op. cit.* p. 2123): but that the date of our mosaics is comparatively early, is shewn by the careful work, and the rich choice of colours.

[4] Similar to those in floors of the Roman baths near the Arch of Hadrian at Athens, Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 504.

symbol of immortality.[1] In this the Theotokou mosaics rather resemble those of Santa Costanza at Rome.[2] On the other hand they have no purely scriptural subjects, such as appear in Christian art from the fifth century onwards; in style also they are quite unlike the Justinianic work at Ravenna. Therefore the earliest possible date for the church seems to be the fourth century, and the latest according to the coin of Justin II and Sophia is 570–571 A.D., and since the mosaics resemble late Roman rather than purely Christian work, we may assign the church to the fifth century A.D.

If we may venture to assume that the arrangement of the porch and exo-narthex with columns, is derived from the *atrium*, it will then be seen that this church possesses the two characteristics of Strzygowski's 'Hellenistic' basilicas,[3] an *atrium* and columns to carry a wooden roof. Of this group those most like our church in plan, are the basilica at Pergamon[4] and that at Gül-bagtche,[5] which also has the side rooms that are so marked a feature at Theotokou. We have already pointed out that there probably were arcades between the nave and aisles, and these with the columns of the porch and exo-narthex indicate a wooden roof.[6] In any case the walls are too thin (·65 m. thick), and too loosely built to have carried vaulting. So we may group this church with Strzygowski's class of 'Hellenistic' basilicas, and assume that it had a wooden roof covered with tiles. It is interesting to compare the plan of our church with that of the Panagia at Laï near Neochori,[7] (Pl. X. II), about a day's journey from Theotokou. This is of the same basilica type, but has no porches or side rooms. Unfortunately only its foundations remain, so that no further information about it is obtainable; but the occurrence of another example so near Theotokou is remarkable. This large church seems to have been ruined at a comparatively early period, and to have been afterwards partially restored and used for some other purpose; the door from the narthex into the nave, and that from the porch F into the room to the south were blocked up, and a wall was carried out to the west to extend

[1] St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, lxxi. 4.
[2] Kraus, *Geschichte d. Christlichen Kunst*, i. pp. 406, 424, cf. Daremberg-Saglio, iii. p. 2123.
[3] *Kleinasien*, p. 56.
[4] Strzygowski, *op. cit.* p. 46, Fig. 30; dated to the fourth century A.D.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 49, Fig. 35; dated earlier than the seventh century A.D.
[6] Cf. the basilica at Olympia, dated to the fifth century A.D., Kraus, *op. cit.* i. p. 341.
[7] *J.H.S.* 1906, p. 152.

the south side of the same porch. We also found traces of a late wall built across the exo-narthex, and the outside wall to the north seems to have been repaired and strengthened.[1] Perhaps to the same period belong the earlier walls round the modern chapel, which seem to have been part of a church; amongst them we found three gold coins of Manuel I Comnenos,[2] and a large block bearing on one side a cross and A and Ω,[3] and on the other an elaborate pattern of interlaced circles. By them are also three graves, apparently Christian. We thus see that the Christian occupation of the site seems to have been continuous from the fifth century A.D. to our own day.

3.—TOMBS OF THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD.

In the search for the temple three tombs were discovered. One of these, (A) lay below the two western standing columns, the other two (B,C) under the foundations in the south field (Fig. 1). All three were approximately of the same period, namely the Geometric period of the early Iron Age; all were built of slabs and none showed traces of burning.

Tomb A.

This tomb was built of four slabs, one along each side, and measured roughly 1·50 m. × ·68 m.; it was roofed with three slabs 1·40 m. beneath the surface, and floored with gravel resting on rough stones; in it were four skeletons, of which, judging from the size of the bones, two were male and two female. The bodies had been placed one above the other with the legs bent and drawn slightly up.

Eighteen wheel-made vases were grouped at the head and foot of the tomb (Fig. 9), of which six are shown in Figure 10. There are three other jugs like *a* and *c*, two more bowls like *d*, three other cups like *e*, and four more high-handled bowls like *f*.[4] The beaked jug *b* stands by itself, and seems quite out of place, the clay is biscuit coloured, and it has no paint. The jugs are all of very hard clay covered with dark bluish-grey paint,

[1] All these are marked on the plan (Pl. X. 2) by oblique lines.

[2] Sabatier, *op. cit.* ii. Pl. LV. 5; we also found a bronze coin of Leo V and Constantine VII, *Ibid. op. cit.* Pl. XLII. 13.

[3] The other half of this block is built into the south-eastern corner of the modern chapel.

[4] For this shape v. Wide, *Geometrische Vasen*, p. 58, Fig. 116; Poulsen, *Ath. Mitt.* 1901, p. 33.

FIG. 9.—TOMB A AFTER THE REMOVAL OF THE ROOF.

FIG. 11.—VASES FROM TOMB A. (SCALE 1 : 4.)

FIG. 10.—VASES FROM TOMB A. (SCALE ABOUT 1 : 8.)

round the body are two or three unpainted lines; two are mended with lead rivets which still hold on one, though the other has partially collapsed.[1]

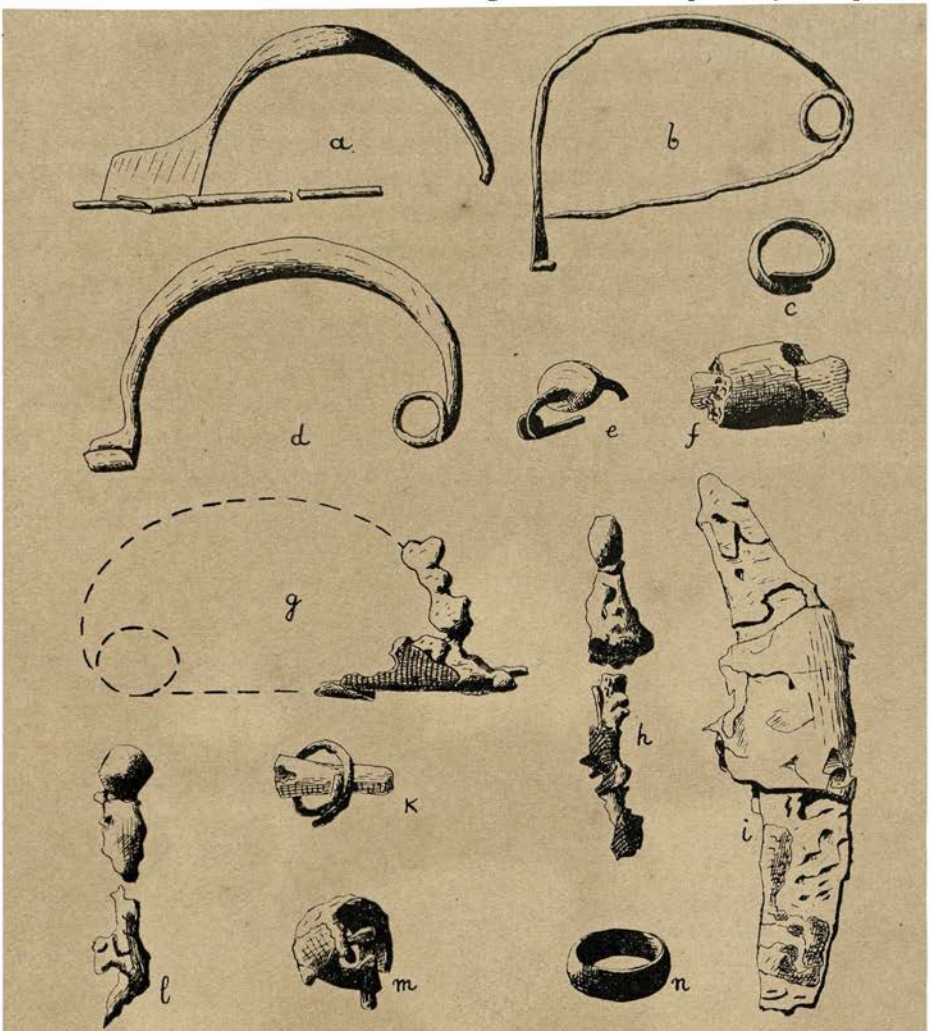


FIG. 12.—BRONZES, ETC. FROM THE TOMBS. (SCALE 2 : 3.)

Of the type *f*, one is in soft dark bluish-grey clay unpainted, the others in buff clay with decoration in brown-black paint; two are unpainted, one

[1] To the references given by Vollgraff for this practice (*B.C.H.* 1906, p. 37) may be added *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1907, p. 83, Fig. 4; Körte, *Gordion*, pp. 192, 193, Nos. 79 and 82. An example has recently been found at Sparta.

of which shows a reddish slip. The type *f* is uniformly painted with latticed squares. (Fig. 11, *a*). The serpentine line occurs again on a vase of the type *d*. The other vases, except for that shown in Figure 11, *b*, are completely painted over.

In this tomb were also found four *fibulae* and nine rings (Fig. 12, *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*). The *fibulae a* and *e*, with a second example of the type *e*, were found on a level with the shoulders, the fourth, *d*, was by the waist. The rings were for the most part found on the fingers in four groups, in positions indicating that two hands were bent upwards towards the head, while two are at the level of the waist. Of these, three are complete rings, while three are bands rolled into a ring and overlapping; the other three are fragmentary.

Tomb B.

The single slab which roofed this tomb was 1·40 m. beneath the surface. The tomb was built of six slabs about ·07 m. thick, one for each

FIG. 13.—VASES FROM TOMBS B AND C. (SCALE ABOUT 1 : 8.)

side, the floor, and the roof. The sides were ·49 m. high, and were set in gravel, the space between them and the bottom slab being filled by small flat

pieces of the same stone; the tomb measured 1·26 m. × ·56 m., but the side slabs were longer and overlapped the ends. It contained only one skeleton in the same attitude.

In this tomb were found six vases, of which five are shown in Figure 13. The sixth was like *f*; vases *b* and *d* stood by the foot, the rest by the head; vase *c*, which is unpainted and of buff clay, was inside *e*, a vase of blue-grey to slate-coloured clay, with a small excrescent cup by the side of one handle.

The other vases are covered with a hard incrustation which makes the ornament difficult to discern, but *b* shows traces of latticed squares, and,

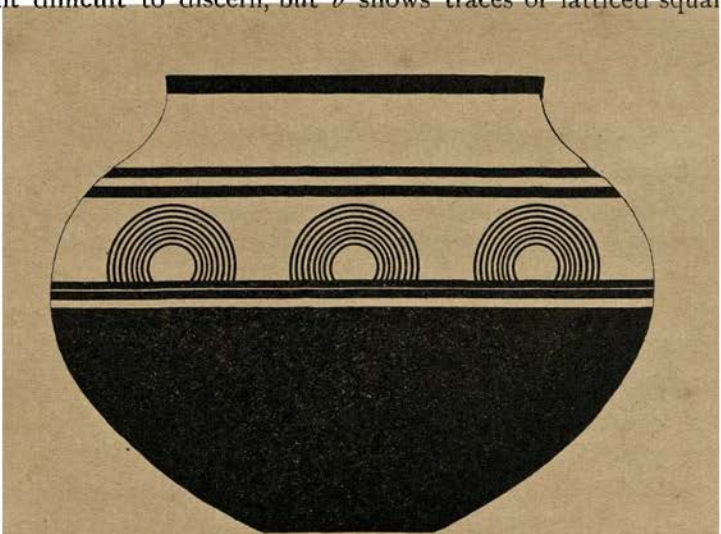


FIG. 14.—PATTERN ON VASE FROM TOMB B. (SCALE 1 : 4.)

by the rim, groups of short slanting lines; while *f* and its fellow, and *e* (which shows reddish clay as against the buff of the others) are decorated with brown paint over the major part, with a field on the shoulder containing groups of concentric semicircles. The decoration of *f* is shown conventionally in Figure 14.

There were also remains of three pins with bronze heads and iron shafts (Fig. 12, *h*, *l*), the bronze head of another, and parts of the iron shafts of two more. Two of these were found close by one shoulder, one near the other shoulder, one on the breast, and two at the waist; two still keep a fragment of coarse linen, set firm by the corrosion of the iron shaft.

From the position of the finger bones it seems that the arms were bent upwards; one iron ring, and one bronze ring (Fig. 12, *k*, *m*, *n*) were still on the fingers. A second bronze ring and fragments of a third were also found. Fragments of an iron blade were found near the left hand; round the middle is preserved the upper part of the sheath, perhaps of leather, while traces of the lower part of some thinner material show lower down (Fig. 12, *i*). Here, too, were found the remains perhaps of a *fibula* of iron (Fig. 12, *g*). As with the pins and the iron ring, part of the linen in which it was pinned still adheres to it. A grey whorl (ht. ·019 m., diam. at base, ·026 m.) was also found.

Tomb C.

This was a child's grave, and measured ·73 m. × ·36 m.; it was built of four slabs, roofed with a fifth, and floored with gravel. All the bones, except a fragment of the skull, a rib, and a finger-bone had rotted away. One jug with trefoil lip (Fig. 13, *a*) similar to the jugs of Tomb B stood at the foot of the grave. A *fibula* and a ring of bronze (Fig. 12, *b*, *c*) and an iron pin were found; from the positions of these, the hand which wore the ring was probably folded across the breast, on which the *fibula* was pinned.

The most interesting feature of this group of vases is the presence of the beaked jug (Fig. 10, *b*) with vases undoubtedly Geometric in style. In this connection two similar groups of vases must be considered: the one, discovered by Prof. Tsountas in 1899 in some *tholos* tombs near the village of Marmariani to the north-east of Larissa,[1] is now in the Pre-historic room of the National Museum at Athens. The style of these vases is very similar to ours, but perhaps more varied. High-handled bowls with latticed squares and broad serpentine lines occur. There are also two unpainted beaked jugs, like Fig. 10, *b* in shape,[2] and four with Geometric patterns, three of which much resemble Fig 10, *f* in ornament and in shape, but that the back of the neck is sliced off and the handle is low. The pointed beak of the fourth, on a neck that curves right back from the belly, seems to be drawn fresh from the preceding Bronze Age.

The other group comes from two tombs in Skyros.[3] It will be seen that *c* and *f* in Mr. Dawkins' figure find parallels in Tomb B, while our

[1] Πρακτικά, 1899, p. 101.

[2] Three not dissimilar beaked jugs, unpainted, were found in the upper strata at Seskló, belonging to the Bronze Age, *Comptes Rendus, Cong. Int. d. Archéologie*, 1905, p. 207.

[3] Dawkins, *B.S.A.* xi. p. 79, Fig. 3.

beaked jug, to which Mr. Dawkins' vase *b* is very similar, lay in Tomb A with vases of the most pronounced Geometric character.

Prof. Tsountas'.vases were found in *tholos* tombs, and this, with the continual presence of the beaked jug, suggests that the whole group of vases should be placed at the very beginning of the Geometric Era when its style was still rudimentary. That they belong to this period, the types of the *fibulae* found in Tomb A (itself, if a distinction can be made, the earliest of our three tombs) are as strong an argument as the iron-shafted pins and iron knife blade of Tomb B, and the iron in Prof. Tsountas' tombs.[1]

The rudeness of the fabric recalls that of some Cretan Geometric ware. In both cases it seems due to lack of development: there the style had not crossed the sea in full strength; here in North Greece it may be thought that its originators themselves had not yet developed it to the perfection which it reached in the southern styles, of which the Dipylon ware may stand as a type.

A. J. B. WACE.
J. P. DROOP.

[1] Reference should be made to a vase very similar to Fig. 13, *f* found near Halicarnassus in a *tholos* tomb, which also contained fragments of iron weapons, Paton, *J. H. S.* 1887, p. 69, Fig. 6.

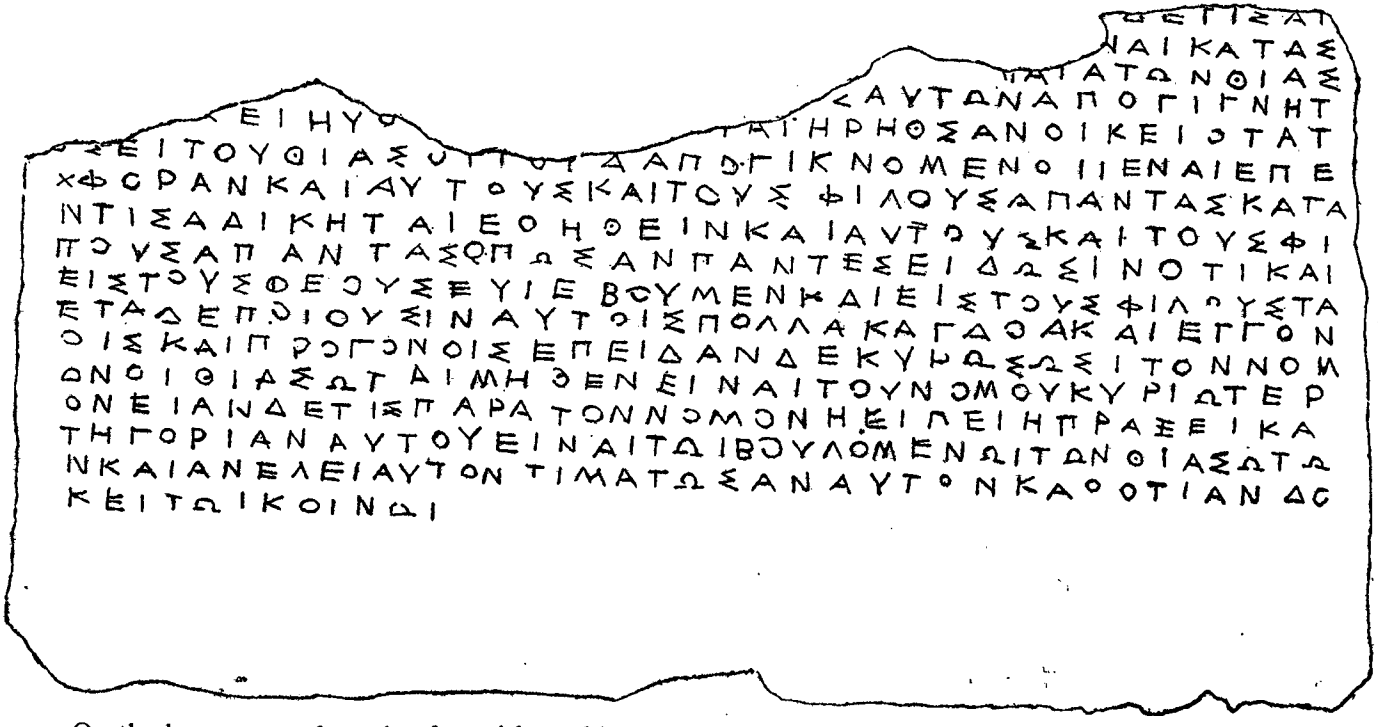
LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

A STATUTE OF AN ATTIC THIASOS.

THE following inscription,[1] which was found in the Peiraeus, was acquired by the British Museum in 1906. My warmest thanks are due to Dr. Cecil Smith, Head of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, for his kindness in giving me permission to publish it and supplying me with a copy and squeeze which have greatly facilitated the task.

---------- δέ τις ΑΙ
-------- ΝΑΙ κατασ-
------- ΛΙΑΓΑ τῶν θιασ-
[ωτῶν - - - εἰὰν δέ τι]ς αὐτῶν ἀπογίγνητ-
[αι, φράσ]ει ἢ ὑὸ[ς ἢ . . . . . ἢ π]ατὴρ ἢ (δ)ς ἂν οἰκειότατ- 5
ος εἶ τοῦ θιάσου, τοῦ δ' ἀπογι(γ)νομένο(υ) ἰέναι ἐπ' ἐ-
χφορὰν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας. καὶ ἄ-
ν τις ἀδικῆται, (β)οηθεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς φί-
(λ)ους ἅπαντας, ὅπως ἂν πάντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι καὶ
εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐ(σ)εβοῦμεν καὶ εἰς τοὺς φίλους· τα- 10
(ῦ)τα δὲ ποιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐγγόν-
οις καὶ προγόνοις. ἐπειδὰν δὲ κυρώσωσι τὸν νόμ-
ον οἱ θιασῶται μηθὲν εἶναι τοῦ νόμου κυριώτερ-
ον· εἰὰν δέ τις παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἢ εἴπει ἢ πράξει, κα-
τηγορίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῶι βουλομένωι τῶν θιασωτῶ- 15
ν, καὶ ἂν ἕλει αὐτὸν τιμάτωσαν αὐτὸν καθότι ἂν δο-
κεῖ τῶι κοινῶι.

[1] Part of this paper was read in substance at a meeting of the Oxford Philological Society.



On the lower part of a stele of greyish marble, complete except at the top. Max. height ·206 m.; breadth ·36 m. at the top, increasing to ·37 m. at the foot; thickness ca. ·06 m. The back is left rough, and even the inscribed surface is very imperfectly smoothed, the marks of a coarse toothed chisel being plainly visible all over it.

I.

The letters are small, about ·005 m. in height, but they are not crowded together: the average number in each line is thirty-eight. The writing is marked by the carelessness of its execution: no pains are taken to make the depth and thickness of the straight strokes uniform or to make the ⊙ and ○ real circles. In many cases strokes which should join fail to do so, so that, *e.g.*, a Ν consists of three separate strokes. Actual errors are common: ΟΣ is written for ὅς (l. 5), ΑΠΟΓΙΚΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ for *ἀπογιγνομένου* (l. 6), ΕΟΗΘΕΙΝ for *βοηθεῖν* (l. 8), etc.

It is not possible to determine the date precisely from the letter forms, but these seem to point to the half century from 325–275 B.C. The outer strokes of the Σ show no tendency to become horizontal, those of the Μ are not yet vertical, the Ξ still has the vertical stroke, and the horizontal bars of the Ε are, or at least are intended to be, of equal length.

With this dating the orthography of the inscription is in accord. Four peculiarities deserve mention:

(1) Ἐχφορά*ν* (l. 7). In Attic inscriptions of the classical period the preposition *ἐκ* before *χ*, *φ* or *θ*, whether alone or in a compound, may either remain unchanged or become *χ* (Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. attischen Inschriften*[3], p. 106): *e.g.* in an inscription of 329 B.C. we find *ἐχφο*[*ρήσαντι*] and *ἐκφέρουσι* (*I.G.* ii. add. 834 *b*. i. 75 and ii. 5. 834 *b*. ii. 80). But no instance of the change from *κ* to *χ* is known to occur after 292 B.C. (Meisterhans[3], *loc. cit.*).

(2) Μηθέ*ν* (l. 13). The forms *οὐθείς*, *μηθείς* do not appear at all until 378 B.C., but they gradually gain ground, until by 330 they are the dominant forms. From 300–60 B.C. they are the only forms which occur, but in the Imperial period the old spelling reappears and the forms with *δ* are three or four times as numerous as those with *θ* (Meisterhans[3], pp. 258 f.).

(3) Εἰά*ν* (l. 14). In the fourth and third centuries B.C., but especially between 350 and 300 B.C., *ει* often takes the place of a simple *ε* before a vowel (Meisterhans[3], pp. 45 ff.) Εἰά*ν* is not found before 387, but occurs several times after that date. The form *ἄν* is very rare in Attic inscriptions, though common in the literary prose of the fifth century: Meisterhans (p. 256) quotes two instances from the fifth and three from the fourth century, the latter all in the same decree. Our present inscription adds two instances (ll. 7, 16).

(4) The substitution of ει for η in εἶ (l. 6), εἴπει ἢ πράξει (l. 14), ἔλει, δοκεῖ (l. 16). This spelling first occurs between 380 and 370 B.C., rapidly increases in frequency until by 300 it is the normal form, and gradually falls out of fashion from 200 B.C. (Meisterhans[3], pp. 38 f.).

II.

§ 1 (ll. 4–7). '[*And if any*] *of them decease,* [*notice shall be given*] *either by his son* [*or his . . . . . or*] *his father or whoever of the society is his nearest relation, and both themselves and all the friends shall attend the funeral of the deceased.*'

The first three lines are too mutilated to be capable of certain restoration. In l. 1 we have probably - - εἰάν] δέ τις, as in ll. [4,] 14: the last letter of the line is Γ, Ι, Π or Τ.

Lines 4–7 regulate the procedure to be followed on the death of a θιασώτης. Information is to be given[1] by the nearest relative of the deceased[2] both as to the fact of the death and as to the time of the funeral. Without such notice it would not be possible for the members of the society to attend the funeral, as the following clause directs them to do. We may note the use of the somewhat euphemistic ἀπογίγνομαι (ll. 4, 6), instead of ἀποθνήσκω: it occurs again in a decree of an Attic θίασος passed in 278–7 B.C. praising certain officials because ἐπιμεμέληνται τῶν ἀπογενομένων καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως (Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 727, 14) and in Thuc. ii. 34. In l. 5 the restorations υἱό[ς] and [πα]τήρ are certain: what came between them is doubtful, ἀδελφός, of which we most naturally think, being too long for the available space. I conjecture υἱωνός 'grandson,' but Professor Wilhelm objects that 'υἱωνός would involve too great an age for the member of the θίασος: it is better to think of middle-aged or even young men as members and the rôle that a μήτηρ may play in the case is, as it seems to me, quite possible.' On the other hand, however, it may be argued: (1) that the

[1] The restoration φράσ]ει, which I owe to Professor Wilhelm, exactly fills the required space and agrees with the extant letters; it may therefore be regarded as certain, though the use of the future indicative in place of the imperative is curious.

[2] The meaning of τοῦ θιάσου (l. 6) is not quite plain. I have taken it as equivalent to θιασώτης ὤν, and think that it was probably added because a statute of a θίασος was of course binding only upon members of the society. Or could θιάσου be an engraver's error for θιασ(ώτ)ου, 'whoever is the nearest relative of the (deceased) member'? Cf. Hdt. v. 5 σφάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκηιοτάτου ἑωυτῆς, iii. 65 τετελεύτηκε ὑπὸ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκηιοτάτων.

Greeks would have written *πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ*, not *μήτηρ ἢ πατήρ*: (2) that the words *τοῦ θιάσου*, if I have interpreted them rightly, point to the mention of male relatives as more probable: (3) that if females appear at all, we should expect *θυγάτηρ* side by side with *μήτηρ*: (4) that to be a grandfather does not necessarily imply a very advanced age,[1] and there is nothing improbable in supposing that *θιασῶται* continued their membership all through their lives.

We may note the curious phrase (l. 7) *καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας*, which recurs in the following line. The *αὐτούς* can hardly have any other reference than to the members of the society, the *θιασῶται*: but who are the *φίλοι*? Three possible explanations suggest themselves:

(1) They are the friends (taking the word in its ordinary, non-technical sense) of the *θιασῶται*. But the society could hardly attempt to frame a rule binding upon so large and so vague a body, a body, moreover, which lay entirely outside its own boundaries. The use of the term *ἅπαντας* shows the reference of the word to be narrower and more specific.

(2) They are the friends of the deceased in the first case, of the injured man in the second. The same objections apply to this interpretation, though not to the same extent: statutes of a society are binding merely upon its own members, while once more the application of the word *φίλοι* is too vague and indefinite.

(3) The word *φίλοι* has a technical sense and denotes a specific number of definite persons who, though outside the full membership of the *θίασος*, possessed a qualified membership and were bound by its statutes. They would, if this interpretation is correct, correspond to our 'associates.' This explanation seems to me to meet the difficulties involved in the two which we have discussed, but it must be admitted that the hypothesis rests upon a very insecure foundation, and that if such an institution were at all widespread it might have been expected to leave very much clearer traces in the mass of extant inscriptions dealing with societies of every kind. The word does, indeed, frequently occur,[2] but apparently as the full and regular title of the members of certain clubs.

[1] In this case, however, we have to assume that the grandson was old enough to be a member of the society, which does, it is true, imply that the grandfather was an old rather than a middle-aged man.

[2] Boeotia, *B.C.H.* xxii. 246 (Acraephia): Macedonia, *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* 1869, 167 ff. No. 42 (Deuriopus?): Thera, *I.G.* xii. 3, 1027: Bithynia, *C.I.G.* 3751 (Nicaea); *Arch. Anz.* 1903, 39 (Prusa): Ionia, Μουσ. κ. Βιβλ. ii. 40 (Smyrna): Lydia, Kontoleon, Ἀνέκδ. ἐπιγρ. i. 47 (Chasan

§ 2 (ll. 7–12). '*And if anyone is wronged, both they themselves and all the friends shall render aid, in order that all may know that we show piety both to the gods and to the friends: and if they do this let many blessings come upon them and their descendants and their ancestors.*'

All the members and 'friends' of the society are bound to render aid if one of their number is injured: the phrase recalls Thucydides' description of the oligarchical clubs *αἴπερ ἐτύγχανον πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὖσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς* (viii. 54), save that here the object is purely defensive and there seems to be no political aim. What is most striking here is the absence of any practical directions as to how aid is to be rendered. For the phrase (l. 9) *ὅπως ἂν πάντες εἰδῶσιν κτλ.* which is copied from similar expressions in state decrees see Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 187, Wilhelm, 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 1905, pp. 235 ff., Nos. 9–13.

The phrase *εὐσεβοῦμεν . . . πρὸς τοὺς φίλους* is another example of the loose and inaccurate use of words which marks the document. *Εὐσέβεια* is very frequently commended in Attic honorary decrees, but it is always felt or exercised towards the gods or some specific god or sanctuary, and some other word— *εὔνοια, ἀρετή, κτλ.*—is introduced if merits towards men are mentioned. I know only two instances of *εὐσέβεια* used in reference to human beings,[1] both of which occur in decrees of corporations: in one (Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 730) a certain Chaereas is commended and crowned *ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβήας εἴς τε τὰς θεὰς καὶ τοὺς ὀργεῶνας*, while in the other, a decree of a Coan society, two men are praised *ἐπί τε τᾶι αἱρέσει καὶ εὐσεβείαι ἂν ἔχοντι ποτὶ τὸς θεὸς καὶ τὸς δαμότας* (Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 735). In both these cases, however, a second word is linked with *εὐσέβεια* and makes the construction less harsh.

The absence of a verb in the next clause is noticeable, though the meaning is quite clear. The *αὐτοῖς* of l. 11 seems to include all those referred to in the previous phrase *αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι ἅπαντες*. The invocation of blessings upon the *πρόγονοι* of zealous members of the society is curious, for the word can hardly refer merely to living

Karan): Phrygia, *J.H.S.* xvii. 286 (Ancyra): Mysia, *Inschr. v. Perg.* 562 (Pergamon): Cilicia, Μουσ. κ. Βιβλ. i. 135, No. 55 (Seleucia); *J.H.S.* xii. 229 (Canytelideis); *ib.* xi. 249 (Castabala, Hieropolis); Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, p. 398, note 2 (Nicopolis ad Issum). But in a number of these examples it is very doubtful whether the word refers at all to membership of a society.

[1] I exclude, of course, references to Roman Emperors.

ancestors but must surely include the dead. But perhaps it is not fair to analyse too closely a phrase of this sort.

§ 3 (ll. 12–17). '*And when the members have ratified the statute, nothing shall override the statute: and if anyone shall either speak or act contrary to the statute, he shall be liable to accusation by any of the members who wishes, and if he convict him let them punish him as seems good to the society.*'

The statute did not come into force until passed at a formal meeting of the society: cf. Ditt. *Syll.*² 732. 44 *τῶ<ι>ν ψήφων, αἷς ἐδόκει τόδε τὸ δόγμα κύριον εἶναι, ἐξήκον[τα], αἷς δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει, οὐδεμία.* With the phrase *μηθὲν εἶναι τοῦ νόμου κυριώτερον* we may compare the fuller statement in a financial bond from Arcesine (Amorgos), Ditt. *Syll.*² 517. 41 *τῆς δὲ συγγραφῆς τῆσδε [ὠ]μολόγησαν Ἀρκ[εσιν]εῖς μηδὲν εἶναι κυριώτερον, μήτε νόμον μήτε ψή[φ]ισμα μήτε δ[όγμ]α [μή]τε στρατηγὸν μήτε ἀρχὴν ἄλλα κρίνου[σ]αν ἢ τὰ ἐν τῆ[ι συγγ]ραφῆι γεγ[ρ]αμμ[ένα μήτε ἄλλο μηθὲν κτλ.* Cf. [Dem.] xxxv. 13, 39, and Dittenberger *O.G.I.* 326 (= *C.I.G.* 3069) 34 *δεδόχθαι τοῖς Ἀτταλισταῖς κυρῶσαι μὲν τὸν ἱερὸν νόμον κτλ.*

The word *τιμάτωσαν* in the final clause (l. 16) has an unusual meaning, to which I know no parallel. *Τιμάω* in Attic legal phraseology denotes 'to assess,' 'to award,' as for example in the phrases *τιμᾶν τὴν βλάβην, τὴν δίκην, τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς βλάβης.* Or again it may take a dative of the person and a genitive of the penalty, *e.g. τιμᾶν τινι θανάτου* or *τιμᾶν τινι δέκα ταλάντων.* But *τιμᾶν αὐτόν*, as here, is remarkable, not to say incorrect: *αὐτόν* might be omitted, as in Plato, *Laws*, 843 B *τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ πάσχειν . . . τὸν ἡττηθέντα*, or it might be changed to *περὶ αὐτοῦ* as in the law quoted by Demosthenes xxi. 47 *ἡ ἡλιαία τιμάτω περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτου ἂν δοκῇ ἄξιος εἶναι παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι.* Grammatically, of course, it is possible to take *τιμάτωσαν* in its usual sense, translating 'let the thiasotae honour him (*i.e.* the successful accuser) in whatever way the society determines,' but this rendering seems to me to be much less probable. The whole sentence is so carelessly constructed, especially in the frequent alteration of the grammatical subject, that the loose use of a single word need not surprise us.

For punitive powers exercised by similar societies we may compare the instances quoted by Ziebarth (*Das griech. Vereinswesen*, pp. 171 ff.):

the punishments imposed usually took the form of a fine, often accompanied by exclusion from the society. The amount of the fine might be left to the discretion of the members, as is done here, or a limit might be fixed. Cf. *I.G.* ii. 610 (a law of *ὀργεῶνες* in the Peiraeus) 13 *ἐὰν δέ τις εἴπηι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσηι παρὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον, ὀφειλέτω* [[Η] *δραχμὰς τῆι θεῶι ὅ τε εἰπὼν καὶ ὁ ἐπιψηφίσας καὶ μὴ μετέστω αὐτῶι τῶν κοινῶν.*

III.

We have before us the latter part of a law (*νόμος*, ll. 12, 13, 14) of a society[1] called a *θίασος* (l. 6: *θιασῶται*, ll. 3, 13, 15). How much of it is lost we cannot say, but the dimensions of the stone show that the document cannot originally have been a very long one. That the Peiraeus was the headquarters of a number of societies of *ὀργεῶνες*, *θιασῶται*, *ἐρανισταί*, etc. is proved by the numerous decrees and other inscriptions referring to them which have been found there.[2] As no mention is made of the deity in whose honour this society is named, it cannot be identified with any of the previously known Peiraic *θίασοι*; but it is worth noticing that these—to judge from the extant inscriptions—seem to have flourished especially at the very end of the fourth century B.C. and the beginning of the third, just at the period at which we have dated the present statute.

Though decrees of such societies are frequent, the number of their extant laws is small. Ziebarth gives the following list (*op. cit.* p. 145):

A. Those which have entirely survived:

1. Νόμος (in form a decree) of a Theran family association. *I.G.* xii. 3. 330.
2. Νόμος of the Iobacchi. Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 737.
3. Νόμος *ἐρανιστῶν*. *I.G.* iii. 23; re-edited with a greatly improved text and valuable commentary by A. Wilhelm, *Serta Harteliana*, pp. 231 ff.

[1] The *locus classicus* for the subject of the Greek societies is E. Ziebarth, *Das griech. Vereinswesen* (Preisschriften der fürstlich Jablonowski'schen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig, xxxiv.), Leipzig, 1896. The epigraphical materials are collected and arranged geographically by J. Oehler, *Zum griechischen Vereinswesen*, Vienna, 1905. Important additions have since been made by Wilhelm, 'Αττικὰ ψηφίσματα in 'Εφημ. ἀρχαιολ. 1905, 215 ff., Nos. 9–15.

[2] Ziebarth, *op. cit.* pp. 36 f.; Oehler, *op. cit.* pp. 7 f.; C. Schaefer, 'Die Privatkultgenossenschaften im Peiraieus' in *Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum.* cxxi. 417 f.

B. Those of which important fragments have survived:

4. Ἱερὸς *νόμος* (*I.G.* ii. 610) of *ὀργεῶνες* in the Peiraeus, and decrees partially altering its constitution (*ib.* 624).

5. Beginning of the *ἱερὸς νόμος* of the *Νικομάχειον* at Chalcedon. Michel, *Recueil* 1008, Collitz-Bechtel 3051, Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 595.

6. Fragment of a law of *μύσται* at Tomi. *Μουσ. καὶ Βιβλ.* v. 47, *A.E.M.* vi. 8, No. 14.

7. Decree, equivalent to a law, of *Σαββατισταί*, found near Elaeussa Sebaste (Cilicia). *J.H.S.* xii. 233, Ditt. *O.G.I.* 573.

Our present inscription unfortunately fails to give us much fresh information. Of its two enactments which have survived, that which enjoins mutual assistance is too vague to be illuminating, while that which refers to the burial of members covers familiar ground.[1] There do not appear to have existed in the Greek world burial societies similar to the *collegia funeraticia* of the Romans, societies, that is, whose sole aim was to secure members a tomb and a becoming funeral, for which purpose regular subscriptions were levied.[2] Yet the majority of Greek societies apparently undertook certain duties connected with burial amongst their other duties, and this certainly did not rank among the least important of their functions. Some possessed their own burying places,[3] but much more frequently the tombstone only was furnished from the funds of the *κοινόν*,[4] or again, as in the present case, the association rendered honour to the dead by taking part in the funeral and in its attendant religious ceremonies.[5] Further, in some cases the society procured the recognition of its deceased members as 'heroes,' and we meet with associations, the

[1] The clause, however, requiring that notice be given of a member's decease is, so far as I know, unique. The question of the honours paid by Greek societies to their dead members is best treated by Wilhelm, *Serta Harteliana*, 231 ff., and Ziebarth, *op. cit.* 17 f.

[2] Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*

[3] *E.g.* the *κοινὰ ἐρανιστῶν* of Alopeke (Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*), Kamiros (*I.G.* xii. 1. 736 = Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 746), and five *θίασοι* of Cos (Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, Nos. 155–9).

[4] Instances might be cited from all parts of the Greek world, referring not only to religious or semi-religious *θίασοι* and *σύνοδοι*, but also to trade-gilds, etc.

[5] *E.g.* Kaibel, *Epigr. graec.* No 153, l. 11; Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 737. 159 ff., 729. 46 ff.; *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 374 B, 24.

main object of which was the proper performance of the heroic cult of the deceased.[1]

In many of these points apt parallels may be drawn between the ancient Greek *κοινά* and the mediaeval English gilds.[2] In the latter too we have in most cases the same religious background, and in almost all of them provision is made for succour being given to those who needed it, and certain rites performed at the funeral of a member. Thus, for example, it is enacted in the statutes of the Gild of St. Leonard, Lynn (Toulmin Smith, p. 50):

> 'There shal no brothir ne sistir sene othir in prison, th[t] he shal comyn and vesyten hym, and comfordyn hym in his powere.'

The Gild of Berwick-upon-Tweed orders that (Toulmin Smith, p. 340):

> 'If a brother is charged, on a matter of life or limb, outside the borough, two or three gildmen shall help him, at the cost of the gild, for two days;' etc.

while the Gild of Garlekhith, London, makes provision for a weekly payment if 'any of the forsaide bretherhede be enpresoned falslich by enme, other by fals conspiracie, and haue noght for to fynd hym with, etc.' (Toulmin Smith, p. 5).

Of the many enactments of English Gilds dealing with the burial of deceased members, that which comes nearest to the terms of our present inscription is one of the Tailors' Gild, Norwich (Toulmin Smith, p. 35):

> 'And also it ys ordeyned, be alle the bretheren and sisteren, that what brother or sister deye, the ferndes of the dede body sshullon whet the Alderman to seyn; and he ssal sende forthe the bedel to alle the bretheren and the systeren, that they bien at the derge of the body and also at messe and offeren etc.'

Very similar is the statute of the Gild of St. Leonard, Lynn (Toulmin Smith, p. 50), already referred to:

> 'Alle-so, if any brothir or sistir deye, th[e] aldirman shal comand th[e] Oficere to warnyn alle th[e] bretheryn and sisteryn to bryng th[e] Cors

[1] *E.g. I.G.* iii. 23 (=Wilhelm, *Serta Harteliana*, 231); *I.G.* ii. 630; Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 893.

[2] Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds: The Original Ordinances of more than one hundred Early English Gilds*. London, 1870 (Early English Text Society, 40). My attention was drawn to these parallels by Mr. C. T. Onions.

> to th^e^ chirche, w^t^ waxe brennend, and th^e^ waxe for to brenne in th^e^ tyme of seruice.'

So also it is ordered by the Gild of the Palmers, Ludlow (Toulmin Smith, p. 194), that

> 'Services for the dead shall be duly attended by all the bretheren and sisteren.'

The actual cost of the funeral, however, is usually borne by the gild only in cases of poverty: thus in the statutes of the Gild of Berwick-upon-Tweed (Toulmin Smith, p. 340 § 11) we find it enacted:

> 'Whoever dies without leaving means enough to pay for becoming burial rites, shall be buried at the cost of the gild.'

MARCUS N. TOD.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON BRITISH MUSEUM MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO LEVANTINE GEOGRAPHY.[1]

(*a*) The Isolarii.[2]

To some additional notes on this series I have appended the accounts of Chios given in the three unpublished Isolarii, as samples of their style and scope. Chios is chosen as being the native island of Lupazzolo, the most important of the three authors.

Add. 15,760. *Insularium Henrici Martelli Germani.* (c. 1489)

To this MS. belongs the note on Thera wrongly attributed to *Arundel* 93 in *B.S.A.* xii. 198: it cannot safely be taken as referring to the effects of the 1457 earthquake,[3] since the whole work seems to be a compilation, the text being for the most part an abridgement of Buondelmonti's, while the maps draw on this and other sources: for example *Chios Civitas* (f. 35 *vso.*)

[1] See *B.S.A.* xii. 196 ff.

[2] To the list of authors of Isolarii given on p. 197, note (2), should be added the names of G. C. Solis (1596), Coronelli, and Laudivius da Vezzano, whose *Geographia Insularum* (c. 1475) dedicated to Cardinal Ammanati of Pavia is mentioned in his letter on the fall of Caffa (*Giorn. Ligustico*, ii. 1875, 137 ff.). No MS. seems to be extant. The island maps in Rosaccio's *Viaggio* are derived from an earlier (c. 1571) series by G. F. Camocio (*B.M. Maps*, S. 132).

[3] That this was a volcanic occurrence, and not (as Fouqué, *Santorin*, p. 11, Philippson, *Thera*, i. 66) a mere landslip, seems to me clear from *Pii ii. Commentarii* (Francfort, 1614), p. 29. 'Tum quoque [at the time of an earthquake at Naples] & in Egeo pelago insula emersit, nunquam antea visa; parva circuitu, verum alta supra aquas quadraginta cubitis: arsitque diebus aliquot donec flammae defuit bitumen.' The occurrence is elsewhere commemorated only by the ambiguous contemporary inscription at Scaros (Ross, *Inseln* 201, Pègues, *Santorin*, 138) and the note in a MS. of Buondelmonti dated 1465 'hic ab annis VIII. circa nata est insula in longitudine unius galee videlicet in 1458' (*Thera* i. p. 6).

does not occur in Buondelmonti, and is more than an enlargement of the city as shewn in the map of the island.

There is curiously enough no hint, either in text or map, of the taking of Constantinople, though the time of writing is fixed at about 1489 by the occurrence of that date in the map of the world.

(*f.* 34) Chios Insula continenti asie uicina. P.M. XVII. ambitur passibus centum & uiginti quattuor milibus: estque ferè omnis montuosa quamquam satis culta & arboribus masticis inprimis ferax, a quibus nomen accepisse dicitur. quoniam chios lingua sirica, mastix latine interpretatur: Nam & Plinius eam scyros appellat, & antea phenicem, oduam, oleandron, Giaron, uocitatam asserit. Est autem sita in conspectu eritre Vrbis, (*v*so.) & montis Tmoli asie Cin|giturque egeo, Icarioque pellago, habet ad orientem qua continentem spectat portum tutissimum capacissimumque nauigiorum omnis generis, cum oppido eiusdem cum insula nominis: & iuxta planitiem fertilissimam, deinde delfini portum amplissimum cum arce contra quem in mari turris sancti Stefani surgit: & ad septentriones alium maximum portum quem cardamile appellant: iuxta quem pululat uberrimus fons. Nao dictus: ad occasum uero planitiem cum oppido Volisso, & deinde portum alium desertum litimena dictum. Sequitur mox & alius portus lacte dictus, cui uicinum esse asserunt sepulchrum homeri, uatis quo precipue illustrari insulam, auctor est Plinius. & ad meridiem deinde habet portum alium cum arce quem amiste uel sancte Anastasie appellant. Porrigitur autem insula uniuersa a meridie in septentriones, & superiorem partem quam apomeream Greci dicunt septentrionalem, inferiorem uero quam cathomeram appellant meridionalem habet. quarum inferior humiliores colles habet arboris lentisci plenos, que masticem ueris tempore stillant, quibus arboribus omnino caret apomerea superior regio: habet hec insula in mediterraneis complura oppida atque arces, quarum nomina sunt Menedatum : s. helena : Perparea : cardamile : Volisso : Vicum : piccium : Pigri : Ricouera, Calamot. habet etiam plerosque editissimos montes, Vt. s. helie . Sancti Angeli : Agne : & Sancti Georgii, huius insule ouidius meminit dicens . Protinus egides rapta minoide chion Vela dedit : comitemque suam crudelis in illo littore destituit, deserte[1] & multa querenti.[2] Amplexus & opem liber tulit: utque (*f.* 35.) peremni | sydere clara foret Sumptam de fronte coronam Inmisit cęlo tenues uolat illa per auras. habet hec insula promontorium Aruisium a priscis dictum, a quo aruisia uina optima denominata sunt, de quibus maro in Daphni, Vina nouum fundam calathis aruisia nectar, & horatius etiam meminit in sermonibus.

Add. 10,365. *Isulario . . de Antonio Millo.* (c. 1581)

The volume is a presentation copy to 'Zuane Benbo Dignissimo Provedidor De Armada Padron et Signor Mio Colendissimo' and bears his arms on the cover. The text of *Add.* 10,365 is preferred to that of *Julius*

[1] *Sic.* [2] *Sic.*

E. 11., as being in the author's own hand, or at least that of the draughtsman of both series of maps. *Julius* E. 11. shews considerable variations.

(*f.* 81 *r.*) Sio isula molto ben populata da la parte di leuante sie una Cita Con il suo porto entrando in ditto porto Costatiui piu al molo che al diamante[1] piu ala parte di tramontana sie il porto dolfino qual sie uno bonisimo porto li Capise ogni groza da qui partito. si troua il Cauo di la isola uoltando trouati la Cardamila qual fa perfetisimi uini et sie uno scholgio Con bon sorzitor per uaseli picholi uoltando la ditta isola ala parte di fora di la isolla trovati la uale di chrio nero bonisimo sorzitor ma per instade. intrade piu a lostro trouati il porto di san stefano Con bonisimo stacio si da una parte Come da l'altra le naue uano ala banda di tramontana nela prima uale Con prouase ala buora et trouati bonisima auqua da beuer poi uenendo a lostro trouati il Capo di maseria uoltando al sirocho fino al Cauo biancho sie tuta dirupata et cenza porto et di rinpeto al Capo biancho sie il scholgio uenetticho alargo m^{a} 4/ da Cauo biancho andando in tramontana troui Cauo di san todoro et poi Cauo di mastici et Cauo di santa lena et ui richordo che da Cauo biancho fino al porto dolfino per tuto sie bonisimo sorzitor per ogni uaselo et qui nase il uero mastice da questa ala parte di lasia minor sie il pasagio et nel mezo dil Canal uno scholgio ala parte di tramontana sie le isole dite agnuse. El circhuito di la isola di sio sono m^{a} n°. 110.

Lansdowne 792. *Isolario di Francesco Lupazolo.* (1638)

With regard to the author's identity I could find no mention of him in the Latin church registers at Chios, and the name no longer exists there. Examination of the text reveals a rather detailed knowledge of the ecclesiastical communities in the islands, especially Latin.[2] The author mentions Bordone (1528) several times as an authority.

(*f.* 60 *vso.*) Scio, nel mar egeo circonda 120 milia nobile e leggiadra Isola e poco tempo che fu presa da Pialis l'Anno 1566 uiuente Sultàn Salin secondo dalle mani di Giustiniani Gentilhuomini Genuesi che l'haueuano hauuta da Michel Paleologo in premio del socorso portatoli nella guerra de Venetiani, e assai montuosa, et sassosa; con tutto ciò produce d'ogni cosa in abbondaza et saporito, et sopra il tutto il uino, che in ogni parte e adimandato uino d'Homero filosofo greco, e tanto nominato: anzi secondo l'opinione de molti uogliono che sia Nato in un uilaggio di Scio detto anauato se bene gli Smirniensi contesero molto con gli Sciotti, pretendendo che fusse Smirneo. Sin al giorno d'hoggi uicino al mare

[1] Shewn by the map in *Julius* E 11. to be the name given to the southern mole of the harbour.

[2] Since writing the above I find in M. Giustiniani's *Scio Sacra* (Avellino, 1658, pp. 4, 18) two references to a *Relatione mandata alla Sacra Congregatione della Propaganda Fede nell' ano* 1639 *sopra la Visita dell' Arcipelago* by Francesco Luppazzolo (*sic*) da Monferrato. The first of these references contains a quotation which suggests that this *Relatione* was the MS. mentioned by Thevenot (ed. of Amsterdam, 1727, i. 307) as the source of his information on the Chiote villages.

e distante dalla Citta tre milia in circa, si uede un gran sasso di forma tonda sopra del quale detto Filosofo faceva per suo diporto la scola conforme l'attestono tutti gli habitanti, quiui fanno spesso pescaggione che pero
(*f.* 61) dicono | [*Map of Chios*] a cotesto loco sabega, la Citta fu prima situata sopra un monte detto pethodo nel qual loco habittauano gente heremitica, la sua chiesa erà adimandata Incoronata che pur al giorno d'hoggi cossi si dice et è posseduta dalli Padri dominicani gia 300 passati come appare da un loro anale, dietro al sudetto monte verso Ponente tra le rocche e boschi è situato un monasterio di monaci greci il numero di, 100, con il loro Abbate creato dalli medesimi monaci ogni 3 Anni,
(*f.* 61 *vso.*) e fu fatto fabricare da Constantino Monomacos ueramente | e fabrica Reggia per l'eccelenza delli marmi porfori e pitture a Mosaico il quadro della B.V. che si adora fu trouato in quel loco sotto terra et e dipinta sopra un pezzo di legno qual figura si conserua molto bene. li monaci hanno bellissimi paramenti concernenti al culto diuino, Reliquie hanno un pezzo del legno della Sta Croce, un deto di S. Gio: Bātta et una mano del loro primo fondattore e tutte q̄te rinchiuse in una Cassetta mediocre di Argento Masizzo. il monasterio e fabricato in forma di fortezza dottato di molte Intrate che cauano dalli Poderi che in diuersi lughi del Isola hanno, quali sono coltiuati et gouernati dalli medessimi monaci portando poi le uetoalie al monasterio con 80 muli che il monasterio mantiene, uiuono in comune e mangiano in un refettorio longo 80 piedi, quando detti monaci passano a miglior uitta sono sepeliti fori del monasterio in una Chiesa dedicata a S. Lucca e gli pongono cosi uestiti sopra un grada di ferro quali Cadaueri alcuni si mantengono Intatti, è dicono che per essere scomunicati non si disfanno, In cotesto loco concorre molto popolo e da diuerse parti massime il giorno[1] di Pascua cioe il terzo giorno perche fanno una processione solenne con tutte le reliquie et Imagini e cio basti di questo monasterio. Nel' Isola sono situati in circa 70 uilaggi 22 de quali sono detti Casali della Mastice perche in tutti cotesti sono gli arbori di d^a^ Mastice, e rendono ogni Anno 100 casse di d^a^ quali sono 80 oche l'una, li principali uilaggi sono Cali Massia, Mesta, Nenita, Catharati, Vono, et Pirgi con Volisso quali doi sono sotto al patriarcato di Cōnpli. e non al Arciuescouo di Scio e sono adimandati Stauropij, Volisso ha un castello che fu fatto fabricare da quel gran Capitano Belissario, qual Castello fu difeso una uolta dalle donne quali in segno di tal difesa portano pendenti al orecchie a guisa
(*f.* 62) d'Archi e nel petto una rotella di Arg^to^ | Il Vilaggio detto Elata e un loco doue li uilani di esso usano a domesticare pernici et in gran numero, quali uanno a pascolare fuora in campagna lasciandole andare con le saluaggie e poi con un sol fischio che il uilano manda fuora subito ritornano al suo pastore, cosa molto dileteuole da vedere; in un altro uilaggio detto di Santa Elena si uede una Capella fabricata in una rocca tutta uacua dentro della quale da una ponta di detta distilla continuamente una gociola d'Aqua adimandata dal uolgo Aiasma cioè Aqua Santa benche questa è fabula, poiche quella e caggionata dalle pioggie che imbeuerano la rocca, e dalli uapori che da una gran ualle tutta nubilosa e Aquosa per le aque che quiui corrano, che nella d^a^ grotta assendono, & e seruita q^ta^ Capella da doi monaci greci, li

[1] *Sic.*

uilani di cotesto loco credono fermamente che un corpo morto non disfacendosi in 40 giorni si conuerte in spirito foletto, detto da greci βορβόλακας la medessima oppinione hanno molti altri uilaggi, Alla spiagia del mare uerso Maestro tramontana in un loco detto Coronia e una fonte di aqua solforea calda quale è adimandata aqua santa per la sua uirtu poiche oppera nel corpo humano beuendola, come qualsi ueglia medecina, discosto quatro in cinque milia in c[a] dal uilaggio di Cardamila doue è una Campagna fertilissima et di doue ne esce il uino di Homero, con un porto amplissimo se bene per uaselli è meglio stare dietro a un scoglio detto Margaritti cinque milia distante, si uede una fonte grandissima adimandata

Naos Naos e quiui era fabricato un tempio tutto di marmi di color di Cenere di inestimabile bellezza e grandezza quali erano tutti congionti con

(*f.* 62 *vso.*) ferro e piombo ma li uilani per cauare cotai metalli l'hanno spezzati

S[to] Elia tutti. Si uede poi il monte detto di S[to] Elia quale e il piu eminente di tutta l'Isola, e di quiui si scopre Tenodo che è discosta 200 milia in circa, ha una chiesa nella somita et nel mezzo una fonte di perfettissima aqua quale inaqua tutti li giardini et Campagne del uilaggio di Cambia loco situato tra le rocche e monti doue sono ualli profondissime folte de Arbori di pini saluaggi quali sono da Turchi tagliati per fabricare galere et barche. Vicino alla Citta e una pianura beliss[ma] e spacciossissima tutta piena de fabriche a guisa quasi di una noua Citta, doue li Cittadini uanno a recrearsi nella staggione calda et quando il Contaggio si fa sentire, attorno a detto Campo et Cardamada sono situati molti Vilaggi di mediocre grandezza e di ogni Commodita, come thimiana Niocori, Carchios, et altri con un monasterio nouamente fabricato da Papa Minas

S[to] Mina con 80 monaci, di molte Intrate et adimandato Santo Minas; sopra un Colle molte Ameno che scopre tutta cotesta Campagna e una fonte di Aqua

Cria urisi fredissima adimandata Cria urisi in greco et una torre poco discosta da

Crina q[ta] fonte detta Crina che fu fabricata dicono nel tempo di Constantino Imp. che pur al giorno d'hoggi e feudo della Sultana di Coñpli benche posseduta da alcuni Sig[ri] detti Reccanelli Giustiniani, tutti li nominati uilaggi sono habittati da greci con molte chiese et Preti che le gouernano, Nella Citta sono doi Parti Greci, una Turchi et una Itagliani tra quali sono molti cassate nobili e deriuatę da Giustiniani, le chiese de lattini sono assai bene seruite dal Vescouo et suoi Preti, essendoui anco monasterij

2 *Zocolanti* (*f.* 63) 4 *Dominicani* 10 *Giesiuti* 8 *Capucini* de padri Zocolanti dedicato a S. Nicola, di Padri Domi|nicani dedicato à San Sebastiano de Padri Giesuiti quali fanno le scole si come altre buone oppere pie dedicato a Santo Antonio de Padre Capuccini detto. S. Rocco, et la Capella perche seruono a doi lochi, e fanno ancor loro la scola et altri essercitij salutari a quelle anime, In tutta cotesta Isola uogliono che ci sia 60 milia anime in tutto e ben uero che e habittata da gran numero de forestieri che da altre Isole quiui uengono, il gouerno temporale e tenuto dalli turchi, cioe un Beĩ, et un Cadi cioe giudice . la medessima Citta e ben tenuta, polita, piena di ogni uitto necessario et libera a tutti il Porto buono nel quale soño sempre Galere perche molti bei quiui sono maritati et del proprio loco Attorno al Isola sono altri bonissimi Porti e si fanno anco la guardia in ogni loco per galere e Vaselli, la terra ferma da Scio non e discosta piu di 18[1] milia in circa, Mettilini 60 et Smirne 100 . fuori della Citta et dentro ci sono belissimi Giardini folti d'Arbori di Nerantieri

[1] *Altered from* 28.

e lemoni quali nella prima uera rendono suauissima fragrantia gli huomini sono Ciuili et le donne molto cortese leggiadre et alegre poiche li sentite sempre cantare, sopra l'tutto sono honestissime, e se si dicesse alcuna cosa di esse in materia del honore non se li deue dare Credito poiche non sara Cittadina ma si bene straniera quali alcuna uolta si danno in preda al uitio, uestono polito e s'Inghirlandano la Chioma tutta de fiori e calzano scarpe e pianelle di Veluto, il parlar loro e tutto in plurale per essere in greco piu ciuile se bene hormai e corrotto con l'Italiano. Dara ques' *daccio del Turco* Isola in circa l'Anno per le gabelle che tiene della seda, sale, uino, Pece, taule, et Mastice cioe scriuania, con le decime de Armenti cento millia Reali, ci sono molti mercanti, et gioventu che attende al arte delli (*f.* 63 *vso.*) damaschi, Rasi et capiciole essendo in c^a 1000 telari | sono usciti da quest' Isola molti huomini e Prelati uirtuosi con un Cardinale che fuil Giustiniano et al giorno d'hoggi sono cinque Vescoui e doi Arciuescoui, di Smirne et Naxia si come altri che forsi non mi sovengono, e per souenimento delli Infermi la Citta e ben prouista de Medeci ecc^ti speciali et Cirugichi, come anco per le Campagne diuerse herbe medicinali, lochi di recreatione e di Caccia sono diuersi, e saluaticine come pernici, qualie, Colombi, Galinazze, lepri, et altre simili non mancano ; Pessi[1] In Abbondanza, et saporito, Carne poi non mancano giorni che non si ucida 10 capi de boui e montoni di modo che gratia del sig^re non manca a quest' Isola ogni bene tanto spirituale come temporale che cossi piaccia a S.D.M. di mantenerla. Amen.

Vilaggi principali del Isola di Scio nella Parte soprana doue non è Mastice. Cardamila fa 500 anime in circa .8. preti è .3. chiese nel uilaggio, fuori sono molte, con una fonte copiossissima uicino al Porto detta Naraulaca. Vilette ordinarie sono, Pitios ; Amades ; Vichi ; Cambià ; Spartonda, ta Marco—Pispilonda, Fittà, Calandra, Coronia, Cheramo, Nenita, Santa Elena, Melanio ; Parparia, Pirama, Volisso uilaggio principale di 1500 Anime 40 preti e moltiss^me Chiese con il castello di Belissario, quel gran Capitano che vinse gli uandali, trionfo de Persi, libero piu uolte l'Italia da Barbari, e finalmente in premio de suoi sucessi, gli fu d'ordine del Imperatore cauato gli occhij e doue da la Virtu fu fatto chiaro, dal Inuidia fu fatto cieco riducendosi poi in Roma, dentro a una Cappanuccia, nella piu freq^te strada di cotesta Citta adimandaua elemosina, dicendo, Viendante da un quatrino per l'amor di Dio, poco discosto da q^to uilaggio ui è situato un monasterio greco con 20 monaci di molte Intrate et dedicato à San Gio Batta et uicino alla (*f.* 64) Marina è una chiesola detta Santa | Marcella eretta in un Campo nominato Varuariso, quale Vergine fu per miracolo conuertita in sasso, dal quale ogni anno nel giorno della sua festa che li uilani in questa fanno, si uede dalle mamelle distilare latte questo caso non è di fede con tutto cio quel popolo cossi afferma et la causa della sua conuersione fu perche il proprio padre la seguiua per uiolarla et essa non uolendo acconsentire prego Iddio per tal conuersione. Il rimanente delli altri Vilaggij sono Sieronda, licilimiona, Anauato, Augonima, Caries, Vestarcato, San Giorgio, Elata, doue domesticano le pernici, Pirgi loco doi mille anime, 60 preti e 30 chiese Mesta, uilla con un Castello molto ben situato di 300 anime, Calamoti, Vessa, Armolia che ha un Castello sopra un monte molto alto

[1] *Sic.*

adimandato Apolieno, Nenita di 1500 anime 30 chiese e 40 Preti con doni picoli monasterij uno di donne et uno di huomini, si come una chiesa detta Tasiarchi doue portono tutti li forsenati per riceuerne la sanita, Catharacti, con un Castello, di 1500 anime 20 preti e 16 chiese, Vono con castello, Didima, Oxsodidima, Dafnes, Tholopotami, Merninghi, Calimasia, di 2500 anime 30 chiese e 40 preti, Niocori, Thimiana, Carchios, Daffnona, et altri che non mi souengono. Mi usci di memoria mentre trattauo di Scio di memorare li monasteri di monache greche quali sono. S. Giacomo, con 100 monache, S. Simeone con 100, S. Elia, *officio della misericordia.* S. Isidoro, S. Giorgio, Ioiditria, S. Constantino si come del officio della misericordia quale raccoglie molte elemosine, et con quelle mantieniene li figlioli naturali che alcuna uolta sono sopra le porte delle chiese portati; si come per sepelire li poueri et fare altre oppere pie ce poi la Confrat'a della Cosacia molto ben officiata da quelli fratelli essendo anco arichita *(f. 64, vso.)* da molti privileggi da sua san^ta^ [*illustration of Sciote costumes*].

Qui finisse il discorso del Isola di Scio al Incontro di Eolida Provincia del Asia Minore Metrodoro et Cleobolo l'adimandorano Chia, da Chione Ninpha, alcuni dalla Neue, si come anco Machrin, fu anco detta Phijthiusa et il loco di Eolida è hoggi detto Capo Bianco, si come da altri Natolia et Perama le su dette figure l'una e il modo che uestono le uilane del Vilaggio di Voliso con tutti li circonvicini et Parte soprana, l'altra è il modo che si uestono le gentildonne e Cittadine della Citta.

(*b*) The Sherley Papers.

By permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury I am enabled to publish the following notes on the Lambeth MS. 514.[1] The volume is a small quarto of ninety-two pages, of which seventy are written, chiefly on *recto* only: it is entitled on the back '*Discours of the Turkes by Sr Tho: Sherley.*' The text begins without title or other ceremony. 'There be tow sortes of turkes, the naturall and the renegadoe,' and proceeds to discuss the State of Turkie (*ff.* 1–11), Turki trade (12–14), Turki wronges (15–18), Embassadors in Turkie (19–20), Constantinople (21), Troye (23), Negroponte (24), Thessalonica (25), Turki fortes (26), Ciprus (27), Candi (28), Millo (29), Zante (30), Corfu (32), after which certain towns in Italy and Germany, presumably those passed by Sir Thomas on his homeward journey;[2] the text ends 'they will elect the archduke Maximilian whoe is the most esteemed man of that house, though he bee not much reputed.'

A certain amount of the material concerning the Turks is published

[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xii. p. 209, note (1).

[2] On his outward route he touched at Ceos (Geo) and an unnamed island near by, where he made a piratical descent and was captured. He was taken thence as a prisoner to Negropont, and so overland to Constantinople.

by A. Nixon in the rare contemporary pamphlet 'The Three Brothers.'[1] The Turkish towns and islands described are considered from a military point of view, Sir Thomas's politics being violently anti-Turkish, probably on account of his well-deserved imprisonment and the example of his brothers who aided the Persians in their wars with the Turks. The sections on Constantinople and Melos given below are typical.

(*f.* 21) Constantinople is the greatest citye, that euer I sawe, it is within the walles as bygge as 2 of London, Westminster, and all the rest of the subvrb. It standeth vpon a necke of lande, in the vttermoste limittes of Thrace, and is the end of Evrope that waye. It is a iuste geometricall triangle, and is 3 wayes environed with the sea. The 4th lieth vpon a playne towards Andrinople. It hath in it 30 gates and 2 fortes, at eache end one; the one at the easte, and that is the Seralia, where the Greate Turke keepeth his courte, his concubines, and eunches, and there the visiere bashaw kepeth his courtes of justis. The other is in the west, and is called the 7 towers, soe named bycause there are 7 greate towers vpon the walles of it. Neyther of these places, nor the citye it self bee (*vso.*) fortefied with anye arte, but with huge stone walles builte after | the olde fashion. The 7 towers and that parte of the citye whyche lieth to the lande, haue 3 walles (and so haue moste of the townes of Greece), the other sides, to the sea, are but singlye walled. This towne is mutche ruined: and divers streetes on the southe side are vtterlye defaced and there is corne grounde where wer wonte to bee houses. There are fewe fayre buildinges in it, onelye theyre churches, and of them 2 exeede all the rest: the one is Sultan Soliman his monument, the other that whiche was St. Sofie's churche in the christian tyme. The Christians enhabitte in the west ende of the towne, the Jewes in the northe and northe easte parte, and the Turkes in the reste. There are in this city 5 Christians for one Turke. The entrans into this citye is garded with 4 stronge castelles, 2 vpon the streyghtes of Scuderett, 4 mile from (*f.* 22) Constantinople at the entrans into the Blacke Sea, auntientlye called Pontus Euxinus, the other 2 are at the entringe in of the streyghtes of Gallipoli, 100 leagus from Constantinople.

(*f.* 29) Millo is one of the delicatest ilandes that euer I sawe, full of fruitefull vallys and pleasant hills. The people are curteous and kinde. They are tributary subjectes to the Turke, but haue no garrison, nor anye Turke emongest them but onelye a Cadi and his Cadi is a iudge. man: there are 2 brave and exellent harboures, whereof the porte of Millo is capable of 1,000 shyppes; the entrans into it is streyghte and maye easelye bee fortefied. The other is called Argentiere, and is between 3 ilands, Millo, Argentiere and Cephano, whereof Argentiera hathe some fewe inhabitans, the other none. Millo is well able to maynteyne a garrison, bycause it payeth 10,000 chikinoes[2] by the

[1] London, 1607 (B.M. *Printed Books*, G 6672): cf. especially the three pages on the 'Manners and Fashions of the *Turkes*.'

[2] *I.e.* Sequins, Zecchini: at f. 12, vso. we find that 'chikinoe is 7 shillings & six pens starling.'

yeare to the Turke, and yett it is not half soe well inhabited as it mighte bee yf the Christians had it. There are 2 bishoppes in Millo, the one Latin and the other Greeke.

(*vsc.*) This ile of Millo (beside wyne and corne) hath a mine of siluer, great quantitye of brimmestone, a myne of calamitte, roache allum, and boale armoniacke: and divers exellent bathes both moiste and drye. But they dare not vent anye of theyre mynes for feare of the Turkes; bycause they are nowe free, and doe onelye pay a tribute, but yf the Turkes knewe this wealthe they were vtterlye ruined. The ritches of this ile will serue to mayneteyne more than the thirde parte of the chardge of an armye yf it bee well vsed. All the ilande yeeldeth salte peeter in greate abundans and soe doeth all Greece in generall. The porte of Argentira will bee easelye fortefied with small chardge and then the islande is impregnable.

F. W. HASLUCK.

ERRATA.

[The following list of *errata* in the former article is for the most part due to the untiring kindness of Mr. J. A. Herbert.]

P. 198 (**Arundel** 93): Refer to Add. 15,760 the words 'In the Thera map . . . Therasia': (l. 2 of title to **Sloane** 3843) *for* 'Thuana' *read* 'Thuaena.'

P. 199 (l. 3 of title to **Add.** 10,365): *for* '1581' *read* '1591.'

P. 203 (**Add.** 8624): The date is really after 1660 and before the partition of Poland: (heading of **Vitellius** A. xx.) between 'Constantinopolim' and 'mira' *insert* 'illam egregiam civitatem.'

P. 204: *for* 'incurvatum' *read* 'incarnatum': (**Burney** 213) *transpose* 'Tanam' *and* 'Tanaym.'

P. 205 (**Sloane** 2742): *for* 'ff. 12' *read* 'ff. 5–11': (**Harl.** 3408) *delete the first* 'n' *in* 'Constantinopoli.' Some part of this Relation seems to have been published by Alfonso Chierici, 'Vera Relatione della gran citta di Costantinopoli, . . . cauata dal uero originale del Sig. Domenico Hierosolimitano, Bracciano, 1621' (Inaccessible to me: cf. *Bibliothèque Rhodocanakis*, No. 427).

P. 206 (**Harl.** 1599): *for* 'voyage faict' *read* 'voiage faicte': (**Add.** 10,130) *for* '1664' *read* '1663.'

P. 207 (**Sloane** 2439): *for* 'Wild' *read* 'Wylde.'

P. 210 (**Sloane** 3985): *insert* 'f. 1–80 b: (**Sloane** 2945) *insert* 'ff. 1–42 b.

P. 211: *for* 'Seliori' *read* 'Selivri': (**Add.** 22,912) *for* 'ff. 75' *read* 'ff. 74 b.': *for* 'ff. 247' *read* 'ff. 249.'

P. 213 (**Add.** 6269) *for* 'ff. 36–46' *read* 'ff. 38–49 b: *add* 'Imperf. at end.'

F. W. H.

THE PAGAN ELEMENT IN THE NAMES OF SAINTS.

THE early strife between Christianity and Paganism has recently been reflected in a prolix discussion of Survivals. The Church is accused of sheltering Paganism in her rites and tenets by disguising heathen practices and beliefs under Christian forms, while the vindicators of an independent Christianity reject as false or inadequate the analogies drawn in support of this accusation. The aim of the present paper is to examine one section of these analogies, that is, those which are founded on resemblances between the names of saints and of pagan deities.

It is well known that temples were transformed into places of Christian worship, and that pagan images were used in the new religion, after the barricade of hatred and persecution had been broken down. In the fourth century conversion came to be a collective and political event, and the converts, instead of throwing off their old beliefs through conviction, were inclined to adhere to the established traditions and practices; with the result that a certain amount of confusion arose in the development of the new religion. It has often been stated that the policy of ecclesiastical authorities at this time was to conciliate converts by an avoidance of excessive novelty, and that, with this end in view, they gave them back their old gods to worship under the form of saints; thus systematically encouraging the survival of Paganism.

An examination of legends, attributes, and functions attaching to the saints of the Greek Calendar affords many reminiscences of paganism. It is natural to find succession in the matter of functions, for the needs of the people remain the same. They had their Asklepios, and they must

have their Cosmos and Damian to heal them; or the sailors, no longer permitted to believe in the protection of Poseidon, transfer their faith to St. Nicholas, and in this sense he becomes the successor of the pagan god. We find also another kind of transference, which cannot be explained in this way: legends and biographical incidents, belonging to the pagan literature, are ascribed to many saints in an undisguised fashion. Well-known examples of this transference are given by Usener,[1] and to these another may be added. St. Niketas, whose festival is held on 3rd April, is depicted[2] as mounted on a horse with white wings, which carries him through the air. Two legends[3] are told of him, according to which he conveys a girl back to her family; and on the rock beside the chapel in Crete is shown the mark made by the horse's hoof, when the saint alighted with the girl. The rider with the winged horse is clearly a reminiscence of Bellerophon and Pegasos, and this is borne out in an interesting way on Mount Helikon: the chapel of St. Niketas,[4] where his chief festival is held, stands on Helikon, not very far from the fountain of Hippokrene, which was made by the stroke of Pegasos' hoof. In such a case as that of St. Niketas it is easy to understand the reason for the pagan survival. The new generation kept up their fathers' stories, but told them of their own heroes, the saints.

There are, however, other instances in which the pagan element is more complicated. The Greek Calendar contains names which directly suggest the gods of ancient Greece; and when, as occurs in several cases, other points of contact with the pagan name-god are presented in characteristics, attributes, or legendary history, the Church is credited with the appropriation of the god and the transformation of him into the saint. In this theory great weight is laid on evidence derived from nomenclature, the significance of which has been misinterpreted by those who, like Gruppe,[5] state succinctly that St. Dionysios was made out of Dionysos. The case of St. Demetrios has also often been quoted in this connection. The derivation of the name from Demeter is taken in conjunction with the

[1] *Sintfluthsagen*, pp. 108 ff.

[2] Polites, Παραδόσεις, ii. 798. [3] Spratt, *Travels in Crete*, i. p. 342.

[4] R. M. Dawkins, *Emmanuel Coll. Magazine*, xv. No. 1, p. 5.

[5] *Griech. Myth.* ii. p. 1654. 'Dann (IV. Jahrhundert) ist man freilich weiter gegangen, und hat entweder aus dem alten Gott kurzweg einen Heiligen gemacht wie den heiligen Dionysios aus Dionysos, oder aber einen in der Legende oder auch im Namen irgendwie entsprechender Heiligen an die Stelle des Gottes gesetzt.'

fact that St. Demetrios is the popular patron of Greek husbandmen and shepherds, and the protector of agriculture in general. The functions of the Earth-Mother are perpetuated in him, and his festival in October, just before sowing-time, has great importance in the land of peasant-farmers. All over the country, at Eleusis as in every other district, his churches are found; but, before it could be maintained that St. Demetrios was given to the new converts as representative of the banished Demeter, it would be necessary to find some general recognition of his place and powers, and this is wanting to the argument. The *Synaxarium*[1] gives the story of a young martyr bearing the common name of Demetrios, who was put to death at Rome on October 26th, but there is no hint of any connection with agriculture. Further, the city of Salonika, where Demetrios is honoured as patron, does not recognise in him any such attributes. The agricultural side of St. Demetrios belongs, therefore, to popular local tradition.

Although the theory that this saint had his origin in Demeter must be set aside, the coincidence of name and attributes demands explanation. Consider any district in which new converts were being trained in the beliefs and practices of Christianity. Before conversion they had believed in other gods and prayed to other patrons; their new priests taught them to worship saints, amongst whom might be one bearing a name similar to that of some pagan patron, for such names as Apollonios or Demetrios had long been in common use. Round the pagan deity the people had gathered legends, and special powers had been attributed to him, the memory of which was still living; these came to be transferred to his namesake by a natural imaginative process on the part of the people. It is another question whether the Church did her best to suppress this tendency, or made it her policy to encourage it. This blending of Pagan and Christian by reason of similar nomenclature may at first have been purely local, according to the sphere of the pagan predecessor's influence, but, as the popularity of the saint increased, the conception of his powers would also spread.

With reference to this theory the chief examples of pagan nomenclature in the Greek Calendar must be examined. The case of St. Dionysios has been cited by Gruppe,[2] by Bent,[3] and by other writers, as an instance of a saint directly evolved from a god. In the *Synaxarium* there are three

[1] *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Oct. 26th.
[2] *Griech. Myth.* ii. p. 1654.
[3] *The Cyclades*, p. 338.

chief saints of that name, the patron of Zakynthos, the Areopagite, and the monk of Meteora. No one of these can be connected with Dionysos on grounds similar to those which are presented in the case of St. Hippolytos, who, like the son of Theseus, was dragged to death bound to wild horses.[1] Popular practice and tradition afford two cases on which statements of a connection have been based. First, to the north of Athens lies a district called Dionyso, which can be identified with the deme Ikaria,[2] where tradition located the first reception of the Athenian god Dionysos. There Chandler found a chapel dedicated to St. Dionysios,[3] and an ancient inscription relating to a victory. Rangabé[4] supposes this to be a case of saint succeeding god, taking the inscription as referring to a local Dionysiac celebration. The fact that neither at the time of his own visit, nor in later years,[5] was the chapel known under the designation of St. Dionysios, combined with the vagueness of the ancient inscription, considerably weakens his hypothesis, and no succession can be satisfactorily asserted. Any traditions which may have existed about a local worship of St. Dionysios should perhaps be accounted for, not by an original supplanting of god by saint, but by a later confusion on the part of the people arising from the name of the district, which is clearly derived from the pagan god.

The second case occurs in the island of Naxos, the legendary home of Dionysos and one of the chief centres of his cult. There Bent[6] found that St. Dionysios was widely worshipped, and was connected in popular legend with the origin of the vine. The modern Naxian story[7] is told about a journey of the saint from Mount Olympos to Naxos. He noticed an herb by the way, and first planted it in the bone of a bird, then in the bone of a lion, and lastly in the bone of an ass. At Naxos he made the first wine with its fruit. The intoxication which followed the drinking of this wine had three stages; first he sang like a bird, then felt strong as a lion, and lastly became foolish as an ass.

The fact that the saint is said to have been travelling from Olympos connects him with the monk of Meteora of the twelfth century, who has

[1] *Synaxarium*, Aug. 10th. Ὁ Βασιλεὺς . . . ἐκέλευσε κινάραις αὐτὸν (Ἱππόλυτον) σιδηραῖς μαστιγωθῆναι καὶ ἵπποις ἀγρίοις προσδεθῆναι ὑφ' ὧν ἐπὶ πολὺ συρόμενος τῷ θεῷ τὸ πνεῦμα παρέδωκεν.

[2] *Papers of the American School at Athens*, v. 48.

[3] *Travels in Greece*, p. 161. [4] *Antiquités Helléniques* No. 985.

[5] *Papers of the American School at Athens*, v. 48.

[6] *The Cyclades*, p. 338. [7] Polites, Παραδόσεις, i. No. 175.

a monastery on the mountain, and is believed by tradition to have rid the district of bears.[1] This monk presents no distinguishing Bacchic characteristics; the connection in popular tradition is purely local, and of a later date. The Naxiotes long cherished the established legend of their wine god, for they still make the 'wine of Dionysos,' and learning of a saint with similar name, they attached to him the attributes of their old god. This is not a case of transformation of the pagan deity into the saint; the coincidence is due to the perpetuation of name and story by popular tradition, which tends to unite old and new. A similar confusion occurs in Cyprus, where the summer festival, a fair on the water, is popularly called the festival of Aphrodite. The name of the pagan goddess is attached by the people to this modern celebration only because of the long-standing tradition of the island's chief cult, which is thus perpetuated in name.

Another instance of this pagan nomenclature is quoted by Bent.[2] St. Artemidos is worshipped on Keos as patron of weakly children. Bent identifies the saint as a Christianised Artemis, to whom belonged protecting powers over children, animals, and vegetation in general. The popular practice is the only reason, apart from nomenclature, for connecting the saint with Artemis, but the Kean custom is a common one throughout Greece. At Chalcis, in the church of St. Elias within the fort, I found that the women of Euboia go through a similar ceremony: in a case of illness the mother brings her child, dressed in black, to the ikon of the Panagia, strips him, and after leaving him one day in the church she dresses him in fresh white clothes, and leaves the black garments in the church. It would be easy to multiply examples of this practice, which is one mode of the transference of disease. It does not pertain exclusively to the cult of the Kean St. Artemidos; he merely shares it with other patron saints, to whose chapels mothers with ailing children have recourse, and that is not sufficient ground for the assertion that the attributes of Artemis *kourotrophos* have been transferred to St. Artemidos.

St. Eleutherios also bears a name which is believed to indicate pagan origin, and he has often been connected with Eileithyia, the goddess who presided over childbirth. Schmidt[3] asserts that there can be no connection

[1] Polites, *op. cit.* i. No. 198.
[2] *The Cyclades*, p. 457.
[3] *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 28, note 7.

between the names owing to their dissimilarity; but other forms of Eileithyia are Eleutho or Eleuthyia,[1] a fact which makes the resemblance indisputable. In certain districts St. Eleutherios is regarded as the patron of mothers, especially in cases of childbirth. At the small metropolitan church of Athens his feast is popularly celebrated by crowds of worshipping women, who bring propitiatory offerings to his ikon; in Crete[2] also, the saint is popular under the same aspect. This function of St. Eleutherios is local; no ground for it is given in the life of the saint, and in other districts the same powers are attributed to the Panagia, or, as at Arachova, to St. Stylianos.[3] Popular tradition and local practice may again be held responsible for the coincidence of name and function, and this view is supported by our knowledge of the ancient cult. Crete is the traditional birthplace of Eileithyia,[4] and from Crete the cult was brought to Athens, where there were at least two sanctuaries of the goddess. From the topographical indications of Pausanias it seems probable that one of these temples stood near the site of the small metropolitan church, near which has been discovered a dedication to Eileithyia.[5] In these districts, where Eileithyia, who, like the saint, shared her functions with other goddesses, was especially worshipped as patroness of childbearing women, the converts probably attributed her powers to the newcomer with similar name. This suggestion represents the connection between the Pagan and Christian worship in a totally different way from the statement that a new saint was made to take the place of the god.

The case of St. Elias, the conjectured successor of the sun-god Helios, has received widest notice. For this the saint's popularity must be held accountable. It would be difficult to find any spot in Greece from which one could not descry on a prominent hilltop a little white chapel dedicated to him, where at least once a year, on the 20th of July, a service is held. This hilltop saint is believed by the peasants to be lord of sunshine, rain, and thunder. In several ways these powers are indicated in his worship; the site of his chapels is the place where the sun shines longest from its rising to its setting, and where rain is first seen and felt. The date of the festival, during the most intense heat, points to a propitiation of the sun-god, while the character of the popular celebrations confirms these

[1] Roscher's *Lexicon*, *s.v.* 'Eileithyia.'
[2] Bybilakis, *Neug. Leben*, p. 2. [3] Schmidt, *Volksleben*, p. 28.
[4] Pausanias, i. 18. 5. [5] Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. p. 177.

ideas. On the island of Kastellorizo,[1] for example, the festival of St. Elias is celebrated by the performance of a rain-charm wrought through the imitative magic of vicarious drenching. In the morning all the children throw each other into the sea, and later on old men and young join with them, until no person clad in dry clothes can walk through the streets with impunity. Those who resist are dealt with by strong fishermen. This compulsory bathing continues till Vespers, and then the bells call the drenched multitudes to church. The town itself looks as if a heavy rain-storm had fallen. And then the dwellers on that island, where drought causes the greatest suffering, pray to St. Elias for a good wet season. In certain other districts the saint is honoured by a fire-festival or sun-charm,[2] by which the quickening process of the sun-fire on vegetation is represented, and supplications are made to St. Elias for sunshine for the crops. Thus on his feast day, the summit of Mount Taygetos, dedicated to St. Elias, is the scene of a great bonfire,[3] which the villages of the Spartan plain take as a signal for similar celebrations on their part. Throughout the land, at all times of need, prayers for rain or sunshine are offered to this saint.

In this modern St. Elias, the nature-saint of the Greek Calendar credited with power over the elements, is embodied the popular conception of the biblical prophet who brought rain to the famine-stricken land, called down fire to consume his own sacrifice, and was in the end taken up in a chariot of fire with horses of fire. To converts, who had previously worshipped the sun-god with his four-horse chariot of fire, the name and attributes of the saint would suggest Helios, and it seems reasonable to attribute to this association of pagan ideas the development of that aspect of St. Elias which corresponds so closely to the conception of the old gods of nature. Further, the representations of the saint, by their strong suggestion of pagan pictures of the sun, point also to some interdependence. For instance, in the little church of St. Elias on the summit of the pass between Livadia and St. Luke's monastery is a rough ikon[4] depicting the saint's ascent to heaven in his chariot drawn by flaming horses, which might well pass for the sun-god in his course through the heavens; and the same is true of a relief in the Louvre.[5]

[1] Ἑστία, 1889, p. 63. [2] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, pp. 245 *sqq.*
[3] Polites, Ὁ Ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημώδεις μύθους, p. 45.
[4] R. M. Dawkins, *op. cit.* xv. No. 1, p. 5.
[5] Reinach, *Catalogue des Musées du Louvre*, i. p. 117.

Any connection between St. Elias and Helios is denied by some writers[1] on the ground that the popularity of the two cults does not correspond, and that the distinguishing characteristic of St. Elias, his hilltop worship, does not belong to Helios. But the fact that St. Elias is more widely worshipped than Helios ever was, does not exclude the possibility of a connection; for, as in other cases, the assimilation may at first have been purely local, according to the districts where Helios was known. Then the conception of this nature-saint, popular through his usefulness, would spread abroad, and chapels would be built for him, not only where altars of Helios had stood, but in all parts. Yet so far from its being the case, as Delehaye[1] states, that 'the cult of Helios was, in the end, almost completely absorbed in that of Apollo,' the sun-god actually gained in importance during the last centuries of Paganism, the time when Christianity came into contact with the old gods. Helios was connected with the great god Mithras,[2] and Constantine[3] gave strong support to the cult. Further, while we have no evidence that Helios was, as a general rule, worshipped on mountain summits, his cult on Mount Taletum[4] is important, for it is probable that that peak of Taygetos is identical with Mount St. Elias. Taletum rose above Bryseae, a village located between Sklavochorio and Hagios Joannes, on which Mount St. Elias now looks down. There is thus a probability that here the cult of Helios was succeeded by that of St. Elias on the hilltop; and the example of this important centre would certainly be imitated in other parts of the country, by the building of chapels for the saint on similar sites. The influence of Mount Carmel would also be considerable; that mountain became known as Mount St. Elias, and behind the high altar in the chapel is shown the grotto in which St. Elias is said to have dwelt. Pilgrimages to this place have always been made, and on return home pilgrims would in many cases piously erect a local Carmel, dedicating the chapel to the saint.

But it is surely of minor importance whether the situation of his churches is to be attributed to pagan influence, or, according to peasants' traditions, to the chasing of the prophet by Mahomet,[5] or to an alleged

[1] Schmidt, *Das Volksleben*, p. 39; Delehaye, *Légendes Hagiographiques*, p. 197.
[2] Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* p. 1596, note 1. [3] *Ibid.* p. 1647.
[4] Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 20. 4.
[5] Polites, Παραδόσεις, i. No. 208. 'Mahomet was pursuing St. Elias and could overtake him on the level ground, but he could not follow him to the hilltops. So the saint found a refuge there. For that reason there are his chapels on all the hilltops.'

distaste for the sea on the part of the saint,[1] or to the Bible story. Delehaye[2] finds the last to be an adequate explanation, but he agrees that St. Elias may probably have succeeded some pagan divinity of unknown identity. Since, apart from the hilltop characteristic, the evidence points to the influence of Helios coming through both the nomenclature and attributes of the saint, there is no reason for seeking a connection with some other pagan god. The case resembles the preceding instances, with the difference that the saint suggested the god not only in name but in story, and the influence of this similarity gave outstanding importance to his powers as lord of the elements—a point of view which might be admitted by Delehaye, for he allows the occasional influence of pagan ideas.[3]

These are the chief examples of modern Greek saints, whose nomenclature points to the presence of some pagan element. Their character has developed, and received distinguishing features in the course of time, under the influence of prevailing pagan beliefs attached to the former gods with similar names. The inherent paganism is due to the same power by which superstitions and legends are perpetuated, the natural imagination of the people, and not to any policy of conversion adopted by the church.

MARY HAMILTON.

[1] *Ibid.* i. No. 207. 'St. Elias had been a sailor, but left the sea repenting of the evil life he had led. Others say he left because of the hardships he had suffered. He determined to go where it was not known what the sea or boats were. Shouldering an oar, he went on asking people what it was. When he came to the top of a hill he was told it was wood. He saw that they had never seen boats or the sea, and he stayed on the hilltops.'

[2] Delehaye, *op. cit.* p. 197.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 195. 'Je ne veux point nier que parfois la dévotion populaire se soit laissé impregner en certains endroits du souvenir encore vivant des anciennes superstitions, et qu'elle ait souvent profondément modifié la physionomie de certains saints.'

DAMOPHON OF MESSENE.—II.

(PLATES XII—XIV.)

§ 1.—THE RESTORATION OF THE GROUP AT LYCOSURA.

OUR information as to Damophon's work at Lycosura is derived partly from Pausanias, and partly from the actual remains of the group. All the existing fragments have now been collected together in the newly-erected museum at Lycosura, and the gratitude of archaeologists is due to the Greek Archaeological Society, and to Dr. Kavvadias, the Ephor-General of Antiquities, for the opportunity thus afforded of seeing all the fragments together under one roof. During the last summer M. Kaloudes has added to his many services in the cause of Greek archaeology the partial restoration of two of the colossal members of the group, under the direction of Dr. Kourouniotis, Ephor of Antiquities for the Western Peloponnese. I am personally indebted to the Greek authorities for the opportunity of studying the fragments before, during, and since this restoration, and of publishing the results of my observations. The conclusions are in many cases the result of the suggestions of Dr. Kourouniotis, whom I have to thank most heartily for the loan of most of the photographs illustrating this article, and also for the whole section dealing with the technical construction of the group. The drawing in which our ideas are embodied is the work of Mr. Ogilvie of Cairo, who spent ten days with me in Lycosura this autumn for the purpose of making it.

From Pausanias[1] we gather that four figures were represented:

[1] viii. 37. 3–6 *θεῶν δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀγάλματα, Δέσποινα καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ τε καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐν ᾧ καθέζονται, καὶ τὸ ὑπόθημα τὸ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστιν ἑνὸς ὁμοίως λίθου· καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἑσθῆτι οὔτε ὁπόσα*

Demeter and Despoina seated in the centre on a large throne, while Artemis stood on Demeter's right hand, and Anytos on Despoina's left. The same writer further states that Artemis held a torch in her right hand and two snakes in her left, that she was clad in a deerskin and had a quiver on her shoulder, and finally that a hunting dog was lying at her feet. Demeter, he continues, held a torch in her right hand, and laid her left upon Despoina; the latter held the sacred basket on her lap with her right hand and a sceptre in her left. The group was completed by Anytos, the Titan, in the guise of a warrior. Demeter, Despoina, their throne and their footstool were all carved out of a single block of marble. Under the images were represented the Kouretes, and the Korybantes in relief upon the pedestal (Plate XII).

Although in such a fantastic detail as the legend of a single block of marble,[1] it does not take more than a glance at the remains to see the error of Pausanias, we have no reason to doubt his statements as to the position and attributes of the statues, which must be taken as the basis of any restoration.

We are presented with three factors in the group: on the left (adopting the spectator's point of view) a statue of Artemis, in the centre the two great goddesses seated on a single throne with a footstool under their feet, and on the right a statue of Anytos.

In commencing our restoration it is first essential to consider the

εἴργασται παρὰ τὸν θρόνον οὐδέν ἐστιν ἑτέρου λίθου προσεχὲς σιδήρῳ καὶ κόλλῃ, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν εἷς λίθος. οὗτος οὐκ ἐσεκομίσθη σφίσιν ὁ λίθος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ὄψιν ὀνείρατος λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὴν γῆν ὀρύξαντες. τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων ἐστὶν ἑκατέρου μέγεθος κατὰ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἄγαλμα μάλιστα τῆς Μητρός· Δαμοφῶντος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα. ἡ μὲν οὖν Δημήτηρ δᾷδα ἐν δεξιᾷ φέρει, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν χεῖρα ἐπιβέβληκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Δέσποιναν· ἡ δὲ Δέσποινα σκῆπτρόν τε καὶ (τὴν) καλουμένην κίστην ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχει. τῆς δὲ ἔχεται τῇ δεξιᾷ (τῆς κίστης). τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν Ἄρτεμις μὲν παρὰ τὴν Δήμητρα ἕστηκεν ἀμπεχομένη δέρμα ἐλάφου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φαρέτραν ἔχουσα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν λαμπάδα ἔχει, τῇ δὲ δράκοντας δύο. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν κατάκειται κύων, οἷαι θηρεύειν εἰσὶν ἐπιτήδειοι. πρὸς δὲ τῆς Δεσποίνης τῷ ἀγάλματι ἕστηκεν Ἄνυτος σχῆμα ὡπλισμένου παρεχόμενος· φασὶ δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τραφῆναι τὴν Δέσποιναν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνύτου, καὶ εἶναι τῶν Τιτάνων καλουμένων καὶ τὸν Ἄνυτον. Τιτᾶνας δὲ πρῶτος ἐς ποίησιν ἐσήγαγεν Ὅμηρος, θεοὺς εἶναι σφᾶς ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ταρτάρῳ· καὶ ἔστιν ἐν Ἥρας ὅρκῳ τὰ ἔπη. παρὰ δὲ Ὁμήρου Ὀνομάκριτος παραλαβὼν τῶν Τιτάνων τὸ ὄνομα Διονύσῳ τε συνέθηκεν ὄργια, καὶ εἶναι τοὺς Τιτᾶνας τῷ Διονύσῳ τῶν παθημάτων ἐποίησεν αὐτουργούς. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἄνυτον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λέγεται· Δήμητρος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ οὐ Λητοῦς, ὄντα Αἰγυπτίων τὸν λόγον Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδαξεν Εὐφωρίωνος τοὺς Ἕλληνας. τὰ δὲ ἐς Κούρητας, οὗτοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων πεποίηνται, καὶ τὰ ἐς Κορύβαντας ἐπειργασμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου, γένος δὲ οἵδε ἀλλοῖον καὶ οὐ Κούρητες, τὰ ἐς τούτους παρίημι ἐπιστάμενος.

[1] Cf. also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 37, for a similar story with regard to the Laocoon. The fable is also related of the Farnese bull.

pedestal or basis as it exists at present in the temple of Lycosura. Fig. 1 gives a plan of this basis. It is shaped like the top of a T with the vertical shaft measuring 3·85 m. in width, and 1·26 m. in height, from front to back, and the horizontal wings 2·275 m. by 2·40 m. The total width at the back is 8·40 m. These measurements refer to the foundation course on which the moulded pedestal stands.[1] The mouldings are shown in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 119, Fig. 7. The total height of the basis as at present existing is 1·42 m. It is constructed of a core of roughly hewn reddish blocks with a good limestone facing all the way round. The top surface is much damaged (cf. Fig. 1, and the illustrations in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 112, Figs. 1 and 2), but the highest slabs remaining of the core are flush with the top sill-course of the limestone facing.

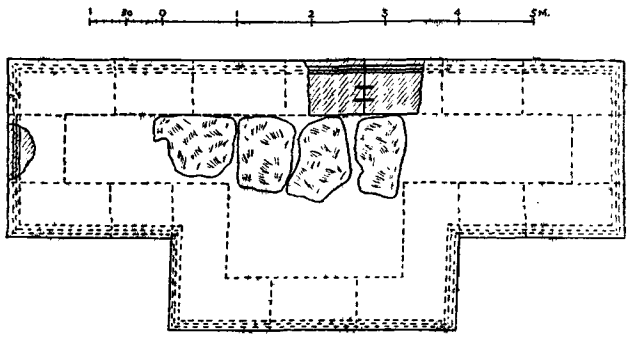


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF BASE OF STATUES IN TEMPLE AT LYCOSURA. (SCALE 1 : 100.)

The top of this pedestal can hardly have been the actual surface on which the statues stood: in the case of the seated figures the throne and footstool would conceal the rough stones, but the side-figures would stand on a parti-coloured base, and even if they were provided with square plinths of their own, the red stone would still appear between them and the central group. Moreover, if the throne rested directly on the present surface, one would expect large dowel-holes for fixing it, but no signs of holes or insets appear on the actual preserved surface. We may therefore take it for granted that a thin marble or limestone slab extended all over the basis and served as the plinth of the statues. Its convenient shape

[1] The top of the existing basis is set back about ·18 m. from the outside of the base course. The top of the restored plinth would be set back about ·25 m., so that the total width of the top of the back would only be about 7·90 m.

would account for its disappearance, but just at the back of the temple is still to be found a fragment of a good limestone slab which may have formed part of it. In the restoration we have given this slab a thickness of ·08 m.

We have no definite evidence for the width of the throne or for its depth from back to front. The shape of the basis, however, shews that the central projection was intended for the feet and footstool of the seated figures, and so it is natural to construct the throne as rather wider than the upper surface of this projection. A width of 3·85 m. provides comfortable accommodation for the sitting figures, while leaving a proportionate space for Artemis and Anytos. As to the depth of the throne, we have made a line, drawn through the centre of the back part of the basis from left to right, pass through the centre of all the four figures, and have regulated the position of the throne and of the footstool to suit the two goddesses seated in that position.

FIG. 2.—LOWER HALF OF THRONE-LEG.

When we come to the height of the seat and the construction of the throne we tread on firmer ground. The slab of marble[1] reproduced in Fig. 2 is clearly part of the leg of a throne; a reference to other thrones leaves this incontestable. The museum at Lycosura contains several other fragments of this description, in particular one which is precisely similar in scale and design, but has the addition of a rosette above the palmette appearing in both. There is also a similar rosette, and a fourth fragment with palmette and no rosette, besides some small fragments. A comparison with other thrones and couches[2] shews that the legs

[1] Figured in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 116, Fig. 5.

[2] Several examples of thrones and couches may be seen in Furtwängler's *Vasenmalerei*, *e.g.* Plates 4, 5, 20, 84, 88, and 90. Cf. also C. L. Ransom, *Studies in Ancient Furniture*, Chicago, 1905.

were usually made of two such marble slabs, joined at the narrow end and decorated with rosettes on the upper half only. All our fragments are on the same scale: thus we have at Lycosura the fragments of two throne-legs, each consisting of two slabs of equal size. None of the fragments can belong to back legs, because all have slots at the back clearly destined to receive the cross-bars from back to front. It is possible that the back legs, being practically invisible to the spectator, were not sculptured with similar detail. The slots are not identical in width, but the complete one on the back of the half leg shewn in Fig. 2 is ⌐-shaped, the vertical arm measuring ·47 m. by ·09 m. and the horizontal arm ·16 m. by 10 m.; the vertical arm is in the centre of the throne-leg. The fragment of throne-leg with the rosette is broken off ·08 m. from the top, and shews

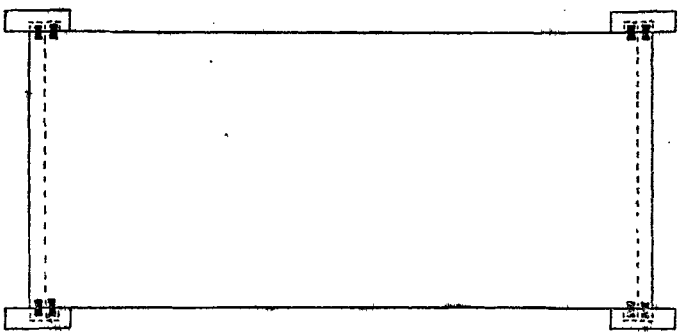


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF SEAT OF THRONE.

across the break the marks of two cramps and a dowel-hole, probably used for attaching the seat to the legs. We must imagine the cross-bars of the throne filling the vertical slot up to the bottom of the horizontal arm, and then a tenon attached to the seat fitting into the horizontal slot. The seat thus rests on the cross-bars and is attached to the legs by the tenons, and by cramps ·08 m. thick, which are flush with the surface both of seat and of leg.

The plan of the throne would then be represented by the drawing in Fig. 3. The thickness of the seat is ·25 m. and its top is 1·70 m. above the plinth of the statues. The width of the top of the legs is ·35 m. and their thickness ·11 m. Three small fragments of marble, also ·11 m. thick, shew a double volute pattern with an acanthus between, which on restoration also

attains a width of ·35 m.; these are accordingly placed, in the restoration, on the top of the legs, since their appearance is well suited to this position. Several thrones, *e.g.* that on the 'Persian' vase in Naples,[1] have a similar ornament above the leg with a moulded cornice above it, and finally a fantastic creature of some kind to support the arm.

Fig. 4 shews a fragment which can only belong to the back of the throne. We see a slab of marble covered with hanging drapery on both sides, with part of a cornice-moulding at the bottom, and part of a rectangular hole in the middle of it. Superior modelling and traces of colour

FIG. 4.—FRAGMENT OF BACK OF THRONE. (SCALE 1 : 20.)

FIG. 5.—TRITONESS FROM LYCOSURA.

shew that the side visible on the left in Fig. 4 is the front, and the other view the back. The cornice-moulding only appears at the back, being covered by drapery in front; from this we see that the piece belongs to the left side of the back as seen by the spectator. The cornice-moulding, when restored so as to have the rectangular hole directly over its centre, attains the

[1] Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Plate 88.

significant width of ·35 m. It is therefore without doubt the cornice-moulding above the volute ornaments on the back leg, and the rectangular hole is intended for the attachment of the arm to the back of the throne. The cornice is ·15 m. high and is ·56 m. below the hole. We have therefore ·56 m. in front between the cornice and the arm, and this space is just filled by one of the Tritonesses from Lycosura in the Athens Museum which measure ·52 m. in height (Fig. 5); the ·04 m. is supplied by a low plinth. Between the seat therefore and the arm in front, we have the volute ornament ·24 m. high, the cornice ·15 m. high, and the Tritoness ·56 m. high, in all ·95 m., which puts the arm in a very suitable position.

There are also traces of a cushion which covered the seat of the throne. This appears at the bottom of two pieces of the throne-back, and also in a separate piece. It varies in thickness up to about ·20 m. and where actually depressed by the figures may be calculated at about ·10 m. Allowing therefore 1·70 m. for the height of the seat and ·10 m. for the cushion, we get a total sitting height of 1·80 m. for the Great Goddesses, and if a proportionate allowance is made for the length of their legs, there is a remainder of about ·65 m. for the footstool, which does not seem excessive when compared with other examples.[1]

Of the back of the throne three large pieces exist. One of these has been alluded to already, the left-hand side, as viewed by the spectator, shewing the attachment of the arm. From this piece we see that heavy drapery was hung both behind and in front of the throne-back. Traces of paint shew that it was coloured blue. It is worked with care, since it was visible outside the figures. The drapery is an end piece, and has a tassel at the corner. On its right side are the marks of three cramps, the lowest near the top of the cornice, and the other two respectively ·40 m. and ·85 m. above the first. With these correspond exactly three cramp-marks on the left side of a high fragment of drapery 1·89 m. by ·55 m. which is shewn in Fig. 6. This piece is clearly an adjoining fragment of throne-back. It is worked deeply but roughly in front and has smooth shallow folds behind. There is no surface actually joining with the first piece, since the cramps were ⊢⊣-shaped and the break occurs across the

[1] *E.g.* a seated Zeus from Solunte, Sicily (Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. p. 14. 1), or the coin of Elis shewing the Olympian Zeus (Gardner and Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 20). Cf. also a r.-f. vase from Anzi in St. Petersburg [Stephani, *Comptes Rendus*, 1862, Pl. VI. 3; Blümner, *Gewerbe und Künste*, iii. p. 224, Fig. 36].

long arm. Most of this piece was hidden by the body of Demeter. At a height of 1·42 m. above the seat there is a dowel-hole right through it, which must have carried a rod to support the torso in front; at the corresponding place in Demeter's back there are traces of a similar hole. Another piece at Lycosura ·96 m. high and 1·53 m. wide (on the right in Fig. 6) also comes from the back of the throne, and was near the high piece, but not actually adjoining, as two dowel-holes on its left side have no corresponding incisions in the high piece. This third fragment has the same smooth shallow folds behind, but in front is quite smooth where hidden by the body of Demeter,

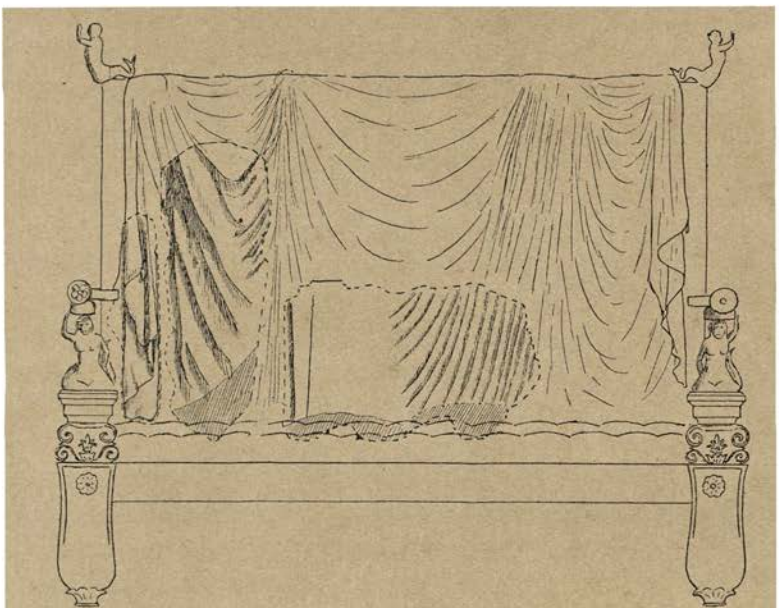


FIG. 6.—BACK OF THRONE RESTORED, SHEWING THREE EXISTING PIECES.

only shewing some transverse folds where it would be visible between the two goddesses. On its left side it has a long narrow tenon projecting, which was evidently attached in some way to Demeter's body. The backs of all these pieces are worked homogeneously and shew the outside of the cushion below the falling drapery, which proves that the throne was conceived of as having an open framework and not a solid panel behind. The thickness of this framework is ·15 m., but with the drapery it amounts to about ·20 m.

The high piece does not reach to the top of the throne. Judging from

the folds there is about ·40 m. more to be supplied. This would give the throne-back a height of about 2·30 m. above the seat, and the whole throne a height of about 4 m. (13 feet), the top coming about half-way up the heads of the seated goddesses. The estimated width of the throne, 3·85 m., is confirmed by the drapery behind, since, when drawn out, the folds cover just about the requisite amount of room for that measurement.

By means of the arms we have accounted for two of the sea-monsters in the Athens Museum. Three of these are Tritonesses of similar dimensions and appearance, while the fourth is a smaller and differently shaped Triton. For the third Tritoness we may imagine a position under the throne-arm half-way between back and front, or perhaps on the footstool, while the Triton is most suitably accounted for by making him a finial on the back of the throne as shewn in the restoration.[1] We have no recognizable trace of the footstool, and so its shape is arbitrary. Two pieces of cornice-moulding, one of which was figured with the throne-leg in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 116, have no other possible position in the throne, and so I am inclined to attribute them to the footstool, but there is no evidence for the conjecture. The language of Pausanias[2] suggests that perhaps the footstool was covered with figures in relief representing the Kouretes, in which case it was probably a long solid block as shewn in our drawing. Fig. 6 shews the throne by itself restored on the lines laid above. The three existing pieces are distinguished by a dotted outline and by deeper shading.

We may now proceed to Demeter and Despoina. Pausanias gives us the general outline of their pose. Demeter was on the left of the throne, as seen from the front, with a torch in her right hand, and her left hand laid on her neighbour, while Despoina held the sacred basket on her lap with her right hand and grasped a sceptre with her left.

The fragments in Lycosura allow us to reconstruct this group with considerable certainty. It is primarily to be remembered that the scale of the Great Goddesses is at least half as large again as that of Anytos and Artemis, so that there cannot be confusion in pieces of any considerable size.

Two large fragments of a torso are proved by the direction of the folds to belong together, and the large head in the museum at Athens can

[1] A close parallel to our throne is to be found in the illustration of a bronze from Naples in Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. p. 257, 6. It is published in Niccolini, iii. 72, Pl. 2.

[2] *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων*—this might also mean on the cross-bars of the throne, as in the case of the Zeus at Olympia; but the figures would hardly be visible in this position.

safely be attributed to the same figure from considerations of the angle of the neck, though there is no surface actually joining. Thus we have one goddess restored down to the lap. From the torso-fragments we see that this figure has the left arm extended horizontally from the shoulder, and the right lowered near the body. The head is inclined towards the left shoulder, and the body sways slightly in the same direction. There is no trace of embroidery on the veil or garments of this figure.

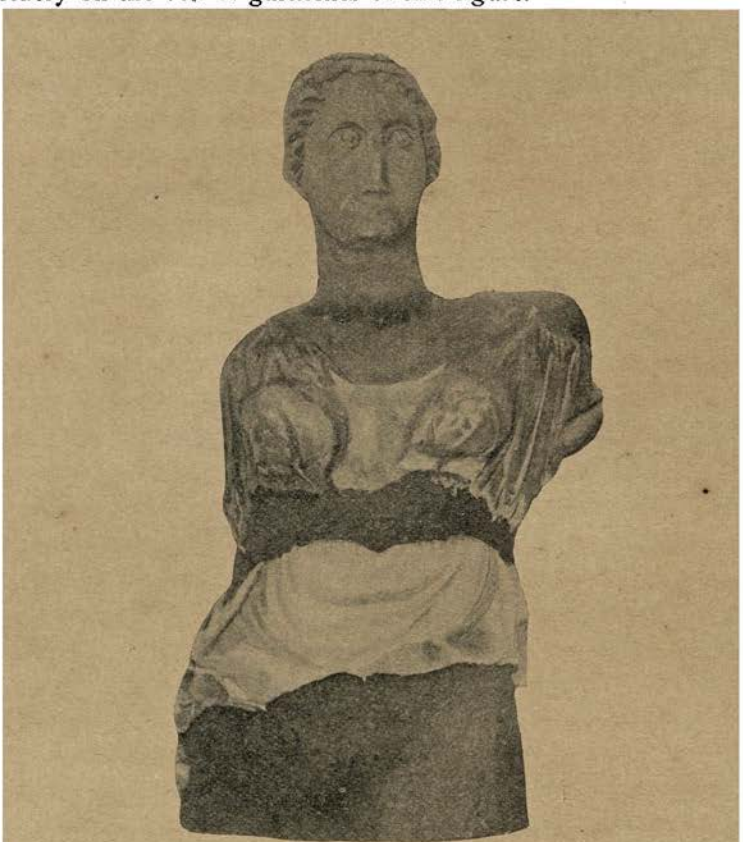
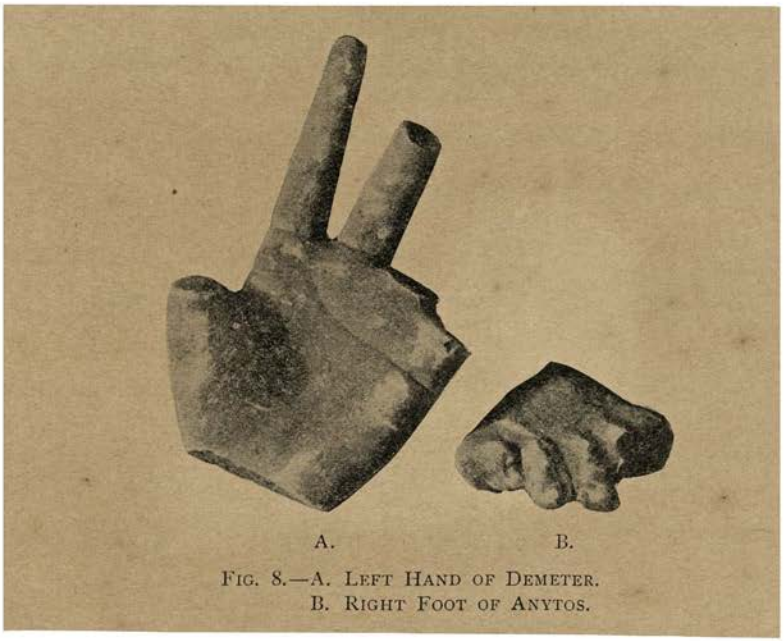


FIG. 7.—STATUE OF DEMETER AS RESTORED AT LYCOSURA.

On the other hand there exists a fragment of lap with traces of a large object resting on the right thigh, a right arm with hand holding a basket, and a fragment of veil on the right side of a head, all of which are distinguished by the presence of embroidered drapery with an identical

pattern. Head fragment, arm, and lap all clearly belong together, and they cannot belong to the other figure, because (1) the same part of the head already exists in the other figure, (2) the arm and lap cannot be made to fit. Therefore we have here the basis for the restoration of our two figures, the figure with the basket and the embroidered drapery being, as we know from Pausanias, Despoina, while the figure whose torso can be entirely restored is Demeter. Fig. 7 shews the goddess as restored in the museum



A. B.

FIG. 8.—A. LEFT HAND OF DEMETER.
B. RIGHT FOOT OF ANYTOS.

at Lycosura. The position of the left shoulder shews that her left arm rested on Despoina's shoulder. Of this arm we have no remains, but there is an open left hand on the scale of the two figures, which cannot be Despoina's, as the latter held a sceptre in her left hand. This hand is shewn in Fig. 8 A. We see from it that the arm and not the hand rested on Despoina's shoulder, and therefore it must be her right shoulder and not her left, since the arm would not reach so far. Judging from Demeter's shoulder and hand therefore, we can safely restore her left arm as resting with the forearm just above the wrist on Despoina's shoulder, and the hand as hanging loosely open in front. Confirmation of this form is provided by the drapery on Despoina's right arm (cf. Fig. 9), which is drawn across

the arm in straight folds caused by the presence of Demeter's left arm pulling them tight on the shoulder.

It is further apparent, from the line of Demeter's right shoulder and the drapery hanging from it, that the right arm was not raised from the shoulder, but hung as far as the elbow close to the side. This right arm is fortunately preserved, and since we possess Despoina's right arm, there is no doubt as to its identity. The arm is bare; it is bent at the elbow nearly to a right angle, and the half of the upper arm next to the body is cut away to allow the presence of the body drapery. Thus the pose of this arm is fixed as that given in the drawing. A piece of the wrist also exists, but the hand holding the torch has disappeared.

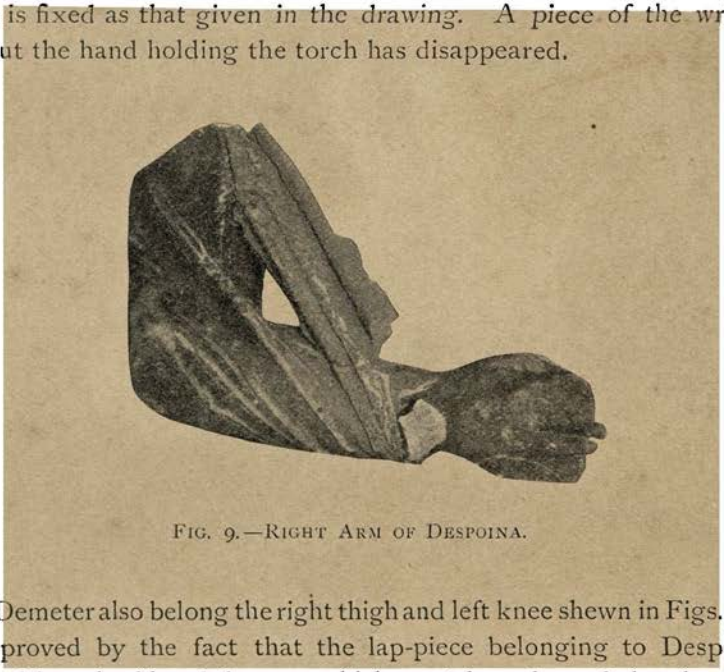


FIG. 9.—RIGHT ARM OF DESPOINA.

To Demeter also belong the right thigh and left knee shewn in Figs. 7, 24 D. This is proved by the fact that the lap-piece belonging to Despoina is covered with embroidered drapery which must have hung below her knees, while the left knee referred to shews no embroidery. From these leg pieces we see that Demeter was wearing only a single garment which fell in a deep lap between her legs; it would also seem that her legs extended nearly straight out in front of her, and the left shin, at any rate, descended fairly straight from the knee. There are also remains of a pair of bare feet of colossal scale which belong to her. Other fragments of a left foot on the same scale shew a foot wearing a sandal, and taking into consideration the greater elaboration of Despoina's drapery, it seems practically certain

that the sandalled foot belongs to her and the bare feet to Demeter. These feet are shewn in Fig. 10. They are cut off sharply at the back, so that probably the actual remains are all that projected from the bottom of the drapery. Both feet lie flat on the ground.

Two other pieces belong to Demeter, a twisted piece shewn under the torso in Fig. 7, which comes from her lap, and a large piece with an end of drapery, which cannot be placed elsewhere than as the end of her veil on her left side just above the seat.

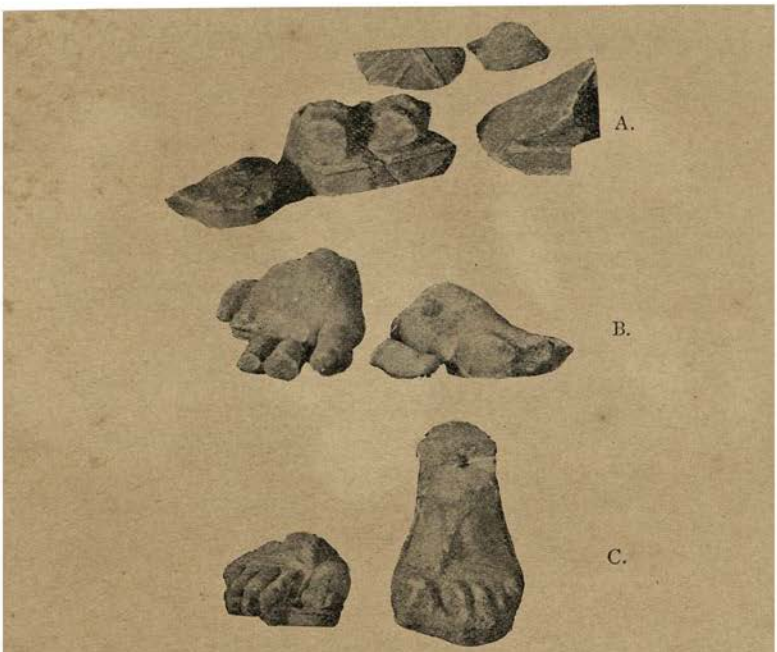
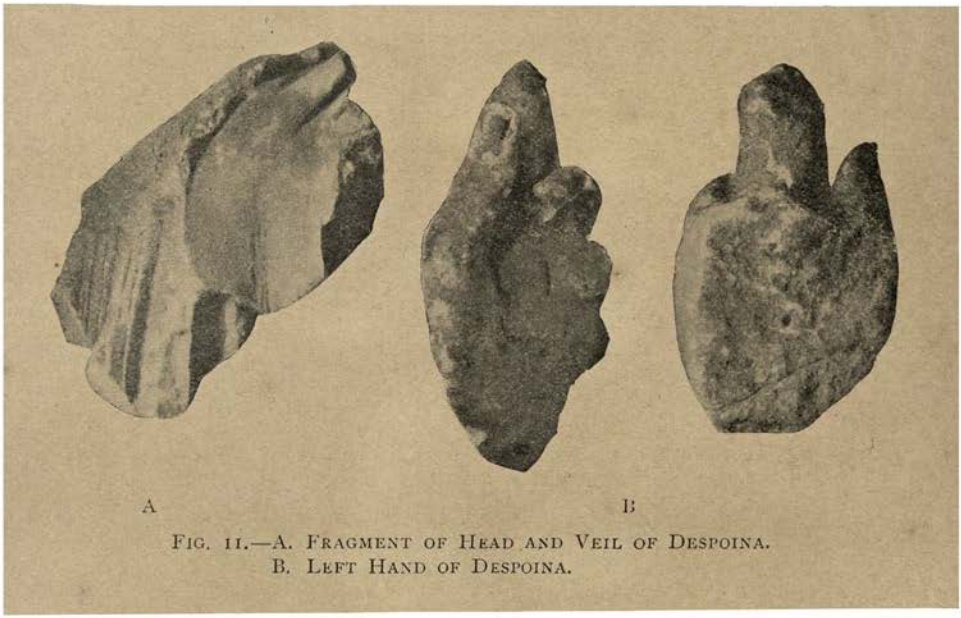


FIG. 10.—A. FRAGMENTS OF LEFT FOOT OF DESPŒINA.
B. FEET OF DEMETER.
C. FEET OF ARTEMIS.

From the fragments described above we see that the goddess was clad in a simple Doric chiton without *diplois* or *kolpos*, pinned twice on the shoulders, as shewn in the restoration, and girt with a belt round the waist, of which so small a portion survives that its decoration, if any, cannot be recovered. Her feet were bare. Her long hair, drawn back in rolls over the head, fell in two locks upon her shoulders and is confined by a circlet, the upper edge of which is studded with little holes, still containing

remains of bronze.[1] These remains undoubtedly belong to a diadem of rays such as is frequently seen in representations of Demeter on vase-paintings. At the back of the diadem a veil fell in simple folds behind her back. Actually her back is hollow and the veil stops at her shoulders, but this would not be visible from in front. The ends of the veil fell on each side of her body. The end on her left side preserved in the museum is shewn in the drawing. We have also the actual tip of the veil on her right side lying on the cushion, in the cushion fragment mentioned above. The restored torch is copied from the Eleusinian relief in Athens.



A B

FIG. 11.—A. FRAGMENT OF HEAD AND VEIL OF DESPOINA.
B. LEFT HAND OF DESPOINA.

There are no traces of colour visible on this statue. The eyes were not inserted like those of Artemis and Anytos, but are sculptured in the marble; the pupils are indicated by incised lines.

Despoina is unfortunately represented by very few fragments. These consist of the following :—

A fragment of head and veil (Fig. 11 A).

The right arm (Fig. 9).

The lap close to the body (Fig. 12).

[1] Eighteen of these holes now exist, but when the head was intact there were probably twenty-one. They are ·035 m. to ·05 m. apart, and the bronze spikes vary from ·003 m. to ·008 m. in diameter.

Pieces of neck shewing veil and chiton (Fig. 13).
The left hand with the sceptre (Fig. 11 B).
Part of the left foot wearing a sandal (Fig. 10 A).
Several pieces of embroidered drapery (Figs. 14, 15 and Plate XIV).
The nose.

From these fragments we gather the following evidence as to pose. From the fragment of lap it appears that the thighs started out straight from the body, and that the embroidered drapery fell over the knees. The flatness of the left foot suggests that the position of the feet was regular and symmetrical with the position of Demeter's. The right arm actually exists holding the basket, and we can see the marks of its attachment on the right thigh. The left held the sceptre, and the existing hand (Fig. 11), with thumb and forefinger (which is broken and

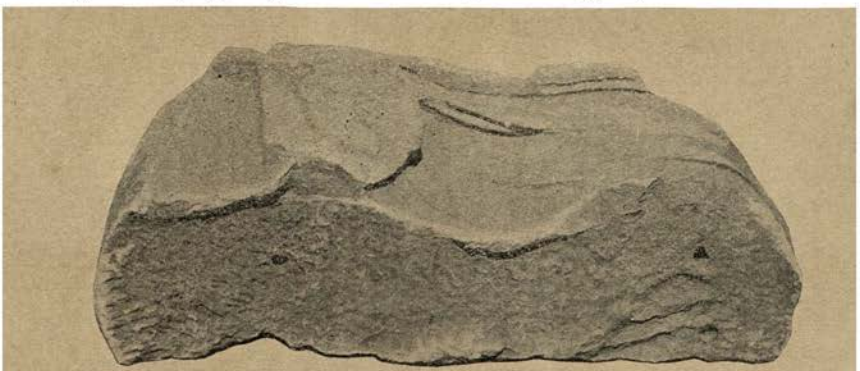


FIG. 12.—LAP OF DESPOINA.

invisible in the illustration) along the axis of the sceptre, proves that if the sceptre were a long one and therefore held vertically, not horizontally, the hand must have been raised in the manner shewn in our drawing. The evidence of analogy in favour of a long sceptre[1] is strong enough to make this position practically certain, apart from an argument with regard to the drapery which will be adduced later.

From these fragments we see that Despoina was clad in a chiton with a small embroidered border round the neck (Fig. 13), and with short sleeves which were confined with strings under the armpits (this appears from the

[1] Cf. the many scenes on the late Italian vases shewing Demeter and Koré enthroned.

fragment of sleeve on the existing right arm). She also wore a circlet like Demeter, but her hair did not fall in long locks; it seems to have been confined in a handkerchief like that worn by Peitho in the Parthenon frieze (cf. Fig. 11). Over the circlet fell the veil, part of which is seen also in Fig. 11. This veil fragment shews the same pattern that is on the arm drapery, the drapery on the lap, and the large fragment in the Athens Museum, and it therefore appears that all these pieces, and others more fragmentary in the Lycosura Museum, belonged to a great embroidered veil, and neither to the chiton, which shews a different pattern, nor to a himation, of which no traces exist. Fortunately the existing fragments enable us to decide the appearance and position of this veil: it was apparently a long narrow strip with two embroidered borders worked

FIG. 13.—NECK FRAGMENTS OF DESPOINA SHEWING CHITON.

on both sides. The piece in Athens shews the veil doubled over so as to bring both borders close together; where it appears on the lap of the goddess it is also doubled. Here we see the whole pattern and the fringe of the upper border, while the lower border is to be restored as falling over the knees, and thus affording a good view of its wonderfully minute workmanship. The veil is bunched together on the right thigh under the basket, and the upper fold (for that is all which appears on the arm) is turned over the hand and brought up tightly folded over the arm as far as the shoulder, where Demeter's hand again fastens it down. We then see the upper fold pattern on the piece going over the head, so that we have to imagine only the upper fold as doubled over the hand, while the lower fold hangs behind

the back. We therefore have the veil, in so far as it covers the head, right side, and lap.

The position of the Athenian fragment is next to be considered. The peculiarity of this fragment is that it was clearly visible from two opposite sides, as appears from the minute character of the workmanship. The only mark of attachment is a narrow groove running up one of the narrow sides. It has been mentioned that this piece is folded so as to exhibit both bands of embroidery; now on the lap, the upper

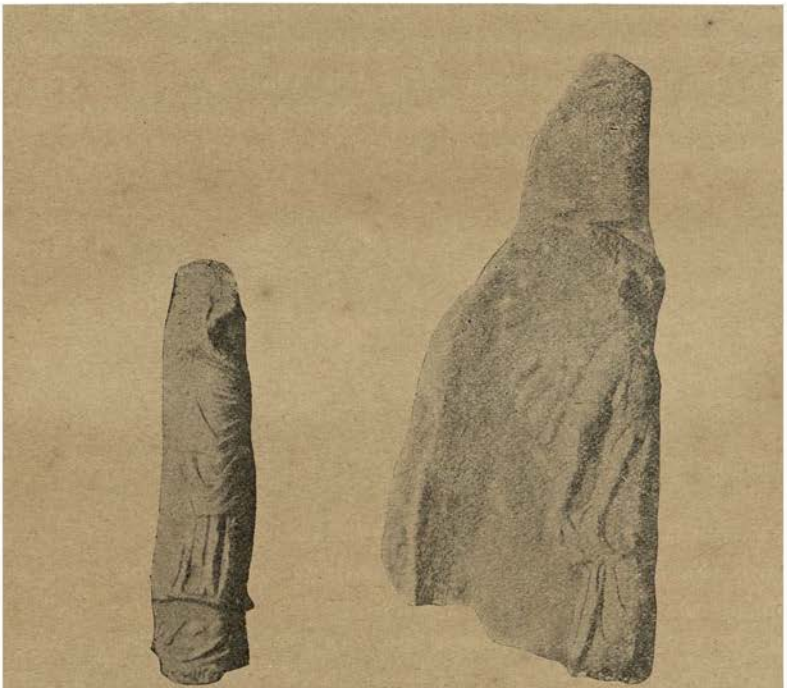


FIG. 14.—FRAGMENTS OF DESPOINA'S EMBROIDERED VEIL.

embroidery band passes flatly over the thigh and would fall in a vertical fold, whereas the folds of the Athenian fragment are horizontal. The fragment therefore cannot be placed here, but must belong to the left-hand side of the veil after it has passed over the head. From the neck fragment (Fig. 13) we see that the veil passed behind the shoulder and therefore behind the left arm, so that the only position in which the Athenian fragment could possibly be visible would be if it were caught up by the left

hand holding the sceptre, or hung from it. In this position it can be pushed forward from the group so as to be clearly visible from three sides.

Now on examining the fragment we have seen along one narrow side a straight regular groove, whose diameter, ·075 m., agrees with that of the fragment of sceptre in Despoina's hand; furthermore the fragment is so bunched together at the top as to suggest that it was held above by a hand; also it will be found impossible to let it merely fall over the wrist in any way which will preserve the shape of the Athenian fragment with the two bands horizontal instead of vertical: the drapery then must have been gripped by the hand. It cannot be held by the lower part of the hand between sceptre and palm, (1) because there is no trace of drapery on the existing hand (Fig. 11 B and C), and (2) because the groove of the

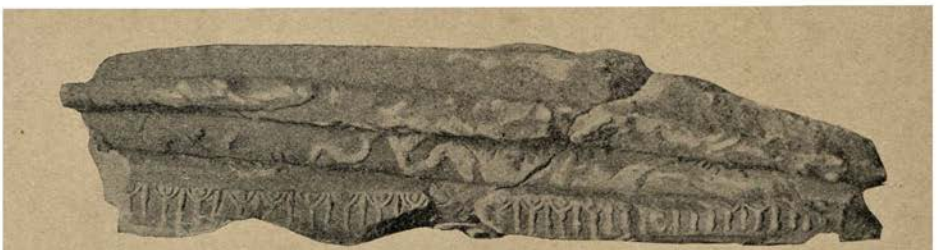


FIG. 15.—FRAGMENT OF EMBROIDERED VEIL FROM DESPOINA'S RIGHT ARM.

sceptre does not run regularly right up the drapery, but leaves it a little way from the top, *i.e.* there was something between the sceptre and the top of the drapery. This something can only be the hand itself holding the sceptre and an end of the drapery between thumb and first finger, in such a way that the end lies in the palm under the sceptre, while the drapery hangs over the back of the hand. A glance at Fig. 11 C, which gives the back of the hand, shews that the hand is cut away and has two holes for the insertion of dowels. This is for the purpose of affixing the drapery, which will fall over the back of the hand, and then spreading, fall round the sceptre. This is actually the only way in which it is possible by experiment upon a model to produce the exact appearance of the folds on the Athenian fragment.

The veil therefore is drawn as falling in a wide sweep from the head, with the end caught up in the left hand as described.

No traces of colour survive on the Athenian fragment, but the head-piece in Lycosura shews traces of red, and the handkerchief which appears in the same piece was also coloured red (Fig. 11 A). The pattern of the embroidery on the border of Despoina's chiton is different, being a band of lyre-shaped ornaments separated by rosettes (cf. Fig. 13). A further detail of her costume is the sandals, which are of the same type as those worn by Artemis (cf. Fig. 10 A and C), and were coloured red also. The

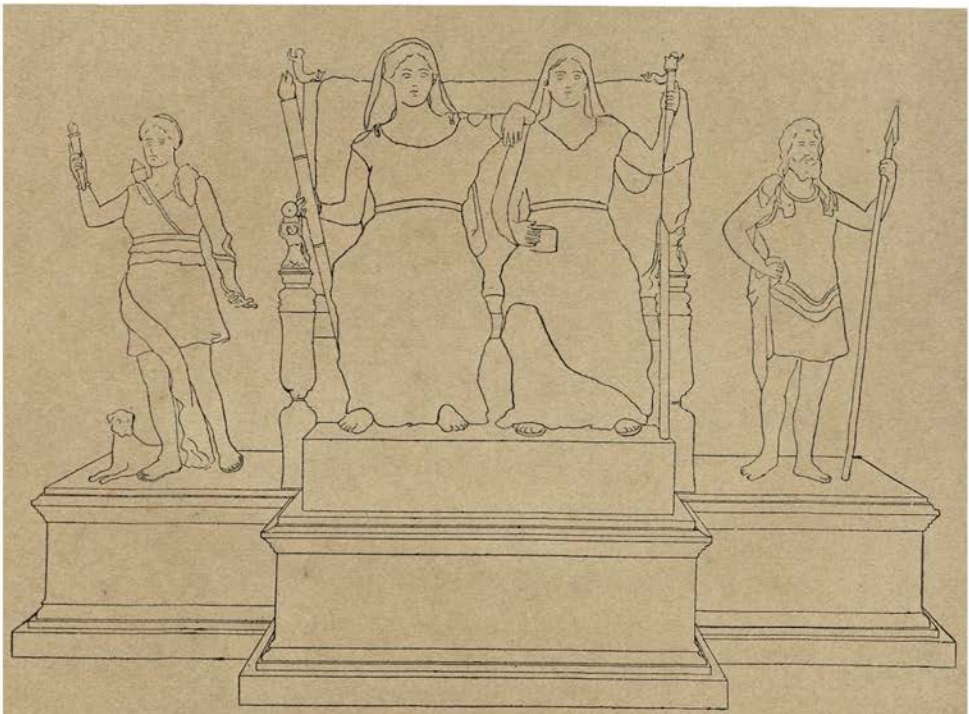


FIG. 16.—RESTORATION OF GROUP WITHOUT PLINTHS FOR SIDE FIGURES.

sceptre which is needed to complete the restoration of the central group is copied from the Eleusinian relief in Athens.

We have therefore now accounted for the central group and their throne and can turn to the attendant figures, Artemis and Anytos.

These, as we know from Pausanias, stood on Demeter's right and Despoina's left respectively. The fragments shew that they were on a much smaller scale, the height of their heads being only ·46 m. as compared

with ·67 m. in the case of Demeter. This head measurement gives them a total height of about 3·70 m. (just over 12 feet), which is practically equal to the sitting height of Demeter and Despoina. Thus, if all were standing on a level, their heads would be about the same height. But, as we have seen, Demeter and Despoina have the advantage of a footstool ·65 m. high. We are therefore at once faced by the question whether the side figures stood on the plinth on which the throne rests, or were elevated by bases to a height nearly proportionate to that of the seated goddesses. This question is really almost settled by an experimental drawing like that shewn in Fig. 16. When the attendant figures are placed so far below the

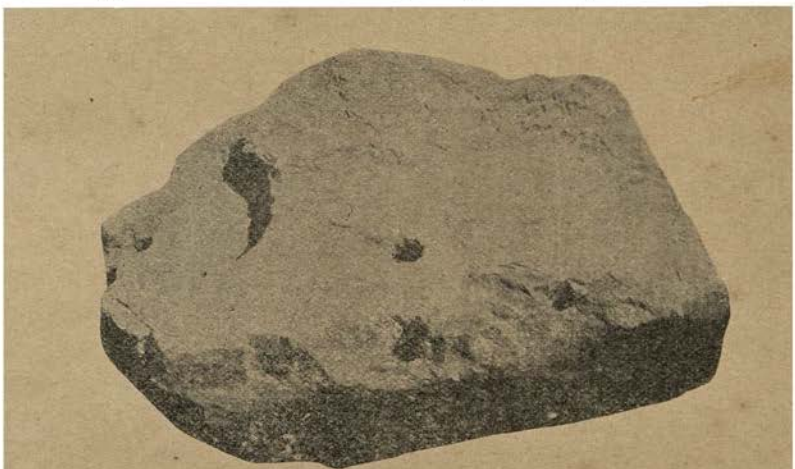


FIG. 17.—(?) PLINTH BLOCK LYING NEAR TEMPLE.

throne, the difference in scale produces in them an effect of exaggerated diminutiveness, which is wholly unconvincing. On the other hand, if their heads are raised to an actual level with those of Demeter and Despoina, an unwieldy base is required, and a top-heavy effect is produced in the group. In the restored drawing we have adopted a *via media*, and placed the attendant figures on low bases about ·40 m. high. It is not impossible that a block found near the temple (Fig. 17), and corresponding to our drawing in height, is part of such a basis. On the left side a sinking may be observed, which suggests that the block was a basis for a colossal statue.

Assuming then the existence of a basis of this kind for each of the

attendant figures we may proceed to the restoration of the statues themselves.

As to Artemis we know her costume and attributes from Pausanias:—a deerskin and quiver, a torch in the right hand, two snakes in the left, and a hunting dog at her feet. In existing fragments Artemis is the richest of all the four figures, and we are able to reconstruct her position with practical certainty. We possess her head, three fragments of her neck, a large part of her torso, and of both arms, both knees, a piece of her left shin, and both feet. The evidence of these fragments is as follows: the right foot is flat, and the knee bent, while the left foot is raised on the toes, and the knee is nearly straight. This gives the position of the right leg as standing forward with the knee slightly bent, while the left leg is being drawn after it, *i.e.* we have really a momentary pose in arrested motion and not a position of rest. This is confirmed by the agitation of the drapery, and the position of the himation, which will be referred to later. Of the torso enough is left to reconstruct the drapery. The head turns towards the left shoulder. Of the right arm we have part of the shoulder shewing angle of arm to body, and part of the upper arm shewing the angle of the elbow, also the right hand holding the torch. The left arm exists entire from below the shoulder to the wrist, and part of the hand holding the serpents is also preserved; dowel-holes on the lower arm shew that the serpents were coiled round it.[1] Fig. 18 shews

FIG. 18.—ARTEMIS AT LYCOSURA.

[1] Hitzig and Blümner, *Pausanias*, vol. iii. p. 252, in a note on viii. 37. 4, suggest a possibility that the hand holding the snakes belongs to Despoina, while Artemis held not snakes but darts, ἄκοντας δύο instead of δράκοντας δύο. In answer to this we may explain (1) that Despoina's right hand holding the *cista* is perfect enough to shew that she held nothing more; (2) that the fragment found, and probably holding snakes, is shewn by its scale to belong to Artemis; (3) that dowel-holes on the arm shew that the object or objects held in Artemis' left hand curled round her lower arm.

the restored head and torso in the museum of Lycosura, and our drawing shews the pose as adduced above. The only point not certain is the exact width of the stride. This has been restrained as far as possible, to avoid too much discord with the peaceful character of the rest of the group.

The hair is treated in rolls drawn back from the forehead and confined under a ring (*Melonenfrisur*). The eye-sockets are hollow, and the eyes were inserted. The head of Anytos shews the same feature. One of the neck fragments shews the junction of the neck and right shoulder, and on the latter appears part of a mass of drapery, for which we have further evidence on a piece of the upper part of torso and left shoulder. This mass of drapery can only be the one end of a himation, of which the lower end is visible passing round the right hip towards the front of the body. The arrangement of drapery on the torso shews two edges of drapery below the belt, and yet more drapery hanging below. This presents practically an impossible arrangement of a single *chiton*; detailed examination, however, shews that the two folds below the belt are of a different material from the third fold below them. This is particularly clear on the right-hand side of the figure, where we see quite plainly the marks of a hairy hide, and, though the surface is much worn, the same marks can be followed right round the figure on these two folds. The third fold on the other hand, and the drapery above the belt are quite smooth. The interpretation therefore of this garment must be that the goddess is wearing a simple chiton girt with a belt, and a folded skin, the deerskin mentioned by Pausanias, round her waist, attached to or secured by the belt itself. It should be carefully noted that none of the skin appears above the belt so far as the surface is preserved. Below the skin on the right hip appear the horizontal folds of the himation coming round to the front; this must fall on the right leg, and then probably between the legs to the ground.

In this connection we must consider a statue from the Despuig Collection at Majorca[1] (Fig. 19). This statue, about whose sex there is some dispute, represents a figure in the attitude of our Artemis, and reproduces with considerable similarity the curious feature of the folded skin above the Doric chiton. It seems probable that it is a conscious imitation

[1] Bover, 23; Hübner, 715. Figured in Reinach, *Répertoire*, vol. ii. p. 312, No. 5. Restorations: the head, both arms from above elbow, both legs from above the knees to the lower part of the shin, and all of the dog save one paw.

of the pose of Damophon's figure, and, as we have the himation falling over the right thigh in a manner similar to that of the Artemis, we may push the resemblance further and conclude that the remainder of the himation fell in a similar fashion between the legs to the ground. The fragments of our left leg shew that no drapery touched it; therefore the drapery cannot have been blown across both legs, and we can only explain the himation fragment on the right hip, by some arrangement similar to that given in the drawing. It cannot be denied that its appearance is distinctly clumsy, but it serves at any rate one useful end, that of strengthening the pose of the figure and reinforcing the rather slender

FIG. 19.—STATUE OF ARTEMIS (?) FROM THE DESPUIG COLLECTION.
(Reproduced from Reinach, *Répertoire.*)

legs. The belt which she wears round her waist shews several small holes, doubtless for the attachment of metal ornaments. The goddess also wears a bracelet like a twisted skein on her right wrist, and a ring on the third finger of her left hand (Fig. 20 C and D); on her feet (Fig. 10 C) she wears sandals, on which traces of red colour still survive. The torch which she holds in her right hand seems to be a short one, judging from the curve of the wrist, which would bring the arm underneath it; it is also too thin to belong to the long type carried by Demeter. No remains were found of the dog which Pausanias saw at her feet, but it has

been restored from a comparison of dogs on various grave stelai in Athens. There are no traces on the torso of the strap necessary for the quiver; there is, however, room for it to pass from the right shoulder under the left breast above the existing fragments, and then to be secured under the belt.

Finally we come to Anytos, the Titan who stood on Despoina's left hand in the guise of an armed man. As to his position we have only three factors to build on: his head was turned somewhat over his right shoulder, his right foot (Fig. 8 B) was raised at the heel and therefore probably drawn back, and his right arm was bent at the elbow. In order

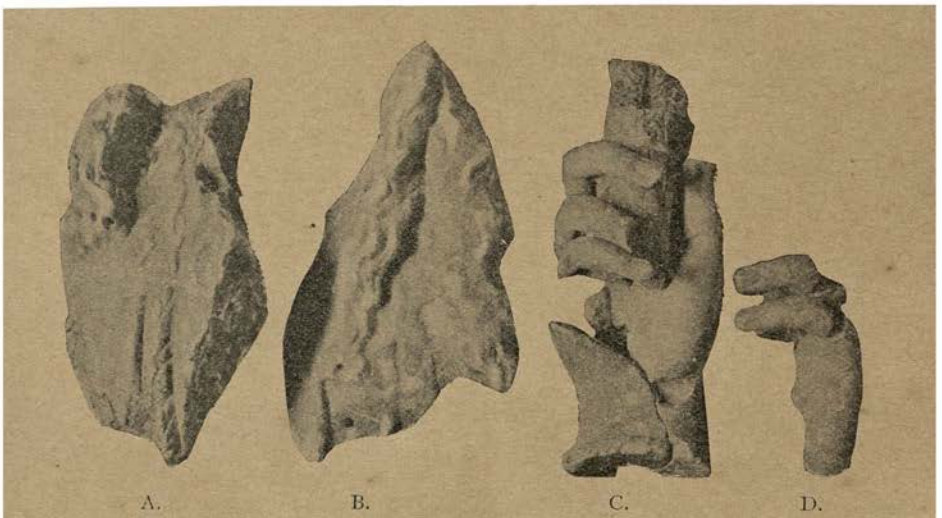


FIG. 20.—A. and B. SHOULDER FRAGMENTS OF ANYTOS.
C. RIGHT HAND OF ARTEMIS.
D. LEFT HAND OF ARTEMIS.

to balance the group, it is essential that his left rather than his right hand should be raised, and if we make him hold a spear in a typical warrior's attitude, it should be on the opposite side to the drawn-back leg or *Spielbein*. We therefore restore him with right arm bent, resting the hand on the hip, and leaning his left arm on a spear. This provides a suitable equipoise for Artemis, while the converse of the attitude would destroy the symmetry of the group.

As to his costume we are in a better position for restoration. We

possess several fragments of an elaborate cuirass, while pieces of his right shin and right foot are bare. This shews that he wore neither greaves nor sandals.

The two fragments of shoulder pieces shewn in Fig. 20 (A and B) were at first thought to belong to Despoina, but as we possess a piece of her neck shewing her embroidered chiton, and as furthermore her hair was confined by a handkerchief, we are compelled to attribute them to Anytos. Artemis and Demeter are both out of the question, the former, since her hair was short, and the latter, since her chiton was plain and her shoulders both exist elsewhere. These pieces therefore belong to Anytos, and are part of his cuirass. The material of the cuirass was probably intended

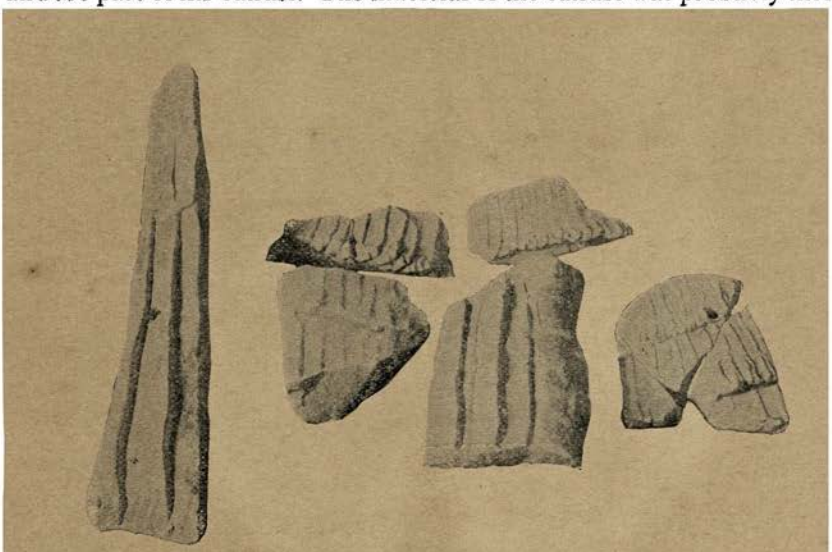


FIG. 21.—FRAGMENTS OF ANYTOS' KILTS.

to represent leather, since we have two pieces from the stomach region which reproduce the muscles of the body; but these two shoulder pieces rather suggest metal work. We should therefore perhaps recognize in them shoulder plates used for fastening the front and back pieces, and not the actual surface of the cuirass. Eleven pieces in all survive of the kilts of the cuirass, some of which are shewn in Fig. 21. There were two small fringes under the cuirass, and below them a large fringe, the estimated length of the kilt reaching to a little above the knee. The

cuirass, drawn out on this model, takes a form which is easily paralleled among examples of Hellenistic armour.[1]

Finally among the important fragments at Lycosura is a large piece of drapery (Fig. 22) complete at its right edge but continued upwards on its left side. At the back is a large tenon for affixing it to some figure, while on the right side and round on to the back, it is so well worked as to suggest that it was seen from the right side as we look at it in Fig. 22, *i.e.* it hung on the right side of some figure, and was probably carried up

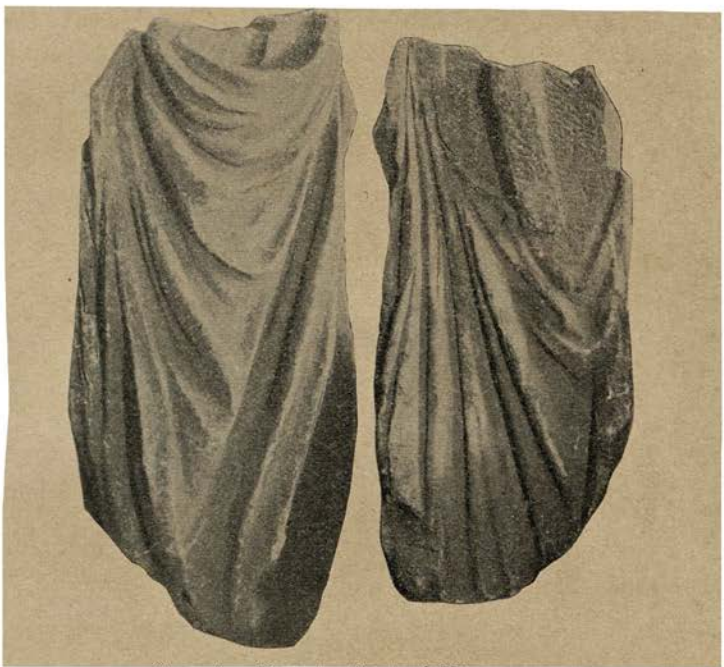


FIG. 22.—PART OF ANYTOS' HIMATION.

behind the back to the shoulder. Since this fragment can by no possible arrangement be attached to any of the other three figures, it has been

[1] *E.g.* the cuirass of Alexander on the equestrian bronze in Naples. A good example of a similar cuirass is to be found in a warrior's torso from Pergamon (*Ath. Mitt.* xxvii. 1902, pp. 152, 153). For this reference I am indebted to Mr. A. J. B. Wace. A thin slab exists at Lycosura shewing parts of two horses in relief. This may be part of an embossed pattern on the cuirass, and is represented in that position in the restoration. It is too small to restore the subject with certainty.

placed on Anytos' right side in our restoration, supported by his hand, which fitted perhaps into the hollow space above the drapery, while the tenon fitted into his hip. The other end probably rested on his right shoulder. It cannot be maintained that this position is altogether happy, but it seems the only position possible, and again it does add to one of the smaller figures that solidity which they sadly need in comparison with the seated group. Anytos' spear is wholly conjectural, and a balance to Artemis' dog might also be found by placing a helmet at his feet.

We have made use in this restoration of every considerable fragment at Lycosura (Plate XIII). A large number of smaller pieces, mostly fragments of drapery, remain unaccounted for, but not one of them suggests a change in our restored group, and a position could be found for all of them among the voluminous garments of the Great Goddesses.[1]

FIG. 23.—SMALL FRAGMENTS FOUND AT LYCOSURA.

Two further objects noticed by Pausanias are the Kouretes represented under the images, and the Korybantes sculptured in relief upon the pedestal. It has already been suggested that the Kouretes were carved in relief upon the footstool.[2] There are a number of small figures and limbs in a fragmentary condition at Lycosura (Fig. 23); some of these have

[1] It must, however, be admitted that no place has been allotted to two cornice pieces. There is no room for these pieces on the throne, but they might conceivably serve as supports to the footstool. There is a square dowel-hole existing on their upper surface set diagonally to their long axis.

[2] Hitzig and Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 253, suggest that we should read *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων*, *i.e.* on the top of the throne, since Pausanias separates the Kouretes from the Korybantes on the basis; but the top of the throne was covered with drapery save the two corners, and they do not consider the possibilities of the footstool.

probably no connection with our group, while some are perhaps part of these reliefs. The differences in scale of the fragments shew that we have to deal with several different classes of objects. As to the second remark that the Korybantes were sculptured in relief upon the base, it is probable that Pausanias was mistaken; at any rate a careful examination of the blocks of the front of the base now standing in the temple reveals no sign of the necessary dowel-holes for affixing the reliefs. Either by the base Pausanias means the narrow plinth on the top of the base, which might have had a small running frieze of the character described, or else he was misled in the dim light of the temple, and took a painted frieze for sculpture.

It only remains to consider the group in connection with the temple as a whole. The total height of goddesses, footstool, and basis amounts to about 5·80 m. or 5·90 m. (about 19 feet). In the restoration by Lykakis[1] of the elevation of the temple at Lycosura, this height would cause their heads actually to touch the roof of the temple, while their sandals would be considerably above the line of sight of the spectator. This arrangement certainly seems very clumsy, but the restoration of the group cannot be materially lowered in height. On the other hand Lykakis' restoration was made on the assumption of a fourth-century date for the temple. Taking 180 B.C. to 190 B.C. as the more probable date,[2] we should be allowed a greater height of column in proportion to diameter, and consequently a greater height for the temple itself. There need be no difficulty therefore in fitting the group into the temple, but its immense size and height above the spectator cannot have produced a wholly favourable impression.

GUY DICKINS.

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§ 2.—THE MECHANICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE GROUP. (Fig. 24.)

One imagines that Pausanias derived the story about the single block of marble, from which the group of Demeter and Despoina was constructed, from servants of the temple who were in the habit of playing on the credulity of tourists in order to enhance the miraculous nature of their sanctuary. We have already seen that both throne and statue were

[1] Cf. Πρακτικά, 1896, p. 101, Pl. 4.

[2] Cf. my former article, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 109.

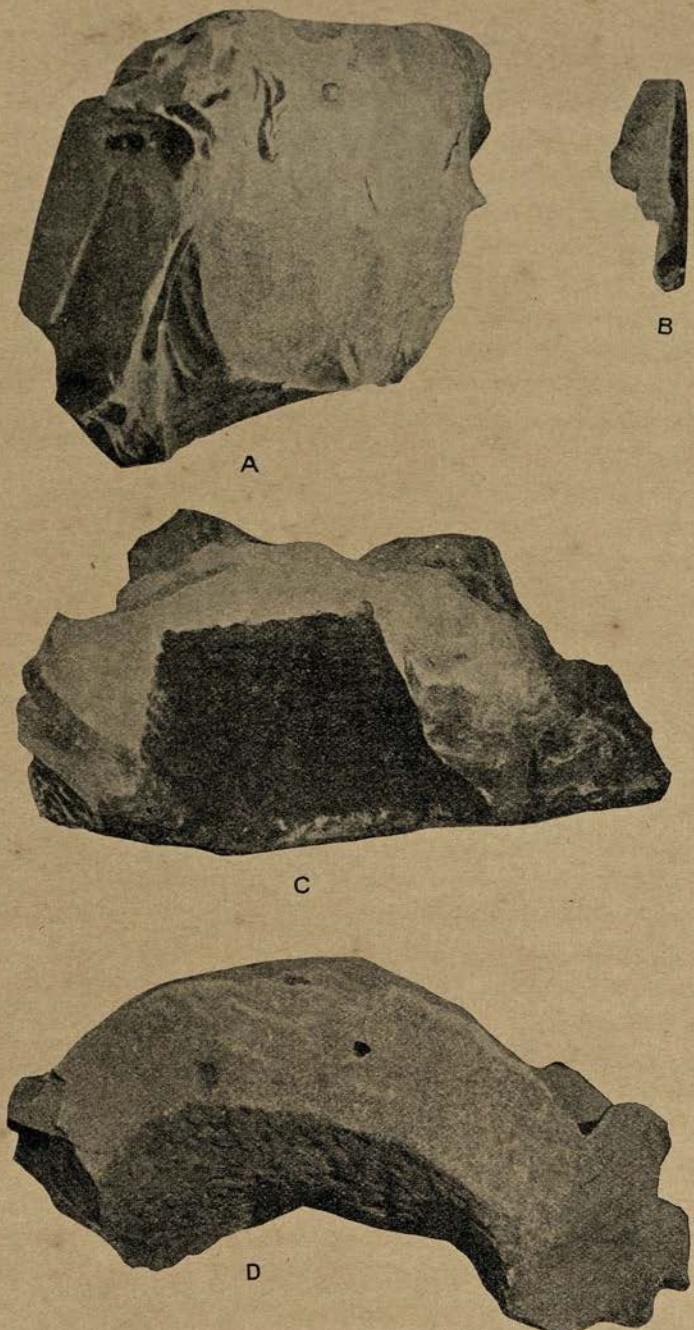

FIG 24.—A. UPPER PART OF TORSO OF DEMETER.
B. SMALL FRAGMENT OF DRAPERY WITH TENON FOR INSERTION.
C. VIEW OF A FROM UNDERNEATH.
D. LOWER PART OF TORSO OF DEMETER VIEWED FROM ABOVE.

C C

constructed of many independently worked pieces joined sometimes by iron and lead dowels and sometimes probably by cement, the very methods of construction in fact specifically denied by Pausanias.

The torso of Demeter as restored in the Museum of Lycosura is constructed of three separate pieces: the head, the upper part of the torso, whose lower edge, now broken away, originally reached as far as the belt, and the lower part of the torso from the belt to the seat. The upper edge of this lower piece is flat, and has a hole in the centre (Fig. 24 D) with a diameter of ·025 m. and a depth of ·10 m.; this hole served for the insertion of a pin connecting the lower part of the torso with the upper part (Fig. 24 C). Unfortunately the lower edge of the upper part is not preserved; the lower surface of the lower part is also broken away except for one small piece on the left side, from which we see that it was flat and sloped slightly inwards, thus giving the present inclination of the body. Demeter's head and neck were also made in a separate piece and fixed on to the torso with an iron dowel, of which we still see the hole on the top of the torso fragment. The arms were also separately worked, and the right arm was attached to the body with two metal dowels which fitted into the two large holes visible below the shoulder in Fig. 24 A. These holes, ·48 m. and ·38 m. in length, extend at divergent angles into the body from a common larger hole on the surface. The surface of the body on this side was also worked in two planes to accommodate a similar division on the arm. Further support was provided by two small rectangular holes on the front and back of the shoulder, also visible in Fig. 24 A. The left arm did not need so much support, since it rested on Despoina's shoulder; we find therefore only one dowel-hole in the armpit, ·32 m. deep and ·04 m. in diameter, and a smaller hole with a little lead still remaining in it, on the shoulder.

Only small portions of the legs exist, so that we do not know how many pieces were used in their construction, but the preserved front half of the right foot (Fig. 10 B) is made separately with a deep narrow hole for attaching it to the legs. Even small pieces of folds or of hair were worked separately and fitted into the statue. This we can tell from the slots on each side of Demeter's torso: that on the left is ·20 m. long and ·04 m. deep, while its width is ·11 m. above and ·08 m. below. There are similar slots in the head, and into these slots fitted pieces like that shewn in Fig. 23 B, which is made with a tenon at the back.

The few fragments that we possess of Despoina shew that her statue was similarly constructed: the preserved fragment of her lap (Fig. 12) is made separately with both sides worked for attachment, and fitted with dowel-holes, two in front and one behind. The right arm was attached by means of a wedge-shaped tenon on the inside, which dovetailed into the shoulder. The drapery in Athens has two dowel-holes on its upper surface for the attachment of the hand and drapery above it.

Only the front of the statues is sculptured, the back being flat at the sides and deeply hollowed in the middle. This is visible in Fig. 24 C and D, where we see the thick upper part of the torso hollowed out rectangularly, and the lower part with a smaller circular recess. The heads of Artemis and Anytos are similarly hollowed at the back. This hollowing is probably due to the wish to make the fragments lighter, and we might therefore conclude that the statues were not made in Lycosura but elsewhere, perhaps in Megalopolis when Damophon was working there, and hollowed out in this manner to make them lighter for transport.

The statue of Artemis is similarly constructed with large horizontal fragments fitting together and fastened with metal dowels: on the left of her torso the surviving fragment is cut for attachment to another piece, and has a large dowel-hole for the connecting pins; her feet and arms are also made separately. Both sides shew hollowings for the insertion of the arms and hanging sleeves; the right shoulder is pierced by a large hole, and the left arm, which exists nearly entire, has a hole going right through it (·43 m. long) from the place where it fits on to the body to about the middle of the upper arm on the outside. The iron dowel protrudes through the hole, and would have been visible had it not probably also served for attaching one of the encircling snakes. The right shoulder shews four holes, of which some served for fastening the arm, and some probably for attaching the end of the himation which rests on this shoulder. The right hand holding the torch is a separate piece, and the torch is cut off above and below the hand; it is bored right through and has three small holes on the outside above the fingers, which were perhaps for some metal attachment. Probably the top and bottom of the torch were added in bronze, and only the part actually held worked with the hand. This would account for the complete boring of the existing piece. The middle and third fingers of the left hand seem to have been broken in antiquity and joined afresh, or else even the fingers were made separately, since they have little dowels fitting them to the

hand. In the palm is a whole system of holes presumably used for the attachment of the snakes.

The left foot is separate, and has a hole pierced right through it, which serves to attach the foot both to the leg and to the plinth. In the right foot even the back was separate from the front and dowelled to it, but this might also be due to an ancient break. On the top of the foot behind the latchet of the sandal is a small hole, which probably served for an ornamental addition.

This separate working of the fragments of the feet of Artemis, and the thinness of the dowels attaching them to the rest of the statue, shew more clearly how necessary to the stability of the figure was the clumsy fall of the himation between the legs. Artemis was also hollow and unworked at the back of the torso like the two Great Goddesses, and her head was hollowed at the top, but her legs and feet were completely worked.

Anytos has fewest surviving fragments, but they seem to shew that his statue was made in a different way from the others. The pieces of his cuirass-kilts, which are shown in Fig. 21, are only ·04 m. or ·05 m. thick, and are mostly made in narrow pieces. They are in several places pierced right through with small holes; the central piece of the cuirass with the horses is also a thin plate. We must conclude from this that these plates were nailed on to something, and this suggests that the torso of the statue was built up on a framework, which was probably of wood, for the sake of lightening the weight of the colossus: the statue of Anytos is in fact an example of acrolithic or chryselephantine technique, *i.e.* the fixing of thin plates on to an inner framework. We know from Pausanias that Damophon made acrolithic statues,[1] and his work at Olympia[2] must have accustomed him to chryselephantine work. It is in fact probably due to his customary use of such technique that we owe not only the construction of Anytos, but the general employment of wedges, tenons, and dowels for quite small fragments, which is so noteworthy a characteristic of the Lycosura group. The torches, sceptre, and spear were presumably of bronze, but it is remarkable that the fragments actually held in the right hand of Artemis and the left of Despoina are made of the same piece of marble as the hands. We can only conclude that the shafts above and

[1] The Eileithyia of Aigion, vii. 23. 7; Kore and Aphrodite at Megalopolis, viii. 31. 1–3.
[2] iv. 31. 6.

below were added in bronze, since even if such thin marble shafts could be made, they would not be strong enough to carry the weight which rested on them.

K. KOUROUNIOTIS.

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§ 3.—DAMOPHON'S STYLE. (Figs. 25–28.)

We are better equipped for the study of Damophon's style as artist and sculptor than for that of well nigh any other of the Greek masters, since in the Lycosura marbles we possess originals by his hand that stand in the same relation to Damophon as the Hermes of Olympia to Praxiteles. Hitherto criticism of his style has been confined practically to the three heads and the drapery in the Athens Museum, but we can now find in the restoration of the whole group a wider basis for discussion.

The primary criticism already suggested of the disproportionate scale of the group and the temple in which it stood, was not perhaps so forcible in ancient times as it would be to-day, for the Olympian Zeus and many other colossi must have been open to the same charge. It is curious that we should find at the two epochs in Greek history connected with expansion and conquest, the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars and the period of Alexander, a similar fondness for statues of colossal scale: the great bronze colossi of Tarentum and Rhodes repeat the chryselephantine wonders of Athens and Olympia. There is perhaps a good analogy for a similar revival in the time of Damophon, when we remember its historical importance—the last triumph of political liberty in Greece owing to the overthrow of Sparta and pacification of the Peloponnese by the victory of the Achaean league. The poverty of the age could afford neither gold, ivory, nor bronze, but the marble and acrolithic statues of Damophon reflect the temporary peace and prosperity of the early and middle second century.

Damophon, as we see him in these remains, appears in a double light, a maker of colossal statues, and a fine engraver of decorative detail. It is curious to find two such different traits combined in one artist, and our admiration is divided between the author of the marvellous embroidered veil of Despoina, and the carver of the colossal heads of Anytos and Artemis, in which there is a true conception of just size and proportion.

As Daniel[1] has admirably pointed out, these heads shew no blank spaces: they are not ordinary heads reproduced to three times the size, but they are really large heads worked as it were by a giant's hand. Then on the other hand, we can see in the author of the drapery a wood-carver, or an engraver, almost a gem-cutter, working minute details with complete coordination, and never losing sight of the effect of the whole.

Another main characteristic of the Lycosura group at once impresses itself on the spectator: the author was really at home in acrolithic work. He was accustomed to carve marble heads and extremities with care and skill, but when it came to the torso the sculptor gave place to the decorator, and the material ceased to be properly understood. While the three heads preserved to us all shew a mastery of material and of execution, the two restored torsi of Artemis and Dêmeter display a lamentable falling-off in artistic skill. The confused drapery and unwieldy width of the former, the hollow chest and impossible bosom of the latter are apparent at once. Moreover, the very fault so successfully avoided in the heads, that of mere formless size without corresponding filling of the surfaces, is disagreeably prominent in the heavy shapeless arms of Demeter and Despoina and in their fat colossal hands. The feet on the contrary shew a more attractive style.

The torso of Demeter gives us the most abundant material for criticism of Damophon's style in drapery. Making all allowances for the present condition of the marble, it is impossible to overlook the flat uninteresting treatment of the body. This appears perhaps more conspicuously in the side view of the statue (Fig. 25). Graver faults are also to be noted, which seem to imply that Damophon worked without much use of a model: Demeter's breasts are placed too far apart, and are too small for the scale of the figure; both hands of Artemis and Despoina's left hand have the fingers in impossibly contorted positions (Figs. 11 and 20); Artemis' knees are too small for her size, and her waist and upper right arm too large. When we come to artistic faults of composition, our indictment is even graver. The fall of drapery between Artemis' legs, which it seems impossible to explain away, appears intolerably clumsy. The method which Despoina adopts for displaying her embroidered veil by holding it up on her sceptre is more naïve than artistic, and the drapery on

[1] *J.H.S.* xxiv. 1904, p. 41.

Anytos' right side seems out of place. Finally the group inevitably suffers from the unfortunate difference in scale between standing and seated figures. Artemis is particularly liable to criticism: while the other members of the group rest in hieratic repose, her drapery makes it essential that she should give the effect of arrested motion, and the contrast tells most unfavourably on the harmony of the whole; moreover, the deep cutting and agitation of her drapery is in direct contrast to the slight cutting and superficial treatment of Demeter's.

FIG. 25.—SIDE VIEW OF DEMETER.

At the same time, while criticising Damophon's technique in the rendering of broad lines of drapery, we have to admit his mastery of detail. His treatment of the surface of Demeter's torso with the thin clinging folds of the chiton on the surface of the neck is quite effective. Artemis' hands, despite the impossible position of the fingers, have a smoothness of surface and delicacy of outline that produce a most happy effect, and all the fragments of feet are carved with strength and precision.

The mere mechanical difficulties of erecting a colossal statue-group are so great that it deserves the highest praise merely to surmount them. While, as we have seen already, each statue is made of a veritable patchwork of marble pieces, sometimes in the most improbable places, we know that the finished effect was so good as to make possible the legend that the whole group was carved out of a single block. The mere support of colossi like Artemis and Anytos, or of a heavy mass like the drapery in Despoina's left hand, needs a mechanism that cannot always avoid an appearance of stiffness, and it must be borne in mind that the dim light of the *cella* of the temple at Lycosura would hide many deficiencies of technique, and that details like distorted fingers would hardly appear in a group whose feet were higher than the heads of the spectators.

Finally, all criticism in detail of this as of other Greek works of art has to take account of the missing colour, of which we have traces on Despoina's veil, on the sandals, and on the drapery of the throne-back. A great deal of the effect of the group must have been dependent on the treatment of the coloured surfaces.

One detail of Demeter's drapery is worthy of special comment: the presence of folding creases over the lower part of her chiton. This realistic detail is a trustworthy clue for date, as it only becomes common in the Hellenistic period.[1]

Before quitting our detailed criticism of Damophon's work, it is necessary to regard him in his second capacity as a stone-carver of minute detail, and to consider at greater length the embroidered veil of Despoina (cf. Plate XIV).

It consists, as we have seen, of a long strip with two borders, on which there are the following friezes of embroidery.

In the upper border	A frieze of long triangular rays.
	„ „ „ alternate eagles and thunderbolts.
	„ „ „ an olive spray.
	„ „ „ Nereids, Tritons, and marine monsters.
	A fringe of tassels.
In the lower border	A frieze of Nikae carrying censers.
	„ „ „ an olive spray
	„ „ „ dancing and playing beasts in human clothes.
	A border of maeander pattern.

Of these friezes only four call for any comment,

1. Eagles and Thunderbolts.—The origin of this pattern as a decorative element is probably to be traced to coin-types,[2] which hardly occur earlier than 300 B.C. In Arcadia itself we find it on coins of

[1] Cf. Lucas, 'Reliefs der Neptunbasilica in Rom,' *Jahrb.* xv. 1900, p. 4. The earliest known examples are the statues of Mausolos and Artemisia in the British Museum. It is a marked feature of the drapery on the Pergamene frieze and the altar of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia. A good instance of a single statue is the so-called Zeno in the Capitol Museum; cf. Helbig, *Führer*, i. p. 360.

[2] B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, Megalopolis, p. 189, Pl. XXXV. 12, B.C. 234-146; Laconia, p. 121, before B.C. 250; Argos, p. 145, B.C. 228-146. *Thessaly to Aetolia*, Dyrrachium, pp. 68, 72, 75, B.C. 229-100; Leucas, p. 174, after B.C. 168. *Macedonia*, Thessalonica, p. 111, B.C. 168-88. *Thrace*, Byzantium, p. 110, B.C. 300-271. *Pontus, passim*, first century B.C.

Megalopolis after B.C. 234, and it is a common element of decoration in Hellenistic times.

2. Marine Monsters.—The origin of this type is perhaps to be traced to the great group of Skopas afterwards removed to Rome,[1] though in isolated instances like the Nereid monument in the British Museum it attains a greater antiquity. We may trace roughly three different styles of representation corresponding with three epochs in art-history: the first may be called the 'classical' period of the fourth century to which belong the fragments from Epidaurus in the Athens Museum attributed to Timotheos; here we find a simple and direct representation of natural forms. To the late Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman period belong such works as the Munich frieze,[2] the frieze from Thermopylae in the Athens Museum,[3] and the small frieze on a colossal sandal in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome,[4] where we find fantastic monsters introduced, and the drapery of the earlier Nereids exchanged for semi-nudity. Finally, a great number of friezes of imperial date display composite monsters with the heads of rams, bulls, and lions attached to fish-bodies, and completely nude Nereids and Erotes. The Lycosura drapery appears to fall in the second of these classes.

3. Nikae carrying Censers.—We may trace the decorative use of Nikae from the time of the Nike temple on the Acropolis downwards. Censers, however, similar to those carried on the drapery hardly occur earlier than the beginning of the fourth century;[5] in Hellenistic times they are of very common occurrence. A variant to the Nikae is provided by the heavily draped figure shewn in Fig. 14 A, which is a common type in sculpture from the latter part of the fourth century.

4. Dancing Beasts.—This frieze is undoubtedly the most peculiar and interesting of all. It should first be carefully noted that the figures are beasts in human clothes, not human beings with animals' heads. Their hoofs and paws are clearly visible; and thus we cannot find an exact parallel in cults like those of the Bear Maidens at Athens or others in which beast skins are worn by human beings.[6] It is, however, interesting to note that

[1] By Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 26.

[2] Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptotek*, No. 115; Furtwängler, *Intermezzi*.

[3] Καββαδίας, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, No. 221.

[4] Helbig, *Führer durch Rom*, i. p. 412, No. 614.

[5] Coin of Epidaurus, B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, Pl. XXIX. 18, 322–240 B.C.; coin of Zakynthos, *ibid.* Pl. XIX. 15, about 390 B.C.

[6] Cf. an article by A. B. Cook in *J.H.S.* xiv. 1894, p. 81.

at Lycosura itself a number of terracotta figurines were found which seem to represent human beings with animals' heads. One of these is shewn in Fig. 26. They were found by M. Kourouniotis near a small altar on the slope above the temple.[1] The condition of the terracottas is not good, but it does seem that the body is intended to be human and not animal, and therefore the parallel is not complete. In fact I know of no exact parallel to the figures on this frieze. The various beasts represented, from the left on Plate XIV, seem to be a pig dancing and clapping his fore-feet together, a ram dancing, a donkey dancing, a fox or bear playing the pipes, a ram dancing, an indeterminate animal carrying something, perhaps a lyre, a horse carrying a lyre, a dog playing on the pipes, a fox or wolf dancing, and a ram dancing.

FIG. 26.—TERRACOTTA STATUETTE FROM LYCOSURA. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

There seems to be no significance in the choice of animals, since they are neither exclusively wild nor exclusively domestic; the ram is three times repeated, the goat and cow are absent. The only explanation of this curious frieze that occurs to me is that the original worship of the temple of Lycosura was that of the Mistress, a primitive Arcadian goddess particularly connected with animals—hence the epithet Πότνια θηρῶν—, and that in the substitution of the Eleusinian cult of the Great Goddesses from Megalopolis some relic of the earlier animal goddess has been preserved by the artist, in this frieze of dancing animals. Animal cults were frequent in Arcadia, and especially in this region of it—witness the Black Demeter of Phigalia and Horse-Poseidon of Thelpusa. This relic of an older ritual looks curiously out of place with the formal Nikae and Nereids of an otherwise normal Hellenistic scheme of decoration. The other four friezes of the drapery are too common an element of decoration to require comment.

The use of heavily embroidered draperies seems to belong to the earlier and later stages of Greek civilization rather than to the fifth and early fourth centuries. Thus we find these draperies on vase-paintings of

[1] Perdrizet, *B.C.H.*, xxiii. 1899, p. 635.

the sixth century, such as the François vase,[1] and also on the late Apulian vases with complicated scenes in Hades.[2] But the embroideries of the two periods can be clearly distinguished: the earlier garments have bands of decoration all the way down, with heraldic animals and human figures predominating, or, turning to sculptured examples like the Acropolis marbles, geometric borders of complicated maeander patterns. The later vases shew decorative designs of vegetable and floral patterns, and garments heavily embroidered on the borders just like the Lycosura drapery. During the strictly classical period the reaction in favour of simplicity led to the decorative use of heavy folds of soft material instead of embroidery, and it is only after the growth of luxury attendant on the conquests of Alexander that it was gradually reintroduced.

At the same time it is likely that the sacred *peploi* of the gods retained their magnificence of decoration. Acrolithic statues as well as primitive *xoana* were frequently clothed in real garments, and some of Damophon's own statues may have been intended to wear them.[3] It is highly probable that we ought to regard the veil worn by Despoina as a definite imitation of one of these hieratic garments, since the technique is by no means suitable to a colossal marble statue;[4] the execution is too minute to have produced a proper effect as a member of the group. The original image of Despoina at Lycosura was probably a rude *xoanon* clad in an actual *peplos* like the Athena Polias of Athens and, when the group of Damophon replaced her, the tradition of the drapery was strong enough to demand its reproduction in marble. The beasts perhaps figured more largely in the original robe.

Such a *tour de force* in marble is hardly consonant with the ordinary canons of Greek art, but the Hellenistic age delighted in such victories over material. A good parallel to our drapery is a bed-valance from Pergamon in the Museum of Berlin,[5] but the closest resemblances are to be found on late vases.[6]

We may now turn from detailed criticism of the technique to broader considerations of the pose of the statues.

[1] Cf. Furtwängler, *Vasenmalerei*, Pls. 1–3, 11–13.
[2] *E.g. op. cit.* Pl. 10; or the Persian Vase in Naples, Pls. 88 and 89.
[3] Particularly the Eileithyia of Aigion; cf. below, p. 400, note 1.
[4] It may have been influenced by the Kore at Megalopolis, which we know was acrolithic.
[5] Reproduced in C. L. Ransom, *op. cit.* Pl. 4.
[6] *E.g.* Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Pl. 20, a krater from Falerii.

One of the first thoughts that will occur to the critic on seeing the restored group at Lycosura will be the remarkable resemblance in the pose of the two central figures to the so-called Demeter and Persephone of the East Pediment of the Parthenon (Fig. 27). There are some natural differences: the Persephone of the Parthenon is turned slightly to the left and sits higher than Demeter in order to follow the line of the pediment. The representation too is more lifelike, and the pose of the legs and feet more varied; still in the actual position of the arms and the bodies there is

FIG. 27.—DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE (?) FROM EAST PEDIMENT OF PARTHENON.

more than fortuitous resemblance. If we compare the folds of Demeter's garment, we see not only an attempt generally to realize the effect of the soft clinging stuff, but an almost identical arrangement of folds. Realizing the necessary changes in translating a pediment group into free sculpture, and in altering two subordinate figures in a picture full of movement to two chief figures in solemn hieratic repose, we shall be inclined to recognize in the Lycosura group a direct adaptation of the Parthenon marbles.

This suggestion does not present any inherent improbabilities Damophon was not a merely local sculptor, his work was scattered all

over the western Peloponnese, and he was of an eminence sufficient to be chosen as the restorer of the Olympian Zeus. It is therefore quite natural to suppose that he had visited Athens. Furthermore, as the restorer of Pheidias' masterpiece, he must have been thoroughly imbued with that master's style, and indeed many critics[1] have recognized Pheidian tendencies in his work; Demeter's torso in particular, shews a definite endeavour to reproduce the clinging draperies in which the great master delighted. In the Hellenistic age this reaction to Pheidian traditions is a far more natural phenomenon than it would be in the fourth century, when the tendencies of preciosity and realism were only beginning their popularity. The second century may well have looked back on the achievements of the last century and a half with weariness, and longed for a reaction to a larger and simpler style, but in the heyday of Skopas and Praxiteles snch a tendency is almost incredible.

Reactionaries in art are almost bound to follow earlier models with more complete imitation than followers of a style which is developing normally. Such a deliberate imitation therefore as the pose of the great goddesses should not lead us to regard Damophon as a mere imitator, an archaizer on the lines of Pasiteles or the Graeco-Romans. The heads which fortune has bequeathed to us are sufficient in themselves to prove his originality as an artist. Daniel[2] has aptly remarked about them: 'We feel that nothing quite of this kind had been done before.' In fact the clue to Damophon's position as an artist rests on this fact, that he was genius enough to be weary of the stale old work that succeeded the great masters of the fourth century in Greece. The mainland was hardly touched by the new influences that produced the great art-schools of Rhodes, of Pergamon, or of Alexandria. The artists of Hellas continued to work in the worn-out paths of Skopaic, Praxitelean, and Lysippian tradition. Damophon is really, so far as we know, a solitary phenomenon. Though not the exponent of any new style in art, he at any rate reacted against the degraded ideals of his contemporaries, and attempted to reintroduce a larger and broader style, in some sense similarly to the English Pre-Raphaelites.

Anytos is too fragmentary for us to speculate with certainty on his prototype, but Artemis again shews the dependence on an earlier type that we have noted in Demeter and Despoina. The pose of our statue is

[1] *E.g.* Brunn, *Gesch. der gr. Künstler*, i. p. 291; Ernest Gardner, *Handbook*, p. 403.
[2] *J.H.S.* xxiv. 1904, p. 49.

accurately reproduced by a coin-type, of which the best example is on a coin of Pellene[1] (Fig. 28 A). The goddess is moving forward with the right leg, the knee of which is bent. She holds a short torch in her outstretched right hand, and in her lowered left hand a bow. A deer and possibly a dog

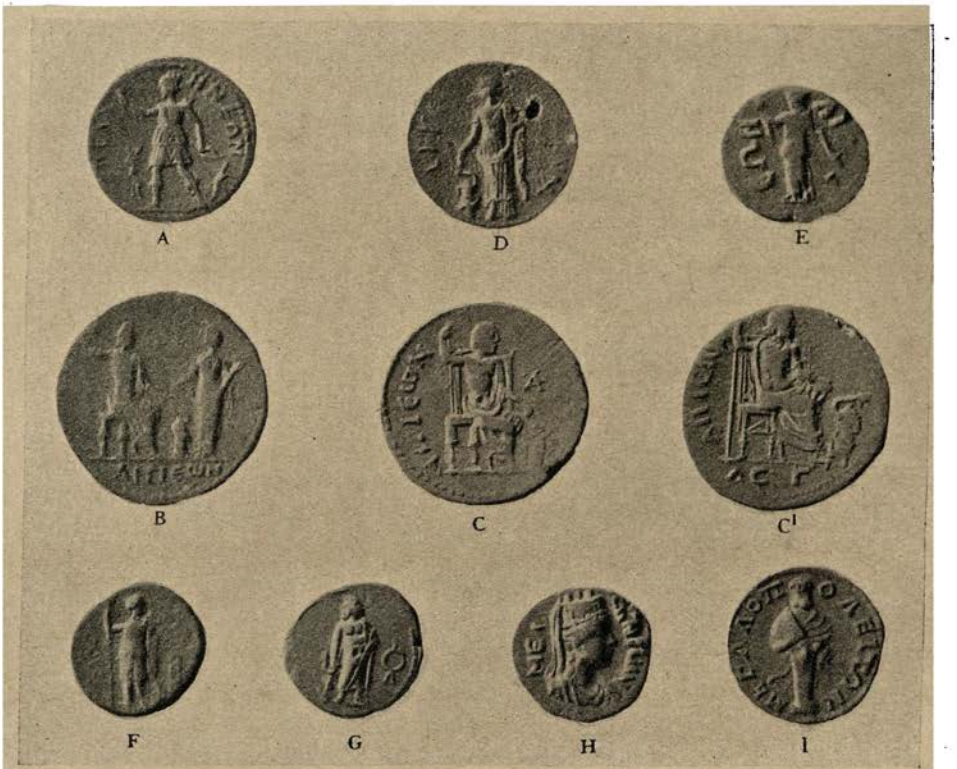

FIG. 28.

A. COIN OF PELLENE. (Caracalla—B.M.)
D. COIN OF AIGION. (Sept. Sev.—Loebbecke.)
E. COIN OF AIGION. (Ant. Pius—B.M.)
B. COIN OF AIGION. (Commodus—Paris.)
C. COIN OF AIGION. (Commodus—Berlin.)
C1. COIN OF AIGION. (M. Aurel.—Paris.)
F. COIN OF MESSENE. (Auton.—Paris.)
G. COIN OF MESSENE. (Auton.—B.M.)
H. OBVERSE OF SAME COIN.
I. COIN OF MEGALOPOLIS. (Caracalla—Paris.)

are at her feet. She has a quiver on her shoulder and an ornament of some kind, perhaps a crescent, in her hair. She wears a doubled chiton

[1] B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, Pl. VI. 18.

girt with a belt and high boots. This coin-type of Artemis is quite distinct from the other known types at all approximating to the Lycosura statue, which fall into three classes :—

(1) Huntress Artemis with bow in left hand, drawing an arrow from her quiver with the right hand, and running forward with or without a stag at her side. This is a common coin-type,[1] and is best known in sculpture by the Artemis of Versailles, which perhaps reproduces an original of Strongylion. (2) Artemis Phosphoros carrying a torch in both hands, a comparatively small class.[2] (3) Artemis Phosphoros carrying a torch in each hand. Besides several examples on coins,[3] this type is common on Apulian vases.[4]

These three types are all represented in sculpture and are undoubtedly derived each from a common original. Our Artemis and the types of the coins of Pellene and Corinth have also a replica, as already mentioned on p. 379, in the statue from the Despuig collection shewn in Fig. 19. It can hardly be supposed that this statue is a definite copy of Damophon's work, in spite of the resemblance in details, since Lycosura is too obscure and remote to have had many sightseers. We should probably rather conclude that the coins and the two statues had a common origin in an earlier and more widely-known type.

It is thus probable that three at any rate of the Lycosura figures owe their pose to earlier models.

We have now dealt with all that actually remains of Damophon's handicraft. His activities were not, however, confined to Lycosura only, and it may not prove unprofitable to examine the coin-types of the various cities where he worked, in case we may obtain some idea of the other sculptures from his hand.

[1] *E.g.* coins of Thrace, Lydia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Lycia, Caria, Troas, Mysia, Alexandria, Ionia, Bithynia, Attica in the B.M. Catalogues.

[2] B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, Lacedaemon, 59 ; *Thessaly to Aetolia*, Acarnania, 13, 14 ; *Attica*, etc. Athens, 508, 509, 573 ; *Troas*, etc., Mytilene, 198 ; *Lycia*, etc., Selge, 35 ; *Corinth*, Corinth, 643.

[3] B.M. Cat. *Central Greece*, Tanagra, 61 ; *Attica*, etc., Megaris, 47 ; *Ionia*, Ephesus, 393 (with long chiton) ; *Mysia*, Apollonia, 25 (with long chiton), Parium, 106, 113.

[4] *E.g.* Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Pl. 10.

§4. Other Statues by Damophon. (a) *At Aigion.*[1]

(1) Asklepios and Hygieia. (2) Eileithyia.

(1) Asklepios and Hygieia.—There is a coin-type[2] of Aigion shewing these two deities, in which we should probably recognize the statue group of Damophon; the figures occur both separately and together, but in all representations a snake-entwined altar provides a connecting link. The group consists of Asklepios in profile facing right, seated on a high-backed chair without footstool, with left hand in lap, and resting the right on a high sceptre—a pose almost exactly the converse of the Despoina at Lycosura. A wreath is thrown over one corner of the chair-back. The god is clothed in a himation which falls over the left shoulder and is gathered round the hips leaving right arm and torso bare. Standing opposite and facing him is Hygieia with left hand on hip, and the right extended towards an altar placed between the figures round which a snake is coiled. She is clad in a long short-sleeved high-girt chiton, and a himation over left shoulder and round hips with a fall over left arm nearly to the ground. The god is bearded, but Hygieia's hair seems to be short. The drawing is of course on too small a scale to base any discussion of detail. What is of special interest is the fact that the pose of the Asklepios is almost precisely that of the Asklepios of Epidaurus, as we see it in coin-types, or in the small reliefs from Epidaurus in the Athens museum.[3]

Thus we find Damophon again making use of an earlier type for the position of his figure. In the drapery too there seem to be suggestions of the Olympian Zeus, whose himation also fell over the left shoulder, leaving the torso nude. In the Hygieia no well known type seems to be represented, but we can study the pose more easily in a statue formerly in the Palazzo Borghese.[4] The head and arms of this figure are restorations, but the drapery of the torso is a precise rendering of the coin-type, and the original right arm was in the same position. The snake, part of which is genuine, is an addition to the type. The statue with its high girdle and himation is reminiscent of the Hestia in Athens, and suggests a Hellenistic type.

(2) Eileithyia.—This figure was an acrolithic xoanon covered with actual

[1] Pausanias, vii. 23. 5-7. [2] *Num. Comm. Paus.* R, ix, x, xi, Fig. 28, B, C, C[1], D.
[3] Cf. also a small relief in the Capitol; Helbig, *Führer durch Rom*, i. p. 332, No. 511.
[4] Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelverkauf*, No. 490; Matz-Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, 859.

drapery. Two coins of Aigion[1] with figures of pronounced xoanon type almost certainly reproduce this statue. The descriptive passage of Pausanias runs: *καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μεν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δᾷδα. Εἰλειθυίᾳ δὲ εἰκάσαι τις ἂν εἶναι δᾷδας ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ πῦρ εἰσιν αἱ ὠδῖνες.* The restoration of *δᾷς* after *ἐκτέταται* seems natural especially in consideration of the plural *δᾷδας* in the following sentence (*N.C.P.* p. 83). To this description the two coins correspond, though one has a peculiar head-dress. This does not, however, seem to me to be a mural crown, but a band of plumes or feathers of some kind.

The coin throws very little light on Damophon's style except that it serves as an example of an acrolithic xoanon. The pose of such figures was entirely a matter of convention.

(b) *At Messene.*[2]

(1) Mother of the Gods. (2) Artemis Laphria. (3) Asklepios and his sons. (4) Apollo and the Muses. (5) Herakles. (6) City of Thebes (and Epaminondas). (7) Tyche. (8) Artemis Phosphoros.

Three of these statues are perhaps represented by coin-types, the Artemis Laphria, the Asklepios, and the Tyche of Messene.

Artemis Laphria.—A coin of Messene[3] bears a figure of Artemis shewing some resemblance to those of Patrae which are usually taken to represent Artemis Laphria. This resemblance, however, does not extend to detail, since the right hand of the Messene figure holds a spear instead of resting on the hip, and there appear no traces of a bow in the left hand.[4] If, therefore, this coin does represent the statue of Damophon, it is clear that he made considerable alterations in the pose of his prototype.

Asklepios.—It seems quite legitimate to connect the Asklepios of a Messenian coin[5] (Fig. 28 G) with the statue of Damophon, which would naturally be among the most prominent in Messene. The bearded god is depicted with his weight thrown on the left leg, and holding in his right hand a snake-entwined staff. The left hand folded in his himation rests on the hip. The himation falls over the left shoulder, and is drawn tightly across

[1] *Num. Comm. Paus.* R. vi, vii, Fig. 28 E.

[2] Pausanias, iv. 31. 6, 7, 10.

[3] *Num. Comm. Paus.* P. iii, Fig. 28 F.

[4] A much greater resemblance exists to the possible Artemis Agrotera of Megalopolis; cf. *Num. Comm. Paus.* V. ii.

[5] *Num. Comm. Paus.* P. i.

the body below the breast. This type is common on Messenian coins, and may be found at Asine, Cyparissa, and Las. Its presence in these cases is doubtless due to the Messenian statue, but it is also found in Orchomenos, Corinth, Thessaly, Athens, and Megara, and later becomes a cult-type spread over the whole Greek world.[1] A change in the type is that the god begins to lean more on the staff, and his himation is tucked into his armpit to make the position more comfortable. This is a typical Hellenistic variation on an older cult-type, and is to be observed in sculptured replicas also.[2] Damophon apparently preserved the older type in his statue, as we might have expected.

The Tyche of Messene.—On the obverse of the coin just mentioned is a head,[3] which we might for that very reason naturally connect with Damophon (Fig. 28 H). This supposition is strongly confirmed by its character. The treatment of the hair in rolls with locks falling on to the shoulders, the veil, and the thin chiton are strongly reminiscent of the Demeter at Lycosura, and the large deep-set eyes and pouting lips are typical characteristics of our artist. Of Damophon's statues at Messene, three alone would be suitable for this coin-type, the Tyche, the Mother of the Gods, and the City of Thebes. The latter may, however, be left out of consideration, as there would be no reason for its appearance on a Messenian coin. Of the other two, the Tyche of Messene is the more likely, since Kybele is usually shewn on coins at full length without a veil, and is rarely found in Greece, and never in the Peloponnese. The crown worn by the goddess is quite unlike any other representation of a mural crown, but can hardly be anything else. At the same time it is quite possible that this coin represents the statue of Messene herself,[4] a chryselephantine statue probably by another artist.

(c) *At Megalopolis.*

One more work of Damophon is represented by a coin-type, and also by a large series of existing statues.

On a coin of Megalopolis[5] we see a herm of Herakles clad in a lion's skin, with right hand folded under the skin across his breast, and the left

[1] Cf. B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus, Attica, Corinth, Aetolia to Thessaly, passim.*
[2] Cf. Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. pp. 31-33.
[3] *Num. Comm. Paus.* P. ii. [4] Cf. Pausanias, iv. 31. 11.
[5] *Num. Comm. Paus.* Pl. V. 6, Fig 28 I.

holding the lion's head at the left hip. We have good reason for connecting this with the statue of Herakles as an Idaean Daktyl,[1] which stood, according to Pausanias, at the side of the Demeter, in the great group of Demeter and Kore at Megalopolis.[2] The statue was about a cubit high. The argument for connecting the coin with the statue of Damophon is as follows:—the coin-type is reproduced by a large number of statues, which are for the most part also of diminutive size;[3] further, there was a connection between these statues and gymnasia, as is proved from their appearance in athletic reliefs.[4] Statues of Idaean Herakles were also connected with gymnasia.[5]

The immense popularity of this kind of Herakles herm, probably the commonest form of Herakles herm in existence, renders it very unlikely that the small statue of Damophon was the prototype. The number of sculptured replicas is very large. These fall roughly into two classes: an earlier type, to which the Megalopolis coin belongs, best exemplified by a small *rosso antico* figure formerly in Sparta,[6] and a later type, of which an excellent example is a small bronze in the British Museum.[7] The earlier class has the head erect with short hair, the later the head leaning over the left shoulder, with long hair and a very large lion's skin. Furtwängler attributed the original of the Spartan statue to the school of Lysippos, and there is a very considerable resemblance in the head to the statue-type of Glykon, preserved to us in the Farnese Herakles. The later type is an ordinary Hellenistic variation, like the later type of the Asklepios. Here again we find Damophon adopting the earlier, not the later type.

After examining, therefore, Damophon's works, both existing and conjectural, we find reason in almost every case for supposing that he followed an existing type; at the same time his heads are distinguished by a vivacity and naturalism that shew no trace of imitation.

[1] Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, fourth edition (Robert), p. 653; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, ii. 1156.

[2] viii. 31. 5.

[3] The following are a few examples. Berlin, *Mus. Cat.* 187; Rome, Capitol, Bottari i. 1 (reversed); Rome, Vatican, Chiaramonti, 542 B and C, 225; Venice, Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.* 113, 2; Troy, Schliemann, *Troja*, p. 238, Fig. 125.

[4] Cf. Relief in Berlin *Mus. Cat.* 784; also *Anc. Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 386, No. 260.

[5] Viz. at Elis, Paus. vi. 23. 2; and at Sikyon, Paus. ii. 10. 7.

[6] Formerly in the possession of A. Kalomiros and figured in Roscher's *Lexicon s.v. Heracles*, ii. 2170; *Ath. Mitt.* ii. 343, 83. There is a second *rosso antico* herm of the same type in the Sparta Museum now. Cf. Tod and Wace, *Catalogue*, p. 160, No. 286.

[7] From Halicarnassus. B.M. Cat. *Bronzes*, Pl. XXX., No. 1291.

Further we know him as a maker of colossal statues, and at the same time as a painstaking engraver of minute detail. He combines excellence of finish with elementary mistakes in modelling, flat and uninteresting drapery with accurate and careful treatment of the extremities, and lifelike facial expression with clumsy and stiff poses.

His work contains so many contradictory elements that it becomes of great interest and value, but the main reason why the Lycosura sculptures must always retain a great importance, is that we see in them the last artistic effort of free Hellas before the decay that attended the Roman dominion.

GUY DICKINS.

THE EARLY AEGEAN CIVILIZATION IN ITALY.

IT may be well to begin by defining the period with which this paper attempts to deal. It is the whole of the Neolithic period in the Aegean, together with that part of the Bronze Age which is prior to the appearance of the style of pottery to which the name Mycenaean was, and is still usually given. With this true Mycenaean period, corresponding to Late Minoan III in Crete, we are not here concerned. Suffice it to say that in various parts of Italy and Sicily, vases, bronzes, and other objects have been found which must have been imported from some centre of this Mycenaean civilization. What is more difficult is to find proofs of connexion between Italy and the Aegean previous to this date, *i.e.* during the period covered by the eight metres of Neolithic deposit on the Palace Hill at Knossos, and by the succeeding Minoan periods down to, and including Late Minoan II.

Just as the researches of Orsi in Sicily have proved the connexion of Sicily and the Aegean in Mycenaean times, so the excavation of South Italy, still in its infancy, has provided considerable evidence of close connexion between Italy and the Aegean in much earlier days. And here two questions, which must be kept quite distinct, arise: firstly, what evidence can we find of the importation into Italy and its islands of Aegean products; and secondly, can any parts of Italy be said to have partaken of Aegean civilization in the full sense, *i.e.* can we say of any part of Italy that it formed a unit in the Aegean civilization in the same sense that Paros or Melos did?

Let us begin with the first question as being the easier. There have

been found in Italy painted vases which are of Aegean workmanship. A few years ago Prof. J. L. Myres published in *Man*[1] a vase now in the Peel Park Museum at Manchester. This vase, which is a *Schnabelkanne* of the usual Aegean type, is said to have come from South Italy, though there is some uncertainty on this point. Prof. Myres mentions two more vases of the same type. 'The others,' he says, 'are (1) the vase in the Louvre (Salle D. 5), which was definitely acquired in South Italy; (2) the vase in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which comes from the Leake collection, has a similar history, and is retained by Prof. Ernest Gardner in the Italian section.' Other painted vases which are undoubtedly of foreign origin have been found in Liguria and in Apulia. These we shall have occasion to examine more closely later.

It is, however, in Sicily that the strongest proofs of this early connexion have been obtained. In 1904 Orsi drew the attention of the International Congress at Rome to the number of Mycenaean products found in south-east Sicily, and at the same time hinted at a pre-Mycenaean connexion.[2] In 1907 he followed this up with an article in the review *Ausonia*,[3] in which he gave in full the evidence relating to the pre-Mycenaean period. It is necessary to bear in mind that Orsi divides the pre-historic age in Sicily into five periods, Sicanian or Neolithic, and First, Second, Third, and Fourth Siculan. The First Siculan is an Eneolithic and Early Bronze culture, while the Second Siculan is the period of true Mycenaean (L. M. III) imports, and does not here concern us. The graves of the First Siculan period usually consist of a chamber of circular plan hewn in a face of solid rock, preceded by a wide and short *dromos*, or *padiglione*, open to the sky.[4] In one grave found in the ravine called Cava Lazzaro near Modica, the sides of the *dromos*, which is shaped like a segment of a circle, are ornamented with a series of pilasters cut in the solid rock, four on each side of the door of the burial chamber.[5] The pilasters are connected by semicircular arches, and the arch joining the two central columns forms a span above the door. Six of the pilasters are adorned at the top with a sculptured circle with its centre marked, and three are also marked down the front with a fish-bone pattern. A

[1] *Man*, 1902, paragraph 96.

[2] *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di scienze storiche*, Roma, 1904, p. 97.

[3] *Ausonia*, 1907, p. 5.

[4] See, for example, *Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana*, vol. xviii. pp. 1 *sqq.* and 67 *sqq.*

[5] Orsi in *Ausonia*, 1907, p. 7.

somewhat similar arrangement of pilasters was noticed by Orsi in two graves of the same period at Cava Lavinaro[1] in the same district. No other trace of such architecture is found in graves of the First Siculan period, and the circle is unknown as an ornamental motive on the pottery of the time. It seems therefore natural to see the hand of a foreign artist or at least the reflexion of a foreign influence. This is supported by a further piece of evidence from the cemetery at Castelluccio. In two of the graves the large stone slabs used to close the entrance were roughly ornamented each with two pairs of opposed spirals in relief.[2] The spiral again is a motive unknown in work of the period in Sicily, and points to foreign influence. The arrangement of the pattern recalls the gold work of Troy and of the shaft-graves at Mycenae. Whether this parallel has any chronological value it is hard to say, as we are unable as yet to divide the First Siculan period into definite sub-periods. All that we can affirm with certainty is that the graves in question are older than those which contain pottery of L. M. III type. It would be interesting to know whether the pilaster ornamentation of the *dromoi* has any close parallel in the Aegean; up to the present I have been unable to find one.[3]

Almost more remarkable than this funeral architecture is the occurrence in the First Siculan period of several beautifully worked objects of bone. Six of these come from the cemetery of Castelluccio[4] and a seventh from the cavern of Lazzaro[5] in the Cava Lazzaro mentioned above. They are about 12 cm. long and of semicircular section. The convex side is carved to show a row of bulb-shaped projections, and the whole is decorated with finely incised ornament. In workmanship these objects are unlike and far superior to anything else found in graves or habitations of this period, and must be imported. At the time of their first discovery Orsi pointed to an exact parallel from the second city at Hissarlik.[6] This makes it highly probable that these bone objects, whose use is unknown, came from some part of the Aegean. The fineness of the work makes it impossible that they should be Sicilian.

So much for the presence in Italy and Sicily of Aegean imports

[1] Orsi in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1905, p. 432, Fig. 18. [2] *Bull. Pal.* xviii. Tav. vi.

[3] Excepting, of course, the Treasury of Atreus, where, however, the pilasters are only two, and the scale is immensely greater.

[4] *Bull. Pal.* xviii. Tav. iv., Figs. 1 and 2 and pp. 7, 8.

[5] Orsi in *Ausonia*, 1907, p. 6, Fig. 1.

[6] Schliemann, *Ilios*, Fig. 564.

and possibly of Aegean workmen. Can we go any further than this? Can we show that any part of Italy or Sicily had a civilization running on parallel lines to that of the Aegean, having perhaps a common source with it?

Whoever has examined the pre-historic records of Italy must have been struck by the clear distinction which can be kept throughout, between the north and south parts of the peninsula, a distinction which becomes more striking when Sicily is included in the southern portion. The great lake-dwelling culture of the Bronze Age was practically limited to the north, though its influence affected a great part of the peninsula. It was not until the very end of the Bronze Age that the *terremare* folk pushed down into South Italy,[1] and even then it is very doubtful whether they survived there. The so-called 'Siculan' pottery, the punctured incised ware of Matera and Pertosa,[2] is confined to South Italy and is unknown in the north. In the Iron Age the Villanova culture, with its characteristic cremation burial, stopped short in Latium, and never reached Campania or Lucania, though many of its products permeated South Italy.[3] Mycenaean and early Greek influences affected the south more than the north, although the former reached the head of the Adriatic[4] and the latter acted strongly on Etruria. These examples, which might be added to, shew the distinction between north and south in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

Can a similar distinction be drawn in the Neolithic period? An examination of the pottery of the period seems to shew that it can.

As typical of the earliest Neolithic remains in North Italy we may take the earliest hut foundations of Reggio-Emilia[5] and the settlement of Alba Cuneo[6]; and as representative of South Italy we may take the settlements of Stentinello[7] and Matrensa in Sicily.[8] The method of decorating pottery most usually employed at Alba or in the Reggio district is the application of strips of clay in relief: the strips are often laid horizontally round the body of the vase, and sometimes vertical strips are added so as to form

[1] Pigorini in *Bull. Pal.* xxvi. p. 17.
[2] *Monumenti Antichi*, vols. viii. and ix. See *Bull. Pal.* xix., Figs. 14 to 24, for examples.
[3] *Papers of the British School of Rome*, iv. p. 285.
[4] Cf. the Mycenaean vases from Torcello. Dawkins in *J.H.S.* vol. xxiv. p. 125
[5] *E.g.* Calerno and Albinea, *Bull. Pal.* i. pp. 101 *sqq.*
[6] *Bull. Pal.* xix. p. 162. [7] *Bull. Pal.* xvi. pp. 177 *sqq.*
[8] Material unpublished in the museum of Syracuse.

a kind of rough net-work pattern on the vase. The strips are usually pitted with the finger-tip or slashed across with the nail.

This type of ornament is not restricted to the localities mentioned. It occurs in practically all Neolithic deposits in North Italy—some of the best examples come from the Grotta all' Onda in Tuscany[1]—and it lasts on into the Eneolithic and Bronze Ages. In Sicily it is completely absent in the Neolithic period, while in later times it is quite rare, and is seldom marked with the finger in the Northern fashion. Its place is taken by the Stentinello ware, a fine grey-brown pottery, carefully incised with geometric patterns which are filled in with a white substance. The regularity of some of the designs on this ware led Orsi to examine it very minutely[2] and to discover that the process used was not always incision, but often impression by means of specially prepared implements. The distribution of this ware in Sicily seems to be limited as yet to the east part of the island and especially the south-east. It occurs in open settlements at Stentinello and Matrensa, and a few fragments have also been found near Paternò, near Cafano, in the Syracusan caves of La Seggia and La Scorosa,[3] and finally in the Grotta Corruggi near Pachino. Pottery of the same type occurs on the Italian mainland at Molfetta near Bari,[4] at Matera, and in the Tremiti Islands off the peninsula of Gargano.[5] There are also in the museum of Tarentum several sherds marked as coming from the Piazza d'Armi in that city. It is true that the mainland pottery differs in some respects from that of Sicily: there is not the same orderly horizontal arrangement of the design that is so conspicuous at Stentinello, or more particularly at Matrensa, and the ornamental elements are not always the same, nor do we, in Italy, get the white filling in the incisions. But in both cases we have the combination of incision and impression, the use of mechanical means to produce the effect, and of carefully prepared clay and further, although there are some ornamental elements on the mainland which are not to be found at Matrensa or Stentinello, several of these occur elsewhere in Sicily. Thus the motive of Fig. 1 *a*, which is common at

[1] *Bull. Pal.* xxvi. Tav. v.

[2] *Bull. Pal.* xvi. pp. 188–191.

[3] Von Andrian, *Prähistorische Studien aus Sicilien*, Taf. v. Figs. 5, 6, 11, 14, 15, 16.

[4] Mayer, *Le Stazioni preistoriche di Molfetta*, Tav. iv., v., vi., vii.

[5] *Bull. Pal.* xxxiii. pp. 1 *sqq.*, Tav. i. and ii. A single fragment from the Vibrata valley, now in the Museo Preistorico at Rome, closely resembles the Tremiti examples.

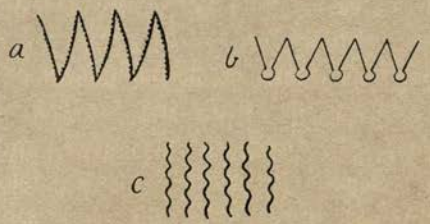

FIG. 1.—DESIGNS COMMON TO S. ITALIAN AND SICILIAN POTTERY.

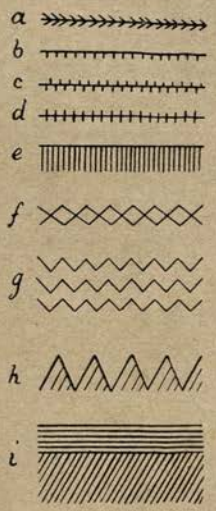

FIG. 3.—DECORATIVE MOTIVES COMMON TO CRETAN AND SICILIAN POTTERY.

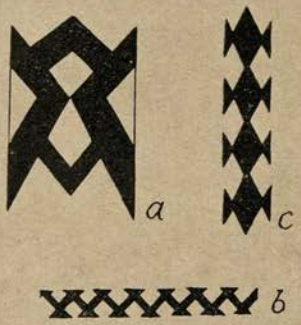

FIG. 4.—ORNAMENT-MOTIVES FROM CASTELLUCCIO.

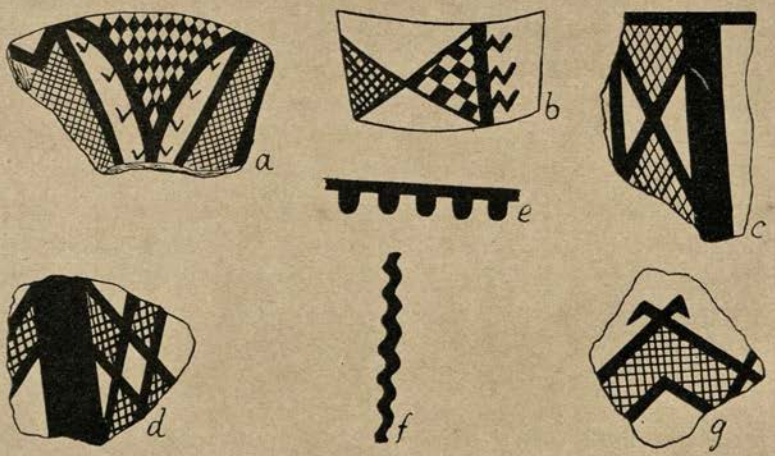

FIG. 5.—ORNAMENT-MOTIVES FROM SICILY AND FROM THESSALY COMPARED.

Matera and Molfetta [1] is to be found in Sicily at Paternò, and in the Caves of La Seggia and La Scarosa,[2] while the motive of Fig. 1 *b* is common to Matrensa and Molfetta. In fact the smaller finds in Sicily form a link between the pottery of Stentinello and Matrensa on the one hand, and that of Molfetta, Matera, and the Tremiti Islands on the other. That is to say, all this early Neolithic ware of Sicily and south-west Italy forms, despite local differences, one single series with a single origin, and is sharply distinguished from the North Italian pottery. It is true that both incision and very elementary impression were used in North Italy, but the schemes were entirely different from those of the south, and the workmanship far inferior.[3]

What I chiefly wish to suggest is that this South Italian pottery, which we may for the sake of brevity call Stentinello ware, belongs rather to the Aegean than to the Italian series. This hypothesis is supported by an examination of its distribution, its forms, and its ornament. The localities in which Stentinello ware is found have already been given; they are precisely those parts of Italy which lie nearest to the Aegean and which are most likely to have enjoyed the early Aegean culture. It is well to add that a few fragments bearing the well-known Molfetta *tremolo* pattern,[4] Fig. 1. *c*, have been found in one of the caves in Cape S. Elia in Sardinia and in the cave of the Arene Candide in Liguria.[5] It is significant that these localities are both known from other evidence to have had some connexion with the Aegean in quite early times. Liguria for example has furnished numbers of shells which do not occur in Ligurian seas at all, but come some from the Atlantic, others from the Indian Ocean, while others again are common in Sicilian or Sardinian waters or on the African coast. Besides this the Arene Candide cavern contains a few objects of obsidian, which point directly to the south. The wide range of Ligurian connexions is clearly exemplified by the finding in the caves of *pintaderas*, objects found in places so far apart as Moravia and the Canary Isles.[6] It is also notable that though the daggers of copper of the Eneolithic period in Upper Italy may be classed under a small number of fixed types, the Pollera cave in Liguria and that of S. Bartolomeo in Sardinia have

[1] Mayer, *op. cit.* Figs. 88, 89, 91. [2] Von Andrian, *op. cit.* Taf. v. Figs. 6 and 15.

[3] The difference may be well observed in the pottery from Toscanella Imolese now in the Museo Civico of Bologna.

[4] *Bull. Pal.* xxvii. Tav. v. Fig. 5.

[5] *E.g. Bull. Pal.* xix. Tav. i. Fig. 2. Other examples of impressed ware from Liguria are to be seen in the Museo Preistorico at Rome. [6] *Bull. Pal.* xxix. p. 228.

yielded daggers of shapes which will not fit into the series, and therefore point probably to foreign influence.[1]

To come to the question of vase-forms. Fig. 2 *a* is a reconstruction by Mayer of a vase found at Matera, and covered with ornament of type Fig. 1 *a*. This will at once be recognised as an Aegean shape, with close parallels at Hissarlik, in the Cycladic cist-graves, and above all in the

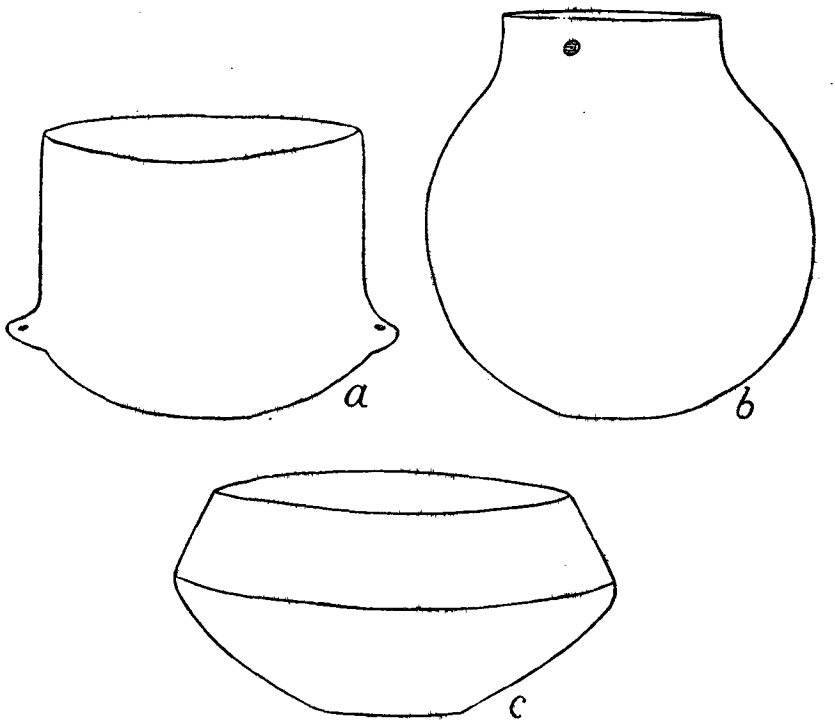

FIG. 2.—AEGEAN VASE-SHAPES FOUND IN S. ITALY.

Neolithic burial found by Mr. Tod at Hagios Nikolaos in East Crete.[2] Fig. 2 *b* is Mayer's reconstruction of a vase commonly found in the hut-foundations of Molfetta. This has an exact parallel—even to the holes in the neck—in a vase from the early tholos at Hagia Triada in Crete.[3]

[1] *Bull. Pal.* xxvii. pp. 84–5, and Fig. 124; and xxiv. Tav. xvii. Fig. 2.

[2] *B.S.A.* ix. p. 341, Figs. 1*a* and 2*c*.

[3] *Memorie del. R. Ist. Lombardo di scienze e lettere, Milano*, vol. xxi. 5, p. 249, Plates VIII. and IX.

Fig. 2 *c* is a form well-known in Hissarlik II , in the Cyclades, and in the Neolithic deposit at Knossos. It occurs at Molfetta. At Molfetta occurs the rectangular or boat-shaped vase,[1] which has parallels in the Neolithic ware of Knossos[2] and later, in a painted vase from Basilikè[2] (E. M. III). Finally in the museum at Molfetta is preserved,[3] without precise notes as to its origin, a bifurcate handle similar to those so common at Knossos in the Neolithic deposit.

Unfortunately the Stentinello pottery was in such a fragmentary condition as to give little clue as to shapes, and the material from Matrensa, which includes nine complete vases, is not yet published, so that it would hardly be fair to give sketches of it. Those who have seen these vases, however, will bear me out in saying that in type they are thoroughly Aegean, and have few affinities with the pottery of Upper Italy.

Finally we have to consider the question of ornament: Wosinksi's voluminous work[4] has proved that the white-filled incised ware has such a wide distribution and appears in so many different periods, that its occurrence both in Sicily and in the Aegean is a fact from which no inference can be safely drawn ; but he who will compare the decorative elements at Stentinello and Matrensa with those of Neolithic Knossos will not fail to notice the striking resemblance. In both cases the ornament is carefully arranged in a horizontal system, due regard being given to the contrasting of plain and ornamental surfaces ; sometimes a single ornamental element is used alone on a vase, sometimes several elements are combined. In both cases we may note a passion for covering the broad handles with ornament. The punctured and incised ware found in the upper metres of the Neolithic stratum at Knossos is practically unknown in Sicily. Petersen figures one example from Stentinello.

In order to get a striking idea of the similarity between the two wares it is well to compare Plates 6, 7, and 8 in *Bull. Pal.* xvi. with *J.H.S.* xxiii., Plate IV, and *J.H.S.* xxi., p. 96, Fig. 30. The Sicilian ware from Matrensa offers further parallels, and I have therefore thought it best to give sketches of the decorative motives common to the Cretan and the Sicilian wares. Numbers (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) of Fig. 3 are examples which shew how in both wares the ordinary line was embroidered to give finer effects, while (*e*) is a more unusual form of (*b*), common of course to both types of pottery.

[1] Mayer, *op. cit.* Fig. 45.
[2] In the Candia Museum.
[3] Mayer, *op. cit.* Fig. 40.
[4] *Die inkrustierte Keramik.*

Number *f* is a very favourite motive, admitting in both wares of further ornamentation. The zigzag line is used both at Knossos and in Sicily, either alone or in parallel series, as in (*g*). In (*h*) we have the common motive of singly-hatched triangles—a dog-tooth-ornament. Figure *i* is a particularly valuable parallel. It is usual in vessels with a clearly defined but low neck; around this neck runs some simple horizontal scheme, as for example a band of straight lines, while below it spring parallel lines set vertically, or aslant, sometimes in groups of ten or twelve. The comparisons here instituted were made directly from the sherds themselves in the museums at Candia and Syracuse. The illustrations as yet published are not entirely representative of either material, and the comparisons will therefore appeal most to those who have a first-hand acquaintance with one at least of these types of pottery.

The Stentinello ware of South Italy might in the same way be compared with the Cretan, though I doubt whether the relationship is so close in this case. We shall merely note that the stamped triangle motive, so common in the white incised ware of the cist-graves, is found at Molfetta[1] and in the Tremiti islands.[2] It is only fair to add that it also occurs on a vase found by Brizio two years ago outside Bologna, and by him considered to be Neolithic, and also in the village at Toscanella. Both these examples may, however, be of Bronze Age date.

In the light of all this evidence and bearing in mind the break between North and South Italy, we are surely justified in saying that South Italy belongs to the Early Aegean circle of culture, or at least, that in origin the civilization of South Italy lies close to that of the Aegean. We are not as yet in a position to point to the original home of this civilization. We find it settled in Crete at a very early date, and we can trace its evolution there through a long period; in South Italy we are only permitted to catch glimpses of it at isolated moments. Without wishing to enter on the dangerous ground of ethnology we may say that there is no reason to prevent the earliest South Italians from being of a different race, or branch of race, from those of the North. It is significant that at Molfetta there are two distinct settlements, one superimposed upon the other, the earlier of which contains Stentinello ware, while the later shews typical North Italian ware with ornament consisting of relief-strips of clay.[3] May this not be

[1] Mayer, *op. cit.* Tav. vii. Figs. 8 and 14.
[2] *Bull. Pal.* xxxiii. Tav. i. Figs. 3 and 4.
[3] Mayer, *op. cit.* pp. 117–119.

due to the advance of a different people or tribe from the North? We can certainly trace the relief-strip pottery down to Molfetta across the valley of the Vibrata.

So far then we have tried to shew that the South Italian early Neolithic culture was intimately connected in origin with the Aegean and more especially the Cretan. Towards the end of the Neolithic period Italian pottery undergoes a complete change. In almost all parts of Italy and in Sicily and Sardinia appears pottery of the so-called dolmen type, ornamented with incised bands, and having as one of its most typical forms the *Glockenbecher* or bell-shaped cup.[1] The origin of this ware need not detain us here; suffice it to say that in Sicily it is found in cave-dwellings, and not, like Stentinello ware, in open settlements, and that, as in South Italy it overlies and perhaps replaces Stentinello ware, so in North Italy it overlies relief-strip ware. The appearance of this pottery in Italy is an event to which there is no parallel in the Aegean.

Let us now advance a stage, leaving the Neolithic period and coming to the earliest age of metals in the Aegean. This stage is marked in Crete, in the Cyclades, at Aphidna, Chaeronea and elsewhere, by the appearance of painted pottery. In Crete no change of people seems to occur, and we see painted ware developing gradually from white incised ware, using the same designs and obtaining much the same effects. In Sicily too the early metal period is marked by the appearance of painted ware, but we are as yet unable to trace its development from the Neolithic incised pottery. What we see is a fully developed style: its beginnings are unknown to us. It is well known that Orsi attributes the Neolithic and the Eneolithic periods in Sicily to different branches of one people;[3] the earlier he calls Sicani, and the later Siculi. Petersen denied this change, pointing out that very many of the decorative elements in the painted ware are derived from the earlier incised ware,[4] and Dr. Mackenzie has recently supported this view.[5] The ethnological question need not detain us here, and I shall only remark that anyone who will read Petersen's article will be convinced that the painted ware preserves much of the tradition of the incised; but there are a number of new decorative elements to be accounted for, and above all we have to explain the intro-

[1] For examples see Von Andrian, *op. cit.* Taf. iv. Figs. 4, 5, 7.
[2] Mackenzie, *J.H.S.* xxiii. 165.
[3] *Bull. Pal.* xvi. 197.
[4] *Röm. Mitt.* xiii. 171–191.
[5] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 229.

duction of paint. The latter gives little trouble. We know that just previous to this date paint had begun to be used for vase decoration in several parts of the Aegean. Couple with this the fact that the only part of Italy to adopt it was Sicily, the nearest point to the Aegean, and the inference is obvious. It is not absolutely certain however. The use of paint may have arisen spontaneously in Sicily, but we have no evidence as yet to prove this. It is true that in the cave of Cala Farina Orsi found rough incised sherds with bands of red paint on them, but he himself admits the possibility of their being mere imitations of painted ware at a time when the latter had already developed.[1] Thus the mere fact that paint was used for this Sicilian ware gives us no certain clue to its origin.

Let us turn to the ornament. Here it is natural to ask whether Crete had any influence upon Sicilian painted pottery. We cannot answer the question with certainty, but two facts are worthy of note: firstly, not a single sherd of Cretan or Early Aegean painted pottery has ever been found in Sicily. This is of course quite indecisive and may be contradicted by new discoveries; indeed, if we could find an unrifled cemetery of Period I. in the neighbourhood of a fine harbour such as that of Syracuse, round which so many settlements of Period II. were built, we should in all probability find Minoan pottery there. Secondly, the Minoan period to which Siculan I. is parallel is one about which we know little as yet. The excavation of Knossos and Phaistos yielded no complete series of Early Minoan pottery, and though the gap has been filled to some extent by discoveries in the east of the island, and in particular by Mr. Seager's work at Basilikè, it would be dangerous to say that the series even approached completeness. All we can say is that the Early Minoan pottery as yet found shews little affinity with the Sicilian, and affords no particle of evidence for a common origin or for the derivation of the one from the other.

It was in reading Prof. Soteriades' report[2] of his excavations at Chaeronea and Elatea that I was first struck by the resemblance of the decorative elements of his painted Neolithic pottery to those of the painted ware of Sicily. The, as yet unpublished, Thessalian painted pottery from Sesklo and Dimini, now in the museum at Athens, also presented analogies with the Sicilian. Desiring to get first-hand evidence on the question, I

[1] *Bull. Pal.* xxxiii. pp. 16, 17.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, pp. 113 *sqq.*

went up to Chaeronea, where Prof. Soteriades' pottery was at that time lying in an improvised museum. The excavator himself, though suffering at the time from fever, received me with the greatest kindness, and, in addition to giving me much information about his work, went through many baskets of sherds with me. This examination confirmed the theory already suggested by the articles in the *Mitteilungen*, that the North Grecian and Sicilian decorative schemes had much in common. It must be stated, however, at the outset, that there is one very important difference: the Sicilian decoration is almost always arranged vertically (Hoernes' *Rahmenstil*), the vase being divided into vertical 'frames' and each holding a complete and separate ornament; the Chaeronean pottery is mainly decorated in the horizontal sense (Hoernes' *Umlaufstil*),—that is to say, the ornament is grouped on the vase in horizontal bands. Whether this is invariable or not, I am unable to say, as I saw the sherds before any attempt at restoration had been made. Nevertheless, this great distinction between the two series of pottery does occur, and it would be more than foolish to try to pass it over. The Thessalian pottery, however, which has certain affinities with the Chaeronean, is often ornamented in the vertical sense (*Rahmenstil*).

Having admitted this distinction, let us examine the points of similarity. Anyone who is not familiar with the painted ware of the First Siculan period may refer to the illustrations in *Bull. Pal.* vol. xix. Tav. 5, 6, 7, vol. xxiii. Tav. 1, and vol. xxiv. Tav. 20, 21, 22. The clay is impure and of a yellow-grey colour. It is covered with a coloured slip, either cream-yellow (passing into dirty white at Castelluccio) or dark brick-red. On this slip are laid geometric designs in black or dark brown with the occasional addition of white. The colours are matt, but the whole surface has a slight hand polish. There is no sign of the use of the wheel.

Anyone who will trouble to turn up the plates I have mentioned, more especially those in vol. xix., will at once perceive which are the commonest ornament-motives at Castelluccio. Some of these are, so far as I know at present, quite without parallel at Chaeronea, as for example Fig. 4 *a*, *b*, *c*. These may well be developments of the local Siculan style; other motives, however, are less peculiar to the island.

In both the Siculan and the Chaeronean ware two methods of ornamentation stand out pre-eminent, the use of doubly-hatched surfaces and of the chess-board pattern. Orsi thinks that these are patterns natural

and even inevitable in pottery which is essaying to imitate the technique of rush- or wicker-work baskets.[1] Even admitting that such a derivation would account for the independent appearance of these two patterns in two localities, it does not take us very far, for in both places the two ornaments are used in very similar combinations. Note, for example, the fondness of the Siculan pottery for using both patterns side by side on the same vase, *e.g.* Fig. 5, *a* (after Orsi, *Bull. Pal.*), and compare the daring example from Elatea in Fig. 5, *b* (after Soteriades, *Ath. Mitt.*). Compare, too, the scheme of the two opposed triangles in the latter figure with the Siculan example in Fig. 5, *c*. In Fig. 5, *d* is one of the commonest of the Siculan decorative schemes, two doubly-hatched bands cutting at right angles, the outside lines being thickened. A similar scheme is usual at Chaeronea, where the same thickening of the outer lines is to be noted. Above all should be observed the curious irresponsibility sometimes shewn in both wares in the arrangement of the design. Thus in Fig. 5, *b* three small zigzags are attached to the base of the chequered triangle, with which they are entirely out of keeping, while in another example from the same place the zigzags are replaced by V-shaped appendages. It is surely more than a coincidence that precisely the same ornament is treated in a precisely similar manner in Sicily (Fig. 5, *a*). Further examples may be added. The ornament shewn in Fig. 5, *e* is common in Chaeronea ware, while in the Syracuse museum there are three Siculan examples from Grotto Lazzaro, Paternò, and Cala Farina. The *tremolo* Fig. 5, *f* appears in both wares in the same thickened form, and similarly placed in a vertical position. Finally the flag ornament of Fig. 5, *g* may be mentioned: the example given is Siculan, but in the Chaeronea ware it appears in a similar scheme, formed by producing the sides of a triangle at its apex.

In addition to these resemblances it is to be noticed that the colour scheme is much the same in both wares. The most typical Chaeronea ware is decorated in dark red on a light yellow ground, while the Siculan ware is in brown on a similar background. The brick-red background sometimes found in Sicily is at Chaeronea used only in monochrome ware.

These similarities in small detail are too numerous and striking to be overlooked. They at least lead us to consider very seriously the possibility of a real connexion between the ware of Sicily and that of Chaeronea.

[1] *Bull. Pal.* xix. 44.

Have they a common origin, or did one borrow from the other? The first question we cannot answer—we know too little of the Neolithic pottery of the Balkans to speak of origins. There is no doubt that the pottery of Sesklo and Dimini is clearly connected with that of the *Tells* of Bulgaria,[1] and that the Chaeronea ware is distinctly related to both, but we can get no further. Abandoning this question as unanswerable in the light of present knowledge, can we find any evidence for the use of Chaeronean models in Sicily? Though no fragment of such pottery has ever been found in Sicily, there is a probability that such importation did take place, and for this reason. At Molfetta about 120 sherds of imported painted ware were found, and others of a similar type occurred at Matera. Dr. Mayer, writing in 1904, assigns these fragments, in part at least, to some school of Aegean vase-painting as yet unknown to us elsewhere;[2] but since the discoveries of Chaeronea and Thessaly I think we can affirm with comparative safety, that most of the sherds come from some part of the Balkan peninsula, and that some at least are actual Chaeronea ware. Of this latter fact I was able to satisfy myself by comparison with a couple of Chaeronean sherds which Prof. Soteriades had kindly given me. Much of this Molfetta ware resembles more closely the Thessalian series, and comes without doubt from some part of the Balkans. Several of the Matera pieces exhibit all the appearances of Chaeronea ware. If these vases come from the Chaeronea district, they must have come by sea up the Gulf of Lepanto and across the Adriatic. Unfortunately we do not know the distribution of Chaeronea ware. In the hope that it might extend westward to the Adriatic coast of Epirus I spent a few days searching for it in Aetolia, but without success. None of the many peasants I questioned had ever found or seen coloured vases. Nevertheless the fact remains that in quite early times there was a large trade in painted vases across the mouth of the Adriatic, and it seems almost impossible that this trade failed to reach Sicily. Assuming that it did so, we have an explanation of the appearance of Chaeronean motives in Sicilian ware. This, however, is not a demonstrated conclusion, but only a probable suggestion.

It should be noted that the only other locality in Italy where painted pottery is found is Liguria, where two of the caverns[3] have yielded

[1] *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 360 *sqq.*
[2] Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 141.
[3] Viz. della Pollera and dell' Acqua.

a few imported fragments, too few to give any idea of their origin.[1] It is significant that it is in the Ligurian cases that we found Stentinello ware and other evidence of Aegean affinities.

Before leaving the question of pottery there are two or three small points to notice. One of the commonest forms in the Siculan painted series is the hour-glass cup of the type given in Fig. 6. This, as Orsi has pointed out, is precisely similar to the shape from Hissarlik given in Schliemann's *Ilios*, Fig. 1080. We may add that the similar form with only one handle, also common in Sicily, is known in the Cycladic graves at Siphnos. Again, Sardinia has yielded two vases which are of the Aegean *Schnabelkanne* type.[2] This form is unknown in Italy, and connects Sardinia at once with the Aegean. The island would form a natural stopping-place on a voyage from the Aegean by way of Sicily to Liguria. Together with these forms must be noticed an anthropomorphic vase from the Pulo at Molfetta, showing a rendering of the human face,[3] and recalling the similar vases at Hissarlik.[4] The occurrence of this vase is the more remarkable as the plastic art developed very late in Italy; it therefore points without doubt to foreign importation, though the particular vase in question may be a native imitation.

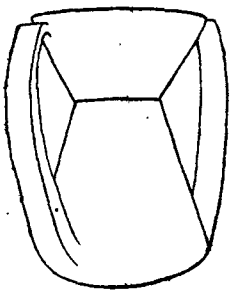

FIG. 6.—SICULAN 'HOUR-GLASS' CUP.

A strong confirmation of the connexion between Italy and the Aegean is afforded by the finding in several places of small clay idols representing human figures. It must be remembered that the idol, which plays such a great *rôle* in early Aegean civilization, is entirely foreign to that of Italy. Apparently the *terremare* folk were the first Italians who had any conception of the plastic reproduction of animal forms, and even they may have derived their ideas from foreign models. If, therefore, we can find idols in Italy the fact will be the more significant.

At Stentinello were found three pieces of plastic work. Two represent animals, while the third appears to be a human torso.[5] It is cylindrical in form, flattened at the shoulders. There is no reason to regard these as

[1] Only two, so far as I know. One is figured by Montelius, *Italie Centrale*, vol. i. Plate 117.
[2] *Mon. Ant.* xi. Tav. xviii. Figs. 16 and 18, [3] Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 83, and Tav. iii. Fig. 21.
[4] Schliemann, *Ilios*, Fig. 157. [5] *Bull. Pal.* xvi. Tav. vi. Figs. 9 and 14.

imports, and it is very probable that the plastic art was part of the original heritage of this folk long before they reached Sicily. As far as we can judge from the remains, this idol conformed to neither of the two early Aegean types, the so-called 'island' idol and the Thessalian.

At Villafrati ai Colli near Palermo, were found 'small painted idols along with bichrome vases.' The material has never been properly published, but it is clear from the presence of painted vases that it belongs to the First Siculan period. I was unable to find the idols in the Palermo museum, where they are said to be. Petersen describes them as 'zwei mykenische *idoletti*.' His figure is, however, too small to help, and as a matter of chronology it is difficult to see how true Mycenaean idols can occur in Siculan I. But whatever the date of these figures, they point to the Aegean, while, if they really were found with painted pottery, they must be of quite early period.

In the cavern of Arene Candide in Liguria were found two idols.[1] The work is rough, probably native, and the types are not obviously quite Aegean. As we have, however, already seen reason to connect Liguria with the Aegean, the presence of the idols becomes significant.

Upon the idols from the *terramara* at Tarentum we cannot insist, as they may be of true Mycenaean date, copied, as Quagliati suggests, from Mycenaean models. It must be added, however, that they conform to neither of the well-known painted types, and that Mycenaean idols were not found in the same stratum, but only in the stratum lying above and sharply separated from it.[2]

Thus the evidence of the idols supports the idea of Aegean connexions in Sicily and Liguria at least.

In conclusion, I wish merely to recapitulate my main contentions, which are three in number. Firstly, that South Italy and Sicily were, during the Neolithic and Early Metal period, in direct communication with various centres of the Aegean civilization, using the word in its widest sense. Objects were imported into, and perhaps imitated in, various parts of Italy, including the South-East coast, Sicily, Sardinia, and Liguria. The places most strongly pointed to are Hissarlik, the lower part of the Balkan peninsula, and perhaps Crete, and one is inclined to suggest a trade route from the Aegean up to Sicily, Sardinia, and Liguria. Secondly, the earliest civilization of the Neolithic period in South Italy is of an Aegean

[1] Figured by Issel in *Liguria geologica e preistorica.* [2] *Not. Scav.* 1900, p. 418, Fig. 3.

rather than an Italian type, and presents considerable affinities with that of Crete in particular. It is possible that both have a common origin and are due to branches of a single people. Thirdly, as in the Aegean so in Sicily, though nowhere else in Italy, the Early Metal period was marked by the appearance of painted pottery. Much of the design is native, derived from wicker-work, but some seems to point to the Balkan peninsula, while the technique was probably introduced from elsewhere in the Aegean.

T. E. PEET.

CRETAN PALACES AND THE AEGEAN CIVILIZATION. III.

If we summarize the ethnological evidence from excavation set forth in the previous paper it is to the following effect:—Notwithstanding all the local deviations that appear on the surface, there is no essential distinction of race underlying the civilization reflected by the remains at Tiryns and Mycenae, and that in Crete in the latter part of the Late Minoan Age. This period is represented by the remains of partial occupation of the royal buildings and by the finds from the cemeteries of the same period at Knossos, Phaestos and elsewhere in Crete. On contemplation of the finds belonging to this period, nothing is more striking than the uniform fact that there is in the regular sequence of development no real break as yet with what preceded. This is true, notwithstanding the inevitable processes of decadence that had now set in.

The evidence for this continuity has been brought together so convincingly by Dr. Arthur Evans in his publication of the Knossian tombs of this period that there is no reason here to do more than summarize the results.[1] Dr. Evans adduces as a positive phenomenon the continuity with the culture of the Later Palace Period. This is revealed in the vase-forms in clay and bronze and their decoration. It comes out further in a striking manner in the bronze sword-types. The negative phenomena are of quite as startling a character. There is an entire absence of (*a*) cremation, (*b*) the fibula and (*c*) iron. There are further no continental types of (*a*) vases, (*b*) swords. There is in the third place the complete non-existence

[1] See 'The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos,' *Archaeologia*, 1905, 1–172. [Separately: B. Quaritch.]

of any known type of bronze body-armour, such as (*a*) breast-plates, (*b*) greaves, (*c*) shields. This means, *ipso facto*, the entire absence of the continental types of bronze body-armour associated with Achaeans and other peoples of Hellenic race. We have in conclusion the general fact that all these phenomena, which are negative for the latter part of the Late Minoan Age, begin suddenly to become positive in the post-Minoan era.

People of Mycenaean Race in Crete.

If now we compare this evidence with that derived from the mainland of Greece, we shall find a parallel phenomenon there. This is a fact of very great importance towards an understanding of the probable trend of events after the destruction of the Palace at Knossos in that wider context of Aegean history which takes in the mainland of Greece as well as Crete. In order to understand these events we must study certain causes which lie outside the general context of Mycenaeo-Aegean history itself. These causes are to be connected with the migrations from the north of peoples of Hellenic race. The Achaean people, who appear in story as the earliest of these Hellenic tribes to enter the Peloponnesus, might very well already be not far from the gates of Tiryns and Mycenae at the time of which we speak. A necessary consequence of these movements southwards was a concomitant emigration of the earlier prehistoric inhabitants of the land to the islands of the Aegean ; since the persistent and continuous action of those migratory incursions from the north must have forced them from their homes on the mainland. It is in this way that we can best explain the mainland Mycenaean type of the late palace at Phylakopi, to which reference has already been made in this connection.[1] The late Mycenaean megaron again, discovered by the Italians at Hagia Triada in Crete itself (as has been already suggested), fits in so well, not only in period, but in its Mycenaean type of construction, with that which was previously discovered at Phylakopi, that there can now be no further doubt as to the common source whence both were derived.[2]

A curious concomitant phenomenon of the time, observable at Melos as at Knossos, may here serve to confirm the probability that the same causes were operative at the destruction of the Minoan palace of Knossos

[1] *B.S.A.* xi. 220, 221, Fig. 4.

[2] *Ibid.* 220, and note 3. *Mem. r. Ist. Lomb.* vol. xxi. Fasc. v. 238–40.

and at the building of the Mycenaean palace of Phylakopi.[1] The pottery found in the Melian palace is not distinguishable from that of the same period that occurred in the cemeteries of Knossos belonging to the latter part of the Late Minoan Age succeeding the destruction of the Cretan palaces. The Phylakopi pottery is clearly not of the native Melian fabric; and the origin of its manufacture is conclusively proved to us by the Mycenaean character of the palace on the floors of which some of it was found. In strong contrast with this later phenomenon is the equally undoubted fact that the imported pottery of a previous era proved quite as clearly to originate for the most part in Crete. The influence, however, of Crete was now at an end, and the same Mycenaean movement into the Aegean which accounts for the palace at Phylakopi, explains at the same time the destruction of the palaces at Knossos and at Phaestos, and the cessation of political relations between Melos and Crete. No doubt the primary motive which led these people of Mycenaean race in the direction of the Archipelago and Crete in the first instance, was their natural feeling of kinship with the people of the Aegean and their expectation as emigrants to find among them a new home. They apparently met with resistance in Crete as in Melos; otherwise the destruction of the Palace of Knossos and the sack of Phylakopi at this time would probably not have occurred. When once they succeeded in removing the ruling dynasties, they seem to have settled down among the people of Crete in the period of decadence that followed, fraternizing with them readily, as with people of their own kin. What happened in Melos and in Crete is symptomatic of what must have been the general trend of events in different parts of the Aegean as far as the Anatolian littoral from Rhodes to the Dardanelles, at a time when Pelasgian emigration on a large scale was the order of the day. It is thus we can best explain the curious phenomenon of an apparently absolute dead-level of uniformity in the archaeological finds of the time, especially the pottery, in centres so far apart as Crete and Rhodes or Melos and the Argolid. But this is a phenomenon that is sure to present itself at a period of emigration on the part of peoples that have passed the zenith of their creative powers in the arts. These arts, in the new centres of life in such circumstances, and apart from the stimulus to change which external influences provide,

[1] See now Dr. Arthur Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, 48-9. Dr. Evans has kindly allowed me to peruse the paged proofs of this work.

are sure to exhibit in a gradually intensifying form all that tendency to a stereotyped dead-level of efficiency which had already been thoroughly learned in the old centres of their life. With the inability to create new ideas of art and life is coupled the slavish adherence to inherited tradition and custom in both. Nothing new is produced and nothing old is changed!

It is in view, then, of such a general movement of Pelasgian emigration that we can best explain the otherwise inexplicable references in ancient writers, from Herodotus to Strabo, to the presence of Pelasgians in different parts of the Archipelago, including Crete and Rhodes, as well as on the coasts of Asia Minor. The archaeological evidence for this Pelasgian invasion of the Aegean and of Crete provides moreover the best solution of one of the puzzles in the often cited passage in the *Odyssey*[1] referring to Pelasgians among the other inhabitants of Crete.[2] The objection that the passage in question is a late one, since it also mentions Dorians as well as Achaeans in Crete, does not touch this interpretation, while it explains the mention of Pelasgians alongside of Eteocretans and Cydonians, which otherwise remains inexplicable. The conclusions of philological investigation tend similarly towards confirming the independent results of archaeological research. These conclusions are to the effect that an immigration of Pelasgians into Crete preceded that of any occupation of the land by Achaeans and Dorians. In this connection must be mentioned the important researches on the philological side of the problem that are now being carried on with such interesting results by Dr. Richard Meister.[3] And Dr. Meister promises, in a later instalment of his investigations, a weighty argument in support of the tradition that the earliest immigrants from the continent into Crete were Pelasgians.[4]

[1] τ, 170 ff.

[2] Probably this is partly the reason why Prof. Ridgeway in 1895 (*J.H.S.* xvi. 84–5) formed the opinion that the Eteocretans must not be held responsible for the Minoan Civilization. In *The Early Age of Greece*, 87–8, 202–3, the same authority, writing in 1901, gives the Eteocretans a part of their due while still keeping the prime of the Minoan Culture in reserve for the Pelasgians. These are thus, however, made to appear on the scene much too early to square with the archaeological facts.

[3] See 'Dorer und Achäer' von Richard Meister, *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Band xxiv. No. iii. 64. See now also Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, 205.

[4] It may interest Prof. Ridgeway to know that these researches find linguistic support for the tradition preserved in Strabo 10. 4. 6 and Diodorus 5. 64. 1; 80. 1, to the effect that the original Cydonians of West Crete, in contrast with the immigrating Greeks of a later time, were autoch-

I have already spoken of the people represented on the Warrior Vase and on the painted stele of Mycenae as being very probably of Achaean race.[1] They wear, as we have seen, a costume which comes definitely into the general category of early Hellenic dress. And it does that in the one respect in which, through the absence of the loin-cloth, the early costume of the Greeks appears in contrast with that of the true people of Aegeo-Pelasgic stock, wherever these are represented. The assumption underlying the opposed view apparently is that the Achaeans imbibed, even to the details of dress, all the salient features of Mycenaean culture. That is to say, they gave up the most necessary parts of their own northern costume in favour of the southern loin-cloth of African origin of the prehistoric people. One can put the supposition in another form and say that the conquering people from the north adopted all of a sudden the dress of the conquered people from the south. The situation is grotesque. Yet the supposition in question, strange as it may appear, is just what the supporters of the Achaean hypothesis not only demand but require, if they are to make people of Achaean race the builders and decorators of the later palaces in Crete. Otherwise, though there is not, and could not be, a scrap of evidence in support of such an idea, we have to suppose that these good Achaeans chose to dress themselves in one kind of costume, while they represented themselves on the walls of Cretan palaces in another. The hypothesis in question, however, demands not a mere practical joke of this kind, but a complete and sudden transformation of those Achaeans from the north into persons who in dress and manners of life cannot be distinguished in the smallest way from the real people of the land. This only goes to strengthen the view of those who maintain the following thesis: viz. that when people from the mainland of Greece appear for the first time (before the end of the Late Minoan Age) on the

thonic in Crete. They were, therefore, on this view not Arcadian settlers of Pelasgian race, as Prof. Ridgeway (*op. cit.* 202) would have them, but natives of the land like the Eteocretans of the east end of the island.

[1] Tsountas (*loc. cit.* 11) considers, without deciding either way, the possibility that the great similarity between the procession of warriors on the vase and that on the stele may have been due to their having been both copied from an older painting. After the publication of this stele and the vases found along with it, it is a disappointment to find Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, i. 298, still believing, as regards the Warrior Vase, in Pottier's supposed 'good grounds for showing that it also is to be reckoned as Proto-Attic.' The good grounds lie more with Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 313–15, who, working from the ethnological side, has yet managed to hit the mark as regards the general context to which the vase ought to be assigned.

stage of Aegean history, these people differ from those of the islands only to the same extent as the Mycenaean palaces at Phylakopi and at Hagia Triada differ from the Late Minoan palaces of Knossos and of Phaestos. They differ, however, not nearly so much in dress and habits of life from the peoples of the islands as the Achaeans of the Warrior Vase of Mycenae differ from the Cretan Harvesters of Hagia Triada or the Melian Fishermen of Phylakopi. This is the true reason why the Pelasgian influence, which is so apparent in the type of late Mycenaean palaces in the Aegean, is so little marked as a real contrast in relation to what went before it in those more industrial arts of daily life, of which we have the remains in the finds of the period. The continuity of Minoan culture appears as surviving into the era of decadence which followed the destruction of the Cretan palaces; this was only natural, because, in the era immediately preceding the Pelasgian migrations into the Aegean, the Mycenaean civilization of the mainland of Greece in its general aspects was one with the Minoan culture of Crete.[1] This happened, not merely because Mycenae stood under the dominating influence of Crete at an earlier age, but because the Aegeo-Pelasgian civilization rested upon more intimate relations of kinship, going back in the last instanee to a common origin of race. We may in this way expect as a matter of course a continuity of development in the era of decadence; but it would be inexplicable on the hypothesis of an invasion by people of Achaean race at this period.

Achaeans in Crete.

In the period which immediately succeeds the destruction of the Minoan palaces of Crete there is no real break in the continuity of historical development: this interruption, as we have seen, is proved by excavation to have taken place at the end, rather than at the beginning of that period. On the other hand, Phylakopi in Melos and Hagia Triada in Crete show that people of Pelasgian race were then present in the Aegean, and equally clearly that people of Achaean stock did not appear at this stage on the scene of Cretan history. If, as against this evidence, it is affirmed that our supposed Pelasgian immigration into the Aegean was really an Achaean invasion of Crete attributable to this period, such an invasion

[1] Dr. Evans's comparative study of the finds from the Zafer Papoura cemetery at Knossos, already referred to, has brought out results that are all in the direction of this general conclusion.

would still be too late to account for the Achaean construction of the later palaces in Crete. At the same time, any attempt to assign to a still earlier period that Pelasgian immigration into the Aegean involves the further difficulty, that this must in any case be regarded as having preceded the Achaean invasion of Crete. Nothing results more clearly from the data than that the doings of Pelasgians in the Aegean and in Crete must be kept altogether distinct from those of the Achaeans, whether the evidence considered be archaeological or philological. And when these doings are so kept distinct, the historical sequence is inevitable, that it was the Pelasgians who first appeared upon the scene, and that after them came the Achaean people as the first pioneers of Hellenic settlement in Crete.[1]

The continuity observable in the post-palace finds from the necropolis at Knossos with what went before it at an earlier era has been already remarked upon. In glaring contrast with this continuity is the sudden incursion of un-Cretan and continental types in different industrial arts so noticeable in the finds from the tombs of the immediately succeeding era. If now our view is right regarding the racial affinities of the people who appear on the Warrior Vase of Mycenae, it can hardly be an accident that a continental type of vase which has no previous history in Crete itself should begin to occur all at once in its fully developed form in the tombs of this period to which we refer. This phenomenon is all the more remarkable for the following reason. The tomb-types and some of the burial customs still show a remarkable continuity with the past. On the other hand, something new in burial ritual is found to have supervened which marks an absolutely new beginning in funeral custom in Crete. This is the practice of cremation. This rite on the mainland of Greece we know as emerging for the first time with the first appearance of people of Aryan race in the land. In Crete again the practice of cremation was absolutely foreign to Minoan burial ritual, and, as Dr. Arthur Evans has pointed out, no instance of it occurred in the post-palace necropolis at Knossos. The occurrence of the practice in the later era to which we now refer is all the more striking when taken in conjunction with the appearance of the continental-looking objects, inclusively of the amphorae of the type of the Warrior Vase. The coincidence moreover only gains in significance through the verified fact of the intrusion of such objects and customs into the same tomb with other burials that still preserve Minoan

[1] See *Scripta Minoa*, 54-5.

tradition into post-Minoan days. The fact of a very significant coalescence of two racial strata, an earlier, Minoan, and a later, Hellenic, is thus proved to demonstration. The earlier and Minoan strata represent the element of racial continuity into a later time, in contrast with which the later Hellenic element (represented by the practice of cremation) is seen supervening as something absolutely new.

In this connection very great importance attaches to the group of two tombs discovered by peasants at Mouliana in East Crete, and published by Dr. Stephanos Xanthoudides, Ephor at the Museum of Candia.[1] Dr. Xanthoudides himself draws attention, in the case of one of these tombs (A), to the significant coincidence of inhumation with cremation. This in the circumstances could only mean a coalescence of racial influences in a sequence in which the later practice of cremation is seen supervening on the earlier custom of inhumation through the intrusion of a foreign element which could only be Hellenic.[2] The finds show the same coalescence of racial influence. Thus the stirrup-vase, which is so characteristic of the Late Minoan Age in Crete, and was so frequent in the necropolis of Knossos, occurs here in a late degraded form in the same general context with kraters of the mainland type of the Warrior Vase of Mycenae.[3] This ceramic contrast becomes still more significant, when we learn that in Tomb A at Moulianà a krater of this type was found to contain the cremated remains of the 'Geometrical' burial. In contrast with true Minoan and Mycenaean tradition in ceramic art, the krater in question shares, in common with the Warrior Vase, the peculiarity of introducing human beings into its representations. And here the crude un-Minoan character of the drawing does not conceal the fact that these men are as little Mycenaean in their aspect and equipment as the men of the Warrior Vase themselves.

Once, however, we have got thus far, we need not be surprised to learn that fibulae and continental types of swords in bronze are found in those tombs; nor that the remains of a sword and a dagger in iron occurred in

[1] See Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1904, 21–50.

[2] As Dr. Xanthoudides says: ἡ μεγαλυτέρα σημασία τοῦ τάφου τούτου ἔγκειται εἰς τοῦτο, ὅτι παρετηρήθησαν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ δύο συστήματα τῆς ταφῆς δηλ. καὶ ἡ καῦσις καὶ ὁ ἐνταφιασμός· καὶ τὰ κτερίσματα δὲ τὰ εὑρεθέντα ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ἀνήκουσιν εἰς δύο πλησιαζούσας μὲν χρονολογικῶς καὶ διασταυρουμένας ἐν μέρει ἀλλὰ διακεκριμένας ἐποχάς, ἤτοι τὴν τελευταίαν μυκηναϊκὴν καὶ τὴν γεωμετρικήν.

[3] See Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. Fig. 6, Plate III. 1.

connection with the cremated remains of Tomb A, and that a fragment of iron from some similar object was found in Tomb B.[1]

The phenomena of survival which at first sight seem so misleading tell a similar story. A very good illustration is furnished by the chamber-tomb at Milatos recently published by Dr. Arthur Evans.[2] In discussing this tomb Dr. Evans remarks upon the significance of the presence in it of a 'new form of bell-shaped amphora with two handles which survives into the Geometrical Period.' On some of these vases we have a recrudescence of marine decorative motives that seem to bring one back once more to Minoan times, did one not consider the general context in which the marine motives occur. Most of the vessels, such as the stirrup-vases and the pedestalled cups, are very late Mycenaean, and the cylinder-necked amphorae, with their foreign build and un-Cretan make and set of handle, though probably of local fabric, fall outside the genuine Minoan sequence. They belong to a series whose immediate antecedents are to be sought on the Mycenaean continent of Greece. The class of amphora in question is indeed rather what may be called 'sub-Mycenaean' than Mycenaean. On such a type of vase the motives based on the octopus and triton-shell are themselves only an unintelligent echo of similar designs on the latest Minoan pottery, as represented by the finds of the period of partial occupation at the Palace of Knossos.[3]

An essential moment in the process of survival appears in the fact that these motives pass over into the new period with those types of vessels that have themselves survived from an earlier era.

As a typical instance we may take the well-known survival of the stirrup-vase into an era so Hellenic as to be separated by centuries from the earlier Minoan development. The survival in question took place alongside of the survival into the new era of the old race itself. This is well illustrated by the history of the tombs at Moulianà and at Milatos, to which reference has been made. Thus the recurrence of the octopus-design on a stirrup-vase from Tomb B at Moulianà in company, as Dr. Evans has pointed out, with bronze swords of the late continental type, shows us the process of survival already fully accomplished. Once that end of

[1] *Ibid.* 29–31, Fig. 7; 47–9, Fig. 11. For the iron, 38, 49.

[2] *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 93–103, Figs. 104*a*, 104*b*; and for the pottery, Figs. 105, 106.

[3] *Ibid.* Figs. 105 A, 106 J.

development has been attained, it no longer matters, in the continentally modified environment of the later time, what such motives really mean, or on what kind of vessel, native or foreign, they now appear. It is hard indeed to say whether the artist who painted the foreign-looking Milatos amphorae knew in the least that he was really painting octopus and triton-shell. The checker pattern again, which is substituted for the head of the octopus on the larnax from Tomb B at Moulianà, is so far removed from nature that we see at once that the painter in this case could not have had the remotest idea what he was doing.

The occurrence of this checker pattern itself, however, in a context so early as that of the Moulianà tombs is of very great importance. Taken in connection with the general context in which it occurs, it disposes at once of a favourite theory of Dümmler's. This theory is to the effect that the appearance of such Geometric motives on 'Mycenaean' pottery tends to show that, before the end of the Mycenaean Age, the pottery of the period had come under the influence of the Dipylon style![1] He cites as instances in point the motives in Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, x. 63 A, B; xxxviii., xv. 96; xxx., xxxiv. 340, 341. Now the checker pattern of 341 is only distinguishable from that of the Cretan larnax by the fact that it lacks the crescents on the light-ground checkers which characterize the latter. That the crescents do not constitute an essential distinction is shown by the fact that a one-handled spouted mug from the Cave of Dikte has a checker pattern which answers exactly to that of the Mycenae fragment.[2] Yet the mug from Dikte is probably of earlier date. Later than all these examples is a krater from the Geometric cemeteries of Knossos with an exactly similar checker panel.[3] This vase itself, derived as it is from the type of the Warrior Vase, stands very early in the Geometric series. On the other hand it would be difficult to assign to it so early a date as would bring the class to which it belongs into direct contact with pottery of the same series as that to which the larnax from Moulianà belongs. We can never bring it so far back as to put the checker pattern of the Moulianà pottery, not to speak of the checker pattern from Dikte, into a derivative relation to that on the Geometric vases. The occurrence, morever, of a vase with a similar checker panel in the late Minoan III. cemetery of Phaestos removes all

[1] 'Zum aeltesten Kunsthandwerk,' *Ath. Mitt.* xiii. 288–94.
[2] *B.S.A.* vi. Fig. 31.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 84, Fig. 26.

remaining doubt as to the priority of the motive to any possible Geometric influence.[1]

The evidence then from Mouliana, supported by that from other sites, enables us to say that most, if not all of the examples brought forward by Dümmler to support his theory inherit direct the traditions of the Mycenaean repertory of ornament. And when in course of time these traditions come under foreign influence, this is not in the first instance Geometric and Dorian, but only quasi-Geometric post-Mycenaean, and yet pre-Dorian. In a word, it shows Mycenaean ornament under Achaean influence.

Dümmler, however, was not content with general conjectures as to the supposed derivative character of much of the latest Mycenaean ornament. It will only be doing justice to the rare speculative insight of an archaeologist all too early lost to science, to emphasize the fact that he was on the right track in one important respect. His views tended towards the conclusion that the purely Mycenaean character of much of the pottery belonging to Furtwängler and Loeschcke's 4th Class could not be maintained. It is in respect of his particular views as to the immediate Geometric character of all pottery that is no longer Mycenaean, that reservations must be made. Thus, for example, in respect of the Warrior Vase itself, he does not hesitate to attribute to Geometric derivation the peculiar type of double-handle with the conjunction between in the form of a horned beast's head in relief. This vase, however, on the contrary, only affords evidence that the type of double-handle in question had a much earlier history, which is probably to be connected genetically with traditions of bronze work going back to the Mycenaean Age. The double-handles still preserve a reminiscence of twisted horns in bronze; and the original signification is not altogether disguised by the fact that the potter in his treatment of the features seems hardly conscious any longer that he is rendering the head of a horned animal.

The finds from the tombs of Mouliana have, however, a generic importance, in so far as they now enable us to bring into its true context the very late pottery that has recently been accumulating, as a result especially of the excavations of the British School in East Crete.[2] One

[1] See *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xiv. Tav. XXXVII. 1.

[2] For this pottery see *B.S.A.* viii. 289, Fig. 2; 303, Fig. 19, with cogent appreciations by Mr. R. C. Bosanquet in the relative text. Further, ix. 317–20, Figs. 17–19.

very significant outcome of the study of these finds, notably by Mr. R. M. Dawkins, has been to separate off from the category of what has been called Late Minoan III. at Knossos a still later class designated as Late Minoan III. *b*. Now it is rather enlightening to find that this later class in East Crete has characteristics which enable us at once to bring it into one general context with pottery that is already post-Minoan at Knossos. Thus, for example, of the vase shown *B.S.A.* ix. 319, Fig. 19, and the similar type in the *B.S.A.* viii. 289, Fig. 2 Mr. Dawkins very aptly notes 'that the shape of these two bowls is in fact almost the same as that of the big geometric vases that have been found containing burnt bones.'[1] It is thus all the more interesting to find a similar shape in Tomb A at Moulianà, together with an analogous vase of the big type, not yet Geometric, which was referred to above as containing the remains of the cremation burial of the same tomb.[2] To summarize then the results obtained from the study of this pottery, the following facts come out. Firstly we have the very significant negative phenomenon, that the pottery in question does not occur in the Late Minoan III. cemetery of Zafer Papoura at Knossos, nor is it found in the necropolis of the same period at Phaestos.[3] In the next place there is the significant positive phenomenon supplied by the fact that it recurs in deposits of the same period as the finds of the Moulianà tombs. Lastly we have the equally significant fact that, in a wider context, this late pottery turns out to be of the same general character as Furtwängler and Loeschcke's 4th 'Mycenaean' style.

The absence of the kind of pottery referred to in the two crucial instances of the Late Minoan III. cemeteries at Knossos and Phaestos is a phenomenon of very grave significance. Taken in connection with many other indications of ethnic disturbance of a serious character at the end of the Late Minoan Age, it indicates a break in the continuity of development in which a racial displacement is seen standing in a causative relation to corresponding displacements in the social organisation of human institutions. One of the concomitant phenomena was the abandonment of

[1] *B.S.A.* ix. 320.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904, Fig. 6, No. 4, and Pl. III. 1. This vase has a pale powdery wash instead of the hand-polished buff clay slip of Minoan and Mycenaean ceramics. The cremation krater with checker panel, already referred to, from the Geometric cemeteries at Knossos (*B.S.A.* vi. 84, Fig. 26), exhibits a still later, now Geometric, phase in development.

[3] *Mon. Ant.* xiv. 557–65, Figs. 42–7.

old burying grounds for new ones. The contrast with this break in continuity is all the more striking when it is remembered that both of these cemeteries themselves, though already laid out before the destruction of the Cretan palaces, continued still in use to the end of the Late Minoan Age. Far, however, from there being any sign of discontinuity at this time with the phenomena of earlier development, the remains throughout the whole area of the Aegean sphere of influence show that the era of the Late Minoan III. cemeteries of Crete is the period of the widest distribution of Mycenaeo-Aegean art. In complete harmony with this phenomenon again is the significant fact that in the test-case of Egypt, pottery of the Late Minoan III. class is no less conspicuous by its presence than that of the following era is by its absence. Furtwängler and Loeschcke's 4th 'Mycenaean' style is entirely lacking in Egypt. This phenomenon again can only mean that the orderly trade-relations of the Aegean with the great outer world of Egypt and the East were now at an end. The displacements, which the very peculiar circumstances of discovery enable us to conjecture in the internal social and political affairs of the Aegean, have their necessary consequences in the arrest of all commercial intercourse with the world at large. The primal originative cause of all these connected phenomena, it is now very clear, can only be sought in a profound change of current in the general trend of events: so very marked a change can hardly have been caused by anything less significant than the appearance for the first time of people of Achaeo-Hellenic race on the stage of Aegean history.

The phenomena of change in the Mycenaeo-Aegean world outside Crete receive an illustration from the finds hardly less significant. The bearing in this connection of Furtwängler and Loeschcke's pottery of the 4th style, to which the Warrior Vase also belongs, has already been touched upon. This bearing is still further confirmed by the corresponding character of the pottery found in the same tomb with the Warrior Stele of Mycenae, which itself is contemporary with the Vase.[1] This pottery again, with its decadent reminiscences in ornament and style of the Mycenaean of the previous period, is of the same kind as that found

[1] For this pottery see Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, Pl. II. 6, 7, 8. The type of vase 8, however, is un-Mycenaean in origin. It recurs as far afield as Enkomi and Curium in Cyprus in a context which is no longer Mycenaean. See *Excavations in Cyprus*, 34, Fig. 66, 1222, 1246; 72, Fig. 124, 31. This vase is referred to again on page 79, Tomb 31, 'two-handled lekythos (sub-Mycenaean).' The type-affinity with the Cypriote 'Pilgerflasche' is very apparent.

elsewhere, notably in Crete, in tombs containing the earliest instances of cremation, of the fibula and of the use of iron.[1] The occurrence of the fibula in the latest tombs of the Lower Town of Mycenae to which the Warrior Stele also belongs is a corresponding phenomenon in a very early phase. The fibulae of Mycenae are of the most primitive fiddle-bow type, whereas those of Moulianà have already got arched bows. The only sense of sequence which can be conjectured in the phenomena is the natural one which would make the fall of Mycenae somewhat anterior to that of Knossos. Once, however, we pass away from the great centres of Mycenaeo-Aegean culture, the contemporaneity of events on the large scale can only be established in a general sense which does not include the proof of every sequence in detail. Thus, for example, if we take the necropolis at Salamis excavated by Kavvadias, without a detailed publication before us it is difficult to say whether the finds as a whole are earlier or later than those of Moulianà in Crete. The provisional report of late stirrup-vases coincident with the practice of cremation and the presence of fibulae with arched bows like those of Moulianà would seem, however, to establish the general fact of contemporaneity in the two sets of phenomena. And Kavvadias is probably not very far from the truth in his general conclusion 'that the cemetery of Salamis belongs to a transition stage between the Mycenaean and the Homeric epochs.'[2] Deposits, however, like those belonging to the lower town of Mycenae explored by Tsountas, in which occurred the fiddle-bow type of fibula, must be put distinctly earlier than those of Salamis and of Moulianà.[3] In these the type of fibula with arched bow already occurs, and this is typologically later than the other.

Reference has already been made to a ceramic series from East Crete which was assigned by the excavators to a sub-class succeeding the Late Minoan III. pottery of Knossos. This series, as we saw, it is now possible

[1] See Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1888, 119–180, Pl. IX. 1, 2. The true sequence in the phenomenon of the first appearance of such fibulae is probably brought out by the fact of the occurrence of one of these two examples (No. 1) in the dromos of one of the tombs. *Ibid.* 148, Tomb 29. There is a curious indirect parallel to this phenomenon in the occurrence in one of the niches of the Isopata Tomb at Knossos of a stirrup-vase of the same post-Minoan character as those from Tomb A at Moulianà. See *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 141, Fig. 122, and compare with Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904, 27, Fig. 6, 2 and 3. Tomb A at Moulianà was the one which contained the cremation krater, the fibulae with arched bows and the fragments of an iron sword and knife.

[2] Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, 388. For the Salamis fibulae see page 164.

[3] For the Moulianà fibulae see Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. *loc. cit.* 30, Fig. 7.

to relegate to the same general post-Minoan period to which belong the finds from the tombs of Moulianà. Now, as it happens, this series includes an amphora[1] which is of the same type as the Cypriote amphorae with human representations. On the other hand its garbled decoration is much less Minoan than that of the similar octopus amphorae from the Milatos tomb. That the Cypriote amphorae again could on occasion be as quasi-Mycenaean as the earliest post-Minoan Cretan ones is shown by many examples that have come out in the excavations in Cyprus.[2]

There is an interesting phenomenon of repeated occurrence that emerges on consideration of the class of pottery to which belongs the Warrior Vase of Mycenae. This is the appearance of human representations in vase-painting for the first time, as contrasted with the true ceramic usage of the Aegeo-Mycenaean Age. Such representations are absolutely unknown in any pottery of the late Minoan Period in Crete, down to the close of the era represented by the Late Minoan III. cemeteries of Knossos and Phaestos. This phenomenon makes the sudden emergence of such themes in the immediately succeeding era all the more remarkable. Of this the cremation krater of Moulianà is no less striking an illustration than the Warrior Vase of Mycenae itself. The representation of such subjects may be regarded as all the more significant if it be allowed that the Warrior Vase, as well as the painted stele of Mycenae, goes back to a common original in wall painting. That would clearly mean that there was a new influence at work in breaking with the earlier tradition. In the true Mycenaean era no such representation in ceramic art is known, though such models as those afforded by wall-painting on the grand scale were quite as readily available as in the later time.

The models at hand were, however, not confined merely to wall-painting, since the gold cups of Vaphio and the steatite vases of Crete, such as those with the Harvesters and with Gymnastic and Bull-fighting scenes discovered by the Italians at Hagia Triada, exist to show that there were more direct examples for imitation. Yet these afforded no impulse

[1] *B.S.A.* ix. 319, Fig. 18.

[2] For specimens see *Excavations in Cyprus*, 37, Fig. 65, 1088; 40, Fig. 69, 876; 48, Fig. 74, 1147, 1149. The fibulae of the fiddle-bow type found at Enkomi in Cyprus seem to be a little later than those from the tombs of the lower town of Mycenae. See A. J. Evans, 'Mycenaean Cyprus as illustrated in the British Museum Excavations,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxx. 204, and Fig. 3.

whatever, even to mere copying on the part of the potters of the time.[1]

The contrast in this respect with the practice of a later time comes out with all the greater impressiveness, since at first sight it would seem that it was otherwise in one well-known instance, that of Cyprus. The exception in this case, however, is more apparent than real. The well-known kraters and amphorae with human representations that excavations in Cyprus have so constantly yielded from the time of Cesnola onwards, can hardly now, in the light especially of Cretan discovery, be assigned to a date so very much earlier than the cremation-krater of Mouliana and the Warrior Vase of Mycenae as would put them into the true Mycenaean series. The wonder only is that the contradiction in which some of the finds appear with the real characteristics of the era to which they were supposed to belong did not become at once patent to the more recent excavators in Cyprus themselves. Now, however, that we have got the very definite results afforded by the Late Minoan III. cemeteries of Crete, there can scarcely be any further doubt that the objects found with such amphorae and kraters, of whatever kind, belong more to the era of the Mouliana tombs, than to that of the Zafer Papoura cemetery at Knossos. The type of both the amphora and the krater in question are as conspicuous by their absence from the Late Minoan III. cemeteries as they are by their presence in the burials of the immediately succeeding era. The amphorae of Milatos, and cremation-kraters like that of Mouliana, answer completely in shape to the amphorae and kraters with human representations from Cyprus. The krater from Mouliana, the Warrior Vase from Mycenae, and the Cypriote kraters with human representations, while agreeing completely in type, are in entire correspondence with one another in the one characteristic of human representation; and herein they appear in complete contrast with the ceramic usage that was found to occur in the case of the Late Minoan III. cemeteries of Crete. It is true that all the Cypriote pottery found in the same context as the fiddle-bow type of fibula is earlier than the deposits of pottery in Crete and elsewhere, which went along with the fibula with arched bow. That observation, however, only shows that it is already possible to detect a sequence in the later develop-

[1] The Fishermen Vase of Phylakopi is a rare exception which, however, probably owes its uniqueness to the fact that it is not really a vase at all, but a lamp-stand which possibly imitated a prototype in some more precious material. See *Excavations at Phylakopi*, 123.

ment.[1] But it affords no justification whatever for regarding the earlier pottery as still really Mycenaean and the fiddle-bow fibula as a mere early importation affected as a modish curiosity of attire by a people not accustomed to its use.

The vase from Curium, *Excavations in Cyprus*, 73, Fig. 127, has a representation with women in Mycenaean dress which is unique. In this case it is not possible to say whether the representation imitates an older wall-painting or is an illustration of contemporary daily life when the prehistoric race of Greece although already under Achaean influence was still in the majority and Mycenaean costume was still in vogue.[2]

Into the same post-Mycenaean period as the tombs of Mouliana come most of the finds from the burying-place of Thunder Hill at Kavousi in East Crete excavated by Mrs. Harriet Boyd Hawes.[3] The excavator herself observes of the decoration of the pottery that 'curved lines are still preferred to straight, indicating a time not long subsequent to the Mycenaean.'[4] The fibulae are of the same arched bow type as those from Tomb A at Mouliana.[5] The iron sword from the house-settlement of the same locality probably affords a clue to the type of that indicated by the iron fragments from the Mouliana tomb.[6] It is thus impossible not to agree with Mrs. Hawes when she concludes that 'all indications justify us in assigning the house and tombs of Thunder Hill to the sub-Mycenaean epoch, transitional between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.' On the other hand a somewhat later use of the cemetery is shown by the fact that though some of the finds, as said, seem to be contemporary with those of the Mouliana tombs, others again are so late as to come into the same category as those of the tombs of Courtes described by Lucio Mariani in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1901, pages 302–314.

It is unfortunate that no metal objects were yielded by the tombs of the necropolis of Erganos near Lyttos explored by Halbherr.[7] Yet

[1] Many of the Cypriote vases are, it is true, of the same type and of similar decoration to the latest vases from the Late Minoan III. cemetery at Knossos, but that is only what was to have been expected at the transitional stage.

[2] See *J.H.S.* xxi. 111, note 3, 112, Fig. 6. Compare *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxx. 201-2. See also *Scripta Minoa*, 64, 67–71.

[3] *A.J.A.* 1901, 132–136, Pls. I., II. [4] *Ibid.* 135.

[5] *Ibid.* 136, Fig. 2. Compare *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, note *b*.

[6] *Ibid.* 137, Fig. 4. 'The iron sword (Fig. 4) is of an early pattern following close after the Mycenaean' (p. 136).

[7] See *A.J.A.* 1901, 270–281, Figs. 5, 6, 7.

here again the general character of the pottery makes it sufficiently clear that this cemetery comes into the same category as the tombs of Milatos, Moulianà, and that to which belongs the Warrior Stele of Mycenae. Thus, for example, the stirrup-vases figured in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1901, Pl. VI. 1, 2, have more than an outward resemblance in type and style of decoration to the stirrup-vases from tomb A at Moulianà.[1] Again, the rows of loops on the shoulder of the stirrup-vase, *ibid.* Fig. 3, recur on a vase which was found along with the Warrior Stele of Mycenae.[2] The foreign character of the Erganos vase Fig. 4 is, however, quite unmistakable. The shape of the vase and the peculiar set of the handles are as un-Cretan as the general style and distribution of the ornament.[3] Dr. Evans, indeed, calls attention to the ethnological significance of the occurrence of this cinerary urn in one tomb 'with the remains of crouched skeletons and late stirrup-vases. No metal objects were found in this tomb, but it is safe to say,' he adds, 'that the cremated remains belong to the beginning of the Iron Age.'[4]

If further work of the same kind as the American excavations at Kavousi be undertaken, we may expect interesting new results as to the sequence of ceramic types in the period of which we speak. At Kavousi we see a spirit which is probably Geometric supervening on a Hellenic type of culture which there and at Moulianà is not yet Dorian and yet is no longer Minoan or even Mycenaean. The human subjects which constantly recur on the pottery of this time, and which are found in regions as far apart as Mycenae, Crete and Cyprus, bespeak the marvellous new interest taken by these people in human exploits of an heroic nature; and their conditions of culture correspond with that which is represented for us in the Epics of the Homeric Cycle. The fact that there is an ethnological stratification preserved to us in the Epic is only natural when we see that there is a stratification of racial elements represented in the tombs of the period. The old prehistoric people, with their great religious and artistic tradition, and their heritage of marvellous story, do not all

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904, 27, Fig. 6, 2, 3.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, Pl. II. Fig. 8; compare also from Tomb B 43, Fig. 10, and the stirrup-vase from the south niche of the dromos of the Royal Tomb of Isopata at Knossos, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 141, Fig. 122.

[3] This is true although, as Halbherr points out, the checker pattern on this vase has still a reminiscence of 'the floral decorations on a portion of the Mycenaean urn of Milatos' published by Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* i. 209, Pl. II. Figs. 1 and 2.

[4] *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, 134, note *b*.

at once disappear from view on the appearance of the new folk from the mainland. If they fraternised first with people of Mycenaean race they could fraternise now with the new conquerors of Mycenae. In the modified environment of the later time the old elements of culture are transformed to new uses, and the old stories with a difference are told again in the new language of Achaean Greeks.[1]

Dorians in Crete.

It is not as yet possible to indicate in more than a very general way what were the successive phases in post-Mycenaeo-Minoan ceramic development that preceded the final dominance of the Geometric style in Crete. We can only say definitely that the pottery which comes into the same context as that found with the Warrior Stele of Mycenae is as yet entirely free of the Geometric spirit. This is true of the pottery from the Milatos tomb, as well as of the Cypriote pottery from Enkomi and elsewhere. This again, through its introduction of human scenes, has affinities of its own, as we have seen, with the cremation krater of Mouliana in East Crete. All this pottery is still entirely pre-Geometric. On the other hand at Thunder Hill in Kavousi we found that pottery like some of that at Mouliana was found in the same burying-place with later types, which again come into the same category as the early Geometric ware of Courtes. The final stages in the pre-Geometric development we are not as yet able to define, but on the other hand we can definitely say that the pottery of Courtes is already purely Geometric in spirit.

The tombs of Courtes themselves, notwithstanding the at first sight puzzling appearance of the stirrup-vase among pottery types so essentially foreign as the generality from these tombs, clearly belong to a later age than the 'Achaean' tombs of Mouliana and the early post-Minoan elements in the burying-place of Thunder Hill at Kavousi already referred to.[2] The foreign 'Geometric' spirit in the style of decoration now thoroughly dominates vessels so native in type as even the stirrup-vase. With this post-Achaean wave of influence, the Minoan spirit, which was still so closely echoed in the early post-Minoan tombs of Mouliana,

[1] Compare *Scripta Minoa*, 54–5.

[2] Compare for the presence of the stirrup-vase at Courtes, Mr. J. P. Droop, 'Geometric Pottery from Crete,' in *B.S.A.* xii. 58.

Milatos and Erganos, as to give rise to a certain amount of chronological ambiguity, has now become all but obliterated.[1] It is now, perhaps, not too venturesome to conjecture that nothing but the Dorian invasion of Crete could account for so emphatic a change as this.

In this connection it is to be regretted that the researches at Courtes, owing to the opposition of the Turkish authorities at the time, had to be made under circumstances so difficult as to render quite impossible any detailed exploration of the cemetery, such as could have led to an inventory of tomb-groups. It is thus all the more fortunate that the explorations made under changed and much more favourable conditions by Mr. D. G. Hogarth at Knossos in 1900 led to the discovery of two find-groups from Geometric tombs, which enable us to put a large proportion of the finds from Courtes into their true context.

Nothing is more striking about the Knossos find-groups than the already strongly Geometric character of the decoration of the vases, and this feature they have in common with the pottery from Courtes. Further, however, when we come to details, we find that certain characteristic types, native and foreign, belonging to the Knossos groups, recur at Courtes. Thus the stirrup-vase with Geometric pattern from the Knossos group, *B.S.A.* vi. 84, Fig. 26, 1, behind, answers to the quainter, provincial Geometric type from Courtes, *Amerian Journal of Archaeology*, 1901, Pl. VIII. 1–3. The foreign wine-decanter with trefoil lip from Knossos, Fig. 25, behind to the right, is identical in shape and decoration with Courtes, VIII. 8. The similar smaller type of oinochoë, again with trefoil lip and Geometric pattern such as hatched triangles, is equally common to the Knossos group and to Courtes. The animal vase with Geometric pattern from tomb-group, Fig. 26, at Knossos, is matched by the similar askoid vase from Courtes, *ibid.* Fig. 1, and so on.

The krater in the middle of the group in Fig. 26, from Knossos, is an interesting descendant of the type of the Warrior Vase of Mycenae, and if we were not on the watch for differences of style and context we might be tempted to put it into one group with the 'Achaean'-looking 'Hunter' krater from Mouliana; but its higher narrower shape and its strongly marked

[1] For the survival of Mycenaeo-Minoan decorative motives into the Geometric period see Sam Wide, 'Nachleben Mykenischer Ornamente,' *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. 233–58. Nothing but a new informing spirit, acting in a medium not itself in direct touch with the old forms of the Minoan repertory, could have imposed so strong a stamp of altered individuality on the many instances cited by Wide in this important paper.

Geometric decoration, in the environment in which it occurs, relegates it to a later era, when people of Dorian race were already in the land.[1] Nothing could make this clearer than the angular maeander decoration on the shoulder of the jar which forms the centre of the Knossian group, Fig. 25, with its thoroughly Doric character.

A comparison of the respective finds makes it apparent that the latest elements of the burying-place of Thunder Hill at Kavousi come into the same period as the Knossos groups and the earlier finds from Courtes. But this sequence and connection in the phenomena need not surprise us, since from the important Beehive Tomb of Rusty Ridge, in the same region of Kavousi, we have a group of vases in which the Geometric spirit of the Dorian colonists of Crete is seen already at its prime.[2]

Meanwhile, at Knossos itself, occasional discoveries of an important character in Geometric pottery have been made from time to time while we were on the look-out for Minoan tombs. These chance finds afford eloquent indication as to the rich harvest to be expected when the Geometric cemeteries shall have been systematically explored. One such find, made in our last campaign, has been described by Dr. Evans in the *Times* for July 15, 1907. This consisted of a large and interesting series of Geometric vases and other objects from two rock-cut tombs discovered about a mile to the north of the Palace. A startling peculiarity of some of the vases was their polychrome decoration in matt unfixed colours—an evident survival of the old Minoan tradition. The vases referred to were, however, entirely of the same type and decorative style as others that were in the usual dry, matter-of-fact monochrome technique in glaze paint. The polychrome vases, like the monochrome ones, were cremation-urns of the same type as the Geometric jar from Mr. D. G. Hogarth's excavations illustrated in *B.S.A.* vi. 83, Fig. 25. This coincidence of type makes it clear that the two sets of vases belong to the same stage in Geometric development. That this stage is a fairly early one is shown by the presence of the stirrup-vase in the same context as the polychrome jars referred to, and again among the vases excavated by

[1] Compare the equally 'Geometric' but probably still later krater of this type from Patéla, near Malevisi, published by Orsi, *A.J.A.* 1897, 252, Fig. 1. The same vase, *Mon. Ant.* vi. Tav. 12, 60 (Mariani, p. 343), and Wide, *Ath. Mitt.* xxii. 244, Fig. 14, 14*a*.

[2] See *ibid.* 143–150, especially Pls. III., IV., for the most important vase of this tomb-group.

Mr. Hogarth.[1] Dr. Evans assigns the new finds 'to a period about 800 B.C., when a Dorian settlement of a large part of the island was already an accomplished fact.'

From this assignment it is a far cry to the period and context claimed for the vases by Prof. Ridgeway.[2] 'The continuity,' he says, 'of the older style of decoration, as well as of the "stirrup-cup vases," can be much better explained, if the new tomb belonged to the Achaean lords of Cnossus, who had overthrown the Minoan dynasty.' From what has gone before it will be seen that this is impossible. The Achaean people, we believe, did put an end to the Mycenaeo-Minoan power, but it was not they who overthrew the Minoan dynasty at Knossos. On the other hand these Achaeans, as we saw reasons to conclude, did not produce the pottery and other objects of the Geometric type found at Courtes and in the cemeteries at Knossos to which reference has been made. To them rather must be attributed the much earlier post-Mycenaean and yet pre-Geometric ware represented for us in typical examples by the tombs of Moulianà. The true relation of earlier and later in the post-Mycenaean period will never be understood unless we see that there is a considerable interval between Late Minoan III. and the civilization represented in one of its earlier phases by the Geometric pottery in question. This interval becomes obliterated if we regard Geometric pottery like that from Courtes as immediately succeeding the Mycenaean style of Late Minoan III. The subjective process, however, which abolished the interval, becomes a grievous error if, with Ridgeway, we assign this Geometric pottery to the Achaean people themselves. But it is still worse, though more consistent, if the interval is then bridged over from the other side by making the destruction of the Cretan Palaces take place at the time of the Dorian migration. This is what Doerpfeld does.[3] His reason for doing so is, of course, that he makes the Achaean people, not the representatives of early post-Mycenaean culture, but of the civilization represented to us in the later Cretan Palaces. The Achaean people are thus no longer available for the rôle we have assigned to them in post-Mycenaean history, and this part is accordingly played

[1] *B.S.A.* vi. 84, Fig. 26, left-hand side behind. The vases illustrated in Fig. 26, and those shown in Fig. 25, are from two different tombs, but as the same ceramic types recur in both, the pottery as a whole forms a single series.

[2] 'Who were the Dorians?' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor*, 306.

[3] 'Die Kretischen Paläste,' *Ath. Mitt.* 1907, 602.

by the Dorian immigrants into Crete. In the course of this process of reasoning, however, not only is the Dorian migration into Crete shifted back into a period in history with which it has nothing to do, but the destruction of the Cretan Palaces is made to take place, not at the end of Late Minoan II., but towards the close of Late Minoan III.[1]

DUNCAN MACKENZIE.

ROME, *March* 1908.

[1] *Ibid.* 597, 602.

(*To be continued.*)

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 29th, 1907, Prof. PERCY GARDNER in the Chair. The following Report on the Session 1906–1907 was submitted on behalf of the Managing Committee :—

DURING the Session 1906–1907 excavation has been carried on continuously at Sparta, and has resulted in important discoveries. Progress has been made in the survey of Laconia, and various outlying sites have been explored.

The Secretary, Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre, having, according to his original agreement, obtained leave of absence for one year, is undertaking an extensive journey through Greece, the Aegean Islands, and Asia Minor. Early in the year 1907 he visited the School at Athens, and his consultations with the Director have resulted in various improvements. The knowledge and experience he is gaining by travel will undoubtedly be of the greatest use to the School. During Mr. Baker-Penoyre's absence his work is being carried on by Miss Katherine Raleigh.

The Director delayed his journey to Greece after the Annual Meeting of 1906 in order to help in the distribution of the duplicates from Palaikastro. Reaching Athens at the beginning of November he paid a short visit to Crete with Mr. Woodward in Jan. 1907. The remainder of the session was spent in Athens, and at Sparta in superintending the excavations, which, owing to their great interest and importance, left no time for explorations in other parts of Greece. The Director read papers at two of the four open meetings which were held during the session. The Director wishes to record here his obligations to the Greek Government and especially to Dr. Kavvadias and Dr. Stais for assistance given, as in previous years, towards obtaining photographs and carrying out various other commissions for correspondents.

Assistant Director and Students.—Mr. F. W. Hasluck, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, arrived in Athens on Nov. 22, 1906, where, besides fulfilling his ordinary duties, he prepared two papers for open meetings and worked

at his book on Cyzicus. On Feb. 25 he left for Brusa in Bithynia. He determined with probability the site of Caesarea Germanica, and identified two Frankish Castles, Kouboukliа and Katoikia, near Brusa, returning to Athens on the 11th March. An expedition undertaken by Mr. Hasluck on March 30 in the company of the Secretary to visit Hellespontine sites was unsuccessful owing to bad weather and other difficulties. Nicomedia, the Sangarius bridge, Magnesia, Sipylum and other places were visited. A fresh start was made on June 1 and three islands were explored, viz. :

(*a*) Marmara (Proconnesus), where unrecorded walls of Hellenic date fix the site of the ancient capital. It also contains the marble quarries of Palatia, a castle and a Byzantine monastery, St. Nicholas *ἐν τῇ Γεύρᾳ*.

(*b*) Pashaliman (Haloni), where Mr. Hasluck squeezed and copied the *boustrophedon* inscription discovered by M. Gédéon in 1894, and reported it to the Museum at Brusa for removal.

(*c*) Kalolimno (Besbicus), an almost unknown island, where the Byzantine Monastery of St. Theophanes retains the fine marble pavement of the original 9th century church. An expedition to Chios resulted in the discovery of some Latin inscriptions, fragments of armorial sculpture and bas-reliefs probably of the 15th century A.D.

Mr. Guy Dickins, B.A., of New College, Oxford, was in Athens from October 1906 till March 1907, working at his paper on Damophon of Messene (published in Vol. XII of the *Annual*) and writing reports of the excavations at Sparta. The Acropolis catalogue was also taken in hand, and good progress made. In March Mr. Dickins went to Sparta with the Director and was engaged in excavating the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, the Hellenistic tombs and other parts of the site. Early in June Mr. Dickins spent five days at Lycosura with MM. Kourouniotis and Kaloudis, to consider the project of restoring Damophon's group of statuary. On returning to Athens, Mr. Dickins resumed his work on the catalogue of the Museum on the Acropolis and on the results of the year's excavations in Sparta.

Mr. J. P. Droop, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, travelled in the south of Italy during November and December 1906 in search of Messapian inscriptions. He then investigated pre-historic Sicilian pottery in the Museums of Sicily. After some study of early bronzes and pottery at Athens Mr. Droop went in March to Sparta and worked at the excavations there till June. Afterwards he and Mr. Wace spent a fortnight in Thessaly excavating an ancient site on the Magnesian promontory.

Mr. Jerome Farrell, B.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, arrived in Athens in October 1906 and made some preliminary studies in the National Museum. He visited Aegina, Epidaurus, Tiryns and Mycenae, but his work was interrupted by illness and he was obliged to leave for Switzerland. During the summer months he attended the late Prof. Furtwängler's lectures at Munich.

Mr. Walter George arrived in Athens on October 11, 1906, visiting museums in Germany on the way. After working in the Acropolis Museum and travelling in the Argolid, Mr. George went to Egypt and worked at Cairo, Medinet-Habu, and

Abydos. After leaving Egypt he visited Salonika in April and a complete and full survey of the following churches was made :—S. Demetrios, S. Georgios, Eski Juma, and the Holy Apostles. Mr. George made some very careful and detailed drawings of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, and finished them for publication on his return to Athens, where he also worked on the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, finally leaving in July for Olympia and Sicily. The excellence of Mr. George's work has been of the greatest advantage to the School.

Miss Mary Hamilton, B.A., St. Andrews, who held a fellowship from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, came to Athens in November 1906. Her special subject of study was :—The festivals of the Greek Church and their connection with the ceremonies of the Ancient Greeks. Miss Hamilton spent the winter in Athens, reading in the Library and attending the various church festivals which took place in the city. In April she travelled in Rhodes, Thera and Sparta, and visited various monasteries in Laconia, and the Monastery on Mount Ithome in Messenia. Next year Miss Hamilton means to study the same subject in Magna Graecia.

Mr. T. E. Peet, B.A., of Queen's College, Oxford, arrived in Greece in January 1907, and spent three months in the study of pre-historic Aegean antiquities. In March he went to Sparta, where he watched the excavations and studied pottery and bronzes found in 1906. He visited Knossos and the Museum at Candia, and left for Italy in May. Mr. Peet's main object was to ascertain what relations existed between the Aegean and various parts of Italy during the pre-historic periods.

Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, B.A., of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (who held a grant from the University of Cambridge Craven Fund and another from his College), arrived in Athens in February. In the National Library he studied a 13th century manuscript of Greek Church music. On March 8 Mr. Tillyard spoke at an open meeting on Votive Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. He also read a paper at the American Students' Verein. At Sparta Mr. Tillyard took charge of the inscriptions found, and the eventual publication of most of them was entrusted to him. He visited the Monastery of Ἅγιοι Τεσσαράκοντα, where he copied the chief inscriptions and collated a MS., containing an Ἐγχειρίδιον of Byzantine music. After some further study in Athens Mr. Tillyard passed three weeks at Mt. Athos investigating MSS., visited eleven monasteries and collated the text of the hymns of Casia found in fifteen MSS. He also procured in Greece specimens of building-stones for an exhibit of the Geological Museum at Cambridge.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, travelled in Greece during November 1906, visiting Monemvasia, Epidaurus Limera, Asopus, Helos, the Hyperteleatic Sanctuary, Krokeae, Geronthrae and Sparta. At Bezani, the most probable site for Helos according to Boblaye, there are three sites where remains of pottery or inscriptions etc. have been found and where trial excavations might be made. This could not be done in the autumn of 1906 owing to the heavy rains. In the gorge known as Ἀπὸ Βόθονα near Molai, Mr. Wace examined two possible sites for the Hyperteleatic Sanctuary, one on the right and

one on the left bank of the torrent. At the higher site an inscribed statue base and a piece of inscription have been found. At Sparta, some time was occupied in work at the Museum and in writing reports on excavations. January and February were spent in Athens in the preparation of papers for the Annual and in studying the Hellenistic period. During March, April and May, Mr. Wace was working on the excavations at Sparta, tracing the line of the city wall, making trial pits (by means of which some Hellenistic tombs were discovered) and assisting in the clearing of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Mr. Wace made a short journey to Boeotia in March, and in June he and Mr. Droop excavated the site of the supposed Greek temple at Cape Sepias in Thessaly.

Mr. A. M. Woodward, B.A., late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, holding a grant from his College, arrived in Greece in October 1906. During the winter of 1906–7 he studied in Athens and visited the Peloponnese and Crete. From March to May 1907 Mr. Woodward assisted in the excavations at Sparta with the exception of a short time spent in topographical researches in the Southern district of Maina. These form part of the scheme for the exploration of Laconia and will be published in the forthcoming Annual. Mr. Woodward worked at the literature dealing with the antiquities of Maina and began to study the Spartan inscriptions of the Imperial Age from the point of view of Prosopography.

Excavations. *Thessaly near Bromyri.*—In 1905 Mr. Wace observed some remains of a Greek building close to the chapel of the Theotokos near the promontory usually identified as Cape Sepias (*J.H.S.* xvi. p. 148). Five drums of stuccoed poros lay on the ground, and three others stood in a row as if on a stylobate. A triglyph block was found there last summer by M. Arvanitopoulios. It was therefore conjectured that the foundations of a Greek temple would reveal themselves. Mr. Wace and Mr. Droop began the excavations with twelve men on June 10, 1907. The standing drums proved not to be in position and the stylobate could not be found. On the cliff to the S.E. are remains of a Greek settlement. Four archaic painted antefixes were found. The cliff is much corroded, and it is suggested that the temple to which the fragments belonged once stood on the cliff.

Four 'geometric' tombs came to light. All contained skeletons (one of them a child's). Other contents of the graves were fibulae, rings, iron pins with bronze heads and eighteen vases similar to a group from Thessaly now in the National Museum, Athens. The floor mosaic of a church of the 4th or 5th century and two Byzantine columns were found during the search for the temple.

Sparta, Plan of Work.—The chief task planned for this summer was the complete exploration of the precinct of Artemis Orthia, containing two strata, belonging to periods before and after 700 B.C. It was also intended to continue the tracing of the city wall, to attempt to locate the Agora and at the same time to go on sinking trial pits at various points.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace was present continuously. He conducted the work on the city wall, worked at the Hellenistic tombs and trial pits, and helped with classification in the museum.

Mr. G. Dickins was present nearly all the time. He conducted the operations at the precinct of Athene Chalkioikos on the Acropolis and at the small sanctuary north of the town. He also worked at the Hellenistic tombs and the trial pits.

Mr. J. P. Droop was also present nearly all the time and devoted himself mainly to drawing and museum work on the finds from the Orthia site.

Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard was present for five weeks and worked at the inscriptions found on the spot.

Mr. T. E. Peet was present for a short time and studied the finds.

Mr. A. M. Woodward helped to direct the sinking of the trial pits and then proceeded to Maina in continuation of the scheme for the exploration of Laconia.

Mr. W. S. George undertook the architectural study of the buildings at the Orthia Sanctuary, and is preparing a set of drawings, plans, sections and restorations.

The Director was present throughout, except for nearly three weeks in April. His special work was the excavation of the Orthia Sanctuary, which was suspended in his absence, Mr. Wace being left in charge.

Much of the success of the excavations is due to the energy and diligence of the students of the school.

Gregorios Antoniou again filled the post of foreman. Mr. Sejk was surveyor, Mr. Bagge draughtsman and Jannis Chassarakis of Palaikastro, mender.

The results of the excavations are here summed up according to locality, taking the new discovery last.

Sparta, Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.—The Roman theatre (the 'Circus' seen by Leake in 1830) has been completely excavated. The general plan, including entrances and steps leading to the seats, can be reconstructed from the remains, and Mr. George, whose architectural skill has been of the utmost value, is preparing drawings of the restoration. This theatre was built in the 3rd century A.D. to accommodate the spectators who came in great numbers to view the contests in honour of Artemis Orthia. The background was not formed by a proscenium of the usual kind, but by the steps and front of the actual temple of Artemis, that is to say, of the 6th century temple which was standing when the theatre was built. There was an older temple, which must have been ruined and covered up before the 6th century temple was constructed. The altar contemporary with this older temple has been laid bare, and it is hoped that next season the foundations of the building itself will come to light. They must lie, in part at least, under the Roman theatre. Some archaic remains were found in the surface of the soil, which is mounded as if over the ruins of a building.

The arena of the theatre and the interior of the 6th century temple have been cleared down to the solid earth, with the result that three strata can be distinguished. At the top is the Roman stratum in which stands the Roman altar. Below this lies a thin Hellenistic stratum containing remains and ashes, and in this stratum is a Hellenistic altar, immediately below the Roman one. The deepest stratum is a metre thick, and contains a large altar in very good preservation made of roughly-dressed stones. The altar stands near a fragment of cobble pavement.

and was surrounded by charred remains. It probably corresponds in date to the earliest temple conjectured to exist below the soil.

The rest of the lowest stratum consists of a mass of objects ranging in date from the 9th to the 6th century B.C. This archaic deposit has been dug with great care in separate sections mostly by the use of small knives. Each section has been separately removed, stored and recorded. The evidence thus obtained as to the evolution of Spartan arts and handicrafts is so complete and interesting that it fully justifies the amount of labour involved. Pottery was found here ranging from Geometric through Protocorinthian to a style closely allied to Corinthian. There were also found terracotta and lead figurines, small bronzes and, most important of all, carved ivory in the form of plaques and of figures in the round. One of the plaques represents in relief a ship with crew and rigging, and is dedicated to Orthia. These objects, the cobble pavement below them and the altar must be dated between the 7th and the 9th century B.C. The temple of the same period has yet to be found.

The temple which *has* been found should probably be assigned to the middle of the 6th century B.C., and to it may be assigned a fragment of a lion's head, brightly painted, and other scanty remains of archaic sculpture in poros stone. The temple seems to have been rebuilt in Hellenistic times, and to this reconstruction we assign the Hellenistic stamped tiles found at a higher level.

The general course of the wall of the city has been determined by means of the stamped tiles made for it, though few stones remain *in situ*. It included within its circuit all the villages of ancient Sparta.

A small temenos in the flat land north of the town was uncovered. It contained, in a very shallow deposit, about ten thousand small unpainted vases. It is probably a Heroön.

Sparta, Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos.—The Brazen House of Athena on the Acropolis of Sparta was a temple coated with bronze plates in which Gitiades had fashioned the deeds of the gods and heroes. Athena Chalkioikos took her name from this temple. The temenos where the Brazen House stood was surrounded by a colonnade and included other sanctuaries (Paus. III. 17). Within the temenos Pausanias of Sparta took refuge as a suppliant and was there starved to death.

This famous sanctuary was identified when the first trial pit was sunk on the Acropolis of Sparta, on April 4, 1907. The discovery of a roof-tile with the stamp Ἀθηνᾶς Χαλκιοίκου left no doubt, and two more have since come to light. Other finds are:

Eight bronze bells, two of them bearing votive inscriptions, a 6th century bronze herm clad in something like chain-mail, nine bronze statuettes, among them a very beautiful figure of a trumpeter of good 5th century work and in excellent preservation, one of the finest things ever found in Laconia. Also a Panathenaic amphora, an archaic inscription dealing with athletic victories and a fragment belonging to the Damonon inscription already in the Sparta Museum. A rich deposit of Geometric pottery has been struck, but only partly cleared, the bulk of it being left for next year.

The actual Brazen House is much destroyed, though fragments of the capitals shew that it was in the Doric style. A few bronze nails survive and some bronze plates, which when cleaned may prove to be decorated with incised designs. Inside the temenos two other small structures have been found. Probably both are sanctuaries. All three buildings have been cleared out, and at this point the excavations are left for another season.

Publications.—Vol. XII of the Annual is unusually full and varied. Mr. Xanthoudides has contributed an article on 'Cretan Kernoi,' Mr. G. Dickins gives the first of two articles on Damophon of Messene, Dr. Mackenzie has a paper on Cretan Palaces and Mr. Traquair supplies the results of his investigations of mediaeval fortresses. The valuable labours of the Editor and Sub-Editor are acknowledged below.

Open Meetings.—Four open meetings were held. The papers were as follows:—

Dec. 14, 1907.—The Director: The Year's work of the School.
" " " Mr. F. W. Hasluck: Two Seventeenth-century Englishmen in the Levant.
Feb. 1, 1907.—The Director: Late Minoan tombs at Palaikastro.
" " " Mr. A. J. B. Wace: The walls of Sparta.
Feb. 15, 1907.—Mr. G. Dickins: The date of Damophon.
" " " Mr. F. W. Hasluck: A Roman bridge on the Asepus.
March 8, 1907.—Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard: Votive Inscriptions from the shrine of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.
" " " Mr. A. J. B. Wace: Greek fortifications in the southern Sporades.

The Library.—

Accessions.—The Librarian is glad to record the acquisition of 153 books and 82 pamphlets, exclusive of periodicals. This is a marked increase on last year's figures. Acquisitions of special interest and importance are:—Chantre, Mission en Cappadocie, Ionian Antiquities, vol. ii,[1] Jowett's Plato, Sathas' Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας. The list is the more remarkable as expenses have been deliberately kept down with a view to purchasing one of the large series of photographs of sculpture.

Gifts to the Library have been unusually numerous: they include a donation of £5 from Mrs. P. P. Hasluck (spent on Sathas' Μνημεῖα and pamphlet-cases mentioned below) and various books from the following Societies and individuals:[2]—

[1] Presented by the Society of Dilettanti.—G. A. M.
[2] This list only includes books actually received in Athens up to date.

(*a*) Learned Societies, etc. :—

Archaeol. Survey of India, British Museum Trustees, Egypt Expl. Fund, French Ministry of Public Instruction, Soc. of Hellenic Studies, Roy. Society of Literature, Universities of Athens, Belgrade, Cambridge (Univ. Press), and Upsala. The generous grant of books made last year by the Oxford University Press has been safely received.

(*b*) Publishers :—

Messrs. Maclehose, Macmillan, Geo. Newnes and the Soc. for Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

(*c*) Authors :—

Dr. B. Apostolides, Prof. R. M. Burrows, Messrs. C. C. Edgar and J. W. Evans, Dr. A. Fontrier, Mr. P. Giannopoulos, Dr. E. Freshfield, Mr. J. Gennadios, Prof. C. Gourlay, Miss M. Hamilton, Messrs. T. Kandeloros, P. M. Karales and Th. Kleronomos, Miss G. Lowthian Bell, Dr. B. Niese, Dr. B. Philios, Dr. N. G. Politis, Sir William Ramsay, Dr. J. Rendel Harris, Sir Rennell Rodd, Dr. D. M. Robinson, Miss K. L. Sharp, Prof. Spyridis, Messrs. A. J. B. Wace and S. C. Zavitzianos.

(*d*) Other donors :—

Mr. A. E. Bernays, Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, Canon Church, the Director, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, the Librarian, Miss Pesel, Mr. M. N. Tod, Mr. F. Tuckett.

Exchanges :—Exchanges have been arranged with :—

'*Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*,' ed. R. P. Jalabert, Collège S. Joseph, Beyrout, Syrie.

'*Memnon*: *Zeitschrift für die Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*,' ed. Freih. v. Lichtenberg, Berlin, Südende, Lindenstr. 5.

Binding.—40 volumes have been bound, exclusive of periodicals.

Loans.—About 350 books have been borrowed from the library, largely by our own students: seven foreign students and eighteen persons unconnected with the Schools have also borrowed books.

Shelf Catalogue.—In the course of the present session, a shelf catalogue of books has been drawn up, which has already been found very useful for checking purposes.

Topographical Index.—A card catalogue of books bearing on Topography and Local History has been arranged in subject order for ready reference. This at present contains about 1400 cards representing the books, pamphlets and articles in collected works on these two subjects contained in the library: a beginning has also been made in the long task of ranging with these the titles of topographical articles in periodicals. It is intended eventually (1) to make double and treble entries of important works of travel which touch on more than one district, and (2) to add concise itineraries to the titles of books describing travel over large areas. If in the future the index is enlarged to cover the contents of the other school libraries, it might become sufficiently valuable as a work of reference to merit printing.

Pamphlets.—The pamphlets have been finally arranged in cases specially made, the cost being defrayed out of Mrs. Hasluck's donation. They are now classed

according to subject matter, like the rest of the library, are easily accessible, and present an orderly appearance.

School Grounds and Buildings.—The Lawn Tennis-court which was planned last season has now been made. It is to be used jointly by the British and American Schools, and is situated in the temenos, mostly on the American part. The Athens Lawn Tennis Club kindly sent their man to construct the court. It was only necessary to cut down one tree, and a little careful planting will make it a good feature of the garden.

Early in the session a laundry and a larder were added to the Director's house in accordance with Prof. Bosanquet's suggestion. The building consists of two rooms erected against the wall that separates the garden from the road. The addition was much wanted and is very useful.

Of the suggested scheme for improving the 'Old Library' part has been carried out and part has been left for a future occasion. A parquet oak floor has been laid, a new door supplied, the walls have been coloured. A new grate of larger size, which, it is hoped, will adequately warm the room, is being ordered, and the fireplace will be tiled.

The roof, which was not quite watertight, has been mended.

Acknowledgements.—The British School wishes to express its gratitude to the authorities of the Greek Government, especially to Dr. Kavvadias, the Ephor-General, and to Dr. Stais, Director of the National Museum, for facilities granted for excavation at Sparta and other places, and for permission to photograph, to Sir Francis Elliot, K.C.M.G., H.B.M. Minister at Athens, for his unvarying kindness and support, to Mr. Graves, Consul-General at Salonika, and Major Stephen, of the International Gendarmerie stationed at Cavalla, for facilities procured on behalf of the Secretary and of the School, and finally to all friends of the School in Greek lands.

Work for the Session 1907–8.—The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia should again be the chief scene of excavation. The earliest temple remains to be discovered. In order to do this it will be necessary to remove part of the Roman building, and no doubt many objects will be found under its foundations.

The sanctuary of Eileithyia was quite near the Orthia temenos, in which, this year, some tiles stamped with the name Eileithyia were found. The sanctuary will probably come to light when the earth round the Roman building is cleared. There is work for one or two seasons on this site.

The layer of Geometric pottery at the Chalkioikos site should be dug out, as it seems very promising.

For the purpose of locating the Agora, fixing other points of topography and making fresh discoveries, the work of sinking trial pits should be continued. The number of competent students at the School is a great advantage for this department of investigation, as expense is saved by good supervision.

Trial excavations should be begun with a view to ascertaining the site of Helos,

the early Achaian city, destroyed by the Dorians, at the head of the Gulf of Marathonisi to the East of the mouth of the Eurotas. The most probable district is that round the Kalyvia of Bezani, and here there is a choice of three spots, viz. two hills to the north of the village (of which one is cultivated) and a knoll called 'στὸ Μανολάκι half-an-hour west of the village. All these sites should be tried.

The Hyperteleatic Sanctuary lies in a gorge two hours from Molai and half-an-hour from Phoeniki, locally known as 'στὸ Βόθονα. The most likely spot to search is on the left bank of the torrent just above the βόθων, where an inscribed statue-base and traces of ancient walls have been found. Another site, less probable, is on the right bank a little further down the ravine, where there is more level space but very little depth of soil. It is hoped that the trial excavations at Helos and the Hyperteleatic Sanctuary, which were planned for 1906 and prevented by heavy rains, may be begun next season.

The Committee feel that in the record of the past session, and in the prospects of work and of students for the session of 1907–8, the supporters of the School have every ground for satisfaction. The discoveries made at Sparta have exceeded expectation both in interest and importance, and there seems to be every hope of results at least as important when the work is resumed. It is, however, to be noted that the expenditure during the last two years on these excavations has exceeded the receipts by some £40, so that there is nothing in hand for the prosecution of the work. It is essential therefore that the Laconian Excavation Fund should again receive liberal support.

Another item of expense which, in spite of all care on the part of the editors, tends to increase, is that of the publication of the *School Annual*. The number recently issued compares favourably in the variety and interest of its articles with any previous issue, and its fuller content has justified a higher price to the public. The *Annual* is now recognised both at home and abroad as a periodical of the highest rank in its class, and no one can doubt that it is of the greatest advantage to the School to have such an organ for the prompt publication of results and for keeping the work of the School prominently before the world. But it is important to remember that for this as for other objects it is absolutely necessary to keep up the ranks of present subscribers and to increase their number.

Before leaving the subject of the *Annual* the thanks of the Committee and of all friends of the School must again be offered to Mr. Cecil Smith for his great kindness in superintending the publication of the *Annual*, a task of quite exceptional difficulty when the contributors are so much scattered and material is often delayed, and also to Miss C. A. Hutton for her assistance in seeing it through the press.

Although the last number of the *Annual* contained no contribution from Dr. Arthur Evans, it will be of interest to our subscribers to know that during the spring of 1907 he made some further discoveries of an unexpectedly important character on the Palace site at Knossos. It is hoped that the Cretan Exploration Fund may be re-opened during the coming autumn, so that work may be resumed next spring.

Finance.—The revenue account for the year shows a credit balance of £522 17*s.* 2*d.* as compared with a debit balance of £112 4*s.* 5*d.* for the preceding year. The improvement has been brought about mainly by the more liberal response to this year's appeal for contributions to the Laconian Excavation Fund, and the deficit in respect of these excavations which was so prominent a feature in the preceding half-year's accounts has been nearly wiped out. The annual subscriptions amount to £938 6*s.* as compared with £911 1*s.* for the preceding year. The School has lost five subscribers by death and six subscriptions have been discontinued, but no less than 26 new subscribers appear in this year's list. The subscription list is the backbone of the School's finance, and the hope is again expressed that the total may be raised to £1,000 within the ensuing year.

A new fund has been established during the year (to be called the Frankish Fund) for the purpose of publishing a work to describe the castles, churches, and other existing remains of the Frankish period in Greece (1205 to 1566). This fund has £50 to its credit, the gift of one donor, who desires to remain anonymous, and it is proposed to issue shortly an appeal asking for further donations.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the Report, which was taken as read, referred to the loss sustained by the world of letters, and especially archaeology, in the death of Dr. Furtwängler, who, in his own domain, was unequalled—perhaps Mommsen came nearest to him—and whose loss was a heavy one to the world of archaeology, of which he had greatly raised the level. He thought the Report was a satisfactory record, and that during the last year the School had done excellent work and fully justified the grant which it received from the Government.

Mr. ARTHUR EVANS seconded the adoption of the Report, which was carried unanimously.

The DIRECTOR then gave an illustrated account of the work of the Session.

Dr. LEAF moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. H. AWDRY, and carried unanimously:—

"That Mr. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE Secretary of the School."

"That Prof. E. A. GARDNER, Mr. LORING, and Prof. WALDSTEIN be re-elected Members of the Managing Committee, and Mr. M. N. TOD be elected a Member of the Committee."

A vote of thanks to the Auditor was proposed by Mr. GEORGE MACMILLAN, and carried unanimously.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1906–1907.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE AND EXCAVATIONS,

2ND OCTOBER, 1906 TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1907.

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received or due during the year	938	6	0
Subscriptions received for 1905–1906	1	0	0
Government Grant	500	0	0
Interest on Investment to July 5th	60	0	0
Interest on Deposit to June 30th	13	10	8
Sale of Annuals (Vols. I–X to 30th June, 1906)	137	14	4
Special Donations for Excavations: Crete	2	0	0
Do. Do. Do. Laconia	995	14	0
Do. Do. Do. Thessaly	20	1	0
Return of Taxes	14	18	9
	£2,683	4	9

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1907				88	6	6
Hostel Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1907	163	17	3			
Less Students' Fees	88	7	9			
				75	9	6
Director's Stipend, 4 quarters to Michaelmas, 1907				500	0	0
Salary, Assistant Director				150	0	0
Secretary's Salary, to Midsummer 1907				31	15	1
Publication of Annual (Vol. XII)				461	19	8
Printing, Postage, and Stationery				52	12	8
Half cost of Lawn Tennis Court (Shared with American School)				22	2	0
Sundries				19	12	2
Studentship (Mr. Dickins)				100	0	0
Excavations: Crete	11	10	0			
Do. Laconia	616	19	0			
Do. Thessaly	30	1	0			
				658	10	0
Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure				522	17	2
				£2,683	4	9

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT,

2ND OCTOBER, 1906 TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1907.

	£	s.	d.
Donations, as per list	110	2	0
Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Receipts	2	9	5
	£112	11	5

	£	s.	d.
Library	83	16	1
Hostel Building and Furnishing Acct.	28	15	4
	£112	11	5

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE FUND.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance from last Account . .	3 16 8	Balance carried forward . . .	3 16 8

FRANKISH FUND.

Donation (anonymous) . . .	50 0 0	Balance carried forward . . .	50 0 0

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1907.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Byzantine Architecture Fund . .	3 16 8	Investment—India 3% Stock, at par	2,000 0 0
Frankish Fund	50 0 0	Cash at Bank	
Subscriptions paid in advance . .	2 2 0	on current acc. . . 233 16 2	
Balance, representing the funds of the School other than the property in land and building, furniture and library, as per last Account 2,057 9 9		on Deposit . . 400 0 0	
Add Balance of Expenditure and Receipts on Revenue and Excavations Account for the year as above . . 522 17 2			633 16 2
2,580 6 11			
Less Capital as above 2 9 5			
	2,577 17 6		
	£2,633 16 2		£2,633 16 2

Examined and found correct.

26th October, 1907. EDWIN WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.

DONATIONS—1906-1907.

	£	s.	d.
The Company of Goldsmiths	50	0	0
The Company of Clothworkers	25	0	0
Allen, H. W.	2	2	0
Bagehot, Mrs. W.	3	0	0
Carrington, J. B.	5	0	0
Daniel, Mrs.	10	0	0
Maberley, G. C.	5	0	0
Rackham, H.	10	0	0
	£110	2	0

SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR EXCAVATIONS.

For Crete—

Tuckett, F. F.	£2	0	0

For Laconia—

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, Hon. J.	50	0	0
Alford, Rev. B. H.	1	1	0
Anderson, J. R.	1	1	
Antiquaries, Society of	10	0	0
Architects, Royal Institute of British	20	0	0
Austen Leigh, E. C.	2	2	0
Austen Leigh, W.	1	1	0
Barry, Sir T. Wolfe	1	1	0
Bather, Rev. A. G.	10	0	0
Bell, Miss G. L.	2	0	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bentley, R.	5	0	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	10	0	0
Brasenose College	30	0	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Brown, J.	1	1	0
Butcher, S. H.	2	2	0
Bywater, Prof.	3	3	0
Carey, Miss E.	1	0	0
Caton, R.	5	5	0
Chawner, W.	2	2	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Cruikshank, A. H.	1	1	0
Dalrymple, T. D. G.	1	1	0
Daniel, Mr. and Mrs. A. M.	5	0	0
Darbishire, R. D.	10	0	0
Darwin, W. E.	8	0	0
Davidson, S.	2	2	0
Dawes, Miss M. C.	2	0	0
Dawkins, R. M.	50	0	0
Diels, Prof.	1	0	0
Dodd, Miss I. L.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£199	8	0

For Laconia (continued)—	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	199	8	0
Durham, University of	10	0	0
Edgar, C. C.	1	1	0
Elliot, Sir F.	10	0	0
E. P.	210	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Farrer, Sir W. J.	10	0	0
Farside, W.	3	0	0
Fegan, Miss E. S.	1	1	0
Fletcher, B.	1	1	0
Genner, E. E.	2	0	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Greene, H. W.	1	1	0
Greenwell, Canon	1	1	0
Gurney, Miss A.	1	0	0
Harrison, E.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	5	0	0
Heathcote, W. E.	1	1	0
Hellenic Society	100	0	0
Henderson, Sir A.	10	10	0
Hobhouse, H. H.	5	0	0
Hodgkin, T.	5	0	0
Huddart, Rev. G. A. W.	1	1	0
Jesus College, Cambridge	5	5	0
Jones, Gen. R. O.	1	1	0
Joseph, H. W. B.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr. J.	2	2	0
King, Miss C.	50	0	0
Lascelles, B. P.	5	0	0
Leaf, Dr. W.	50	0	0
Macmillan, G. A.	60	0	0
per G. A. M.		2	6
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Marshall, Prof. J. W.	1	1	0
Matheson, P. E.	1	1	0
Morrison, W.	100	0	0
Moss, Rev. H. W.	2	2	0
Mount, C. B.	1	1	0
Murray, Prof. G.	2	0	0
Mylne, Mrs. J.	5	0	0
New College, Oxford	20	0	0
Newman, W. L.	5	5	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	1	0
Phillips, Mrs. H.	10	0	0
Reckitt, F.	5	5	0
Reid, Mrs		10	6
Rendall, Rev. Dr.	2	2	0
Richards, H.	1	1	0
Roberts, J. Slingsby	2	2	0
Roberts, W. G.	5	0	0
Rbtton, Sir J. F.	5	0	0
Sachs, Mrs. G.	2	2	0
Scouloudi E.	10	0	0
Carried forward	£960	14	0

For Laconia (continued)—	£	*s.*	*d.*
Brought forward	960	14	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss E. J.	1	1	0
Smith, Rev. W. H. Payne	1	1	0
Stanton, C. H.	1	1	0
Stawell, Miss F.		10	0
Stogdon, J.	1	1	0
Struthers, J.	2	0	0
Thornley, Miss A. M. M.	1	1	0
Tod, M. N.	1	0	0
Tod, Mrs.	5	0	0
Vaughan, E. L.	1	0	0
Wagner, H.	10	0	0
Wells, J.	2	2	0
Westlake, Prof. J.	5	0	0
Whibley, L.	1	1	0
Wilamowitz, Prof. von	1	1	0
	£995	14	0

For Thessaly—	£	*s.*	*d.*
Bond, W. B.	1	1	0
Dawkins, R. M.	3	0	0
Droop, J. P.	4	0	0
Pembroke College, Cambridge	12	0	0
	£20	1	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1906-1907.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Oxford	100	0	0
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Caius College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
King's College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	10	0	0
McGill University, Montreal	5	5	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Agnew, Sir W.	2	2	0
Aitchison, G.	1	1	0
Allbutt, Prof.	1	1	0
Alma Tadema, Sir L.	2	2	0
Anderson, J. R.	1	1	0
Anson, Sir W. R.	10	0	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Austen Leigh, E. C.	1	1	0
Awdry, H.	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	5	0	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Miss	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bodington, Dr. N.	1	0	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Boyle, Miss F.	1	0	0
Brinton, H.	1	1	0
Bristol, Bishop of	1	1	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Burnham, Lord	5	0	0
Burrows, R. M.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Butcher, S. H.	2	2	0
Campbell, Prof. L.	1	1	0
Campbell, Rev. W. W.	1	1	0
Campion, Rev. C. T.	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Carr, H. Wildon	1	1	0
Caspari, M.	2	0	0
Caton, R.	1	1	0
Chawner, W.	2	2	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	2	2	0
Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Connal, W.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Corbett, Sir V.	1	0	0
Cowper, H. S.	1	1	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Cruddas, Miss	2	2	0
Curtis, Mrs. Omodei	1	0	0
Cust, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Dalrymple, J. G. D.	1	1	0
Davey, Rt. Hon. Lord	5	0	0
Davidson, H. O. D.	1	1	0
Dickins, Mrs. A. L.	1	1	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A.	1	1	0
Douglas-Pennant, Hon. A.	1	1	0
Dyer, Louis	1	0	0
Earl, A. G.	1	1	0
Egerton, Rt. Hon. Earl	10	10	0
Elliot, Rev. F. R.	1	1	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, A. J.	10	0	0
Evans, Sir J.	5	0	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forbes, W. H.	1	1	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Carried forward	£507	0	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1906-1907 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	507	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Goldsmith, Dr.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Goolden, R. E.	1	0	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Grenfell, B. P.	1	1	0
Griffiths, E. M.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Hardy, G. F.	2	2	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0
Hawes, Miss	1	1	0
Hay, C. A.	5	5	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Henderson, A. E.	1	0	0
Hill, G. F.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, J. E.	2	2	0
Hodgkin, Miss Violet	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Thomas	10	0	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hooper, G. N.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hunt, W. Holman	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	1	1	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
James, Rev. S. R.	2	0	0
Kelly, C. A.	1	1	0
Kenyon, F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
L. J. E.	1	0	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
La Touche, C. D.	1	0	0
Lawrence, A.	1	1	0
Leaf, Herbert	5	5	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Livesay, W.	1	0	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Loring, W.	1	1	0
Lucas, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Lunn, W. H.	1	1	0
Lynch, H. F.	2	2	0
Lyttelton, Canon Hon. and Rev. E.	1	1	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
MacLehose, James J.	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Marindin, G. E.	1	1	0
Marshall, Miss A. M. C.	1	1	0
Matthews, Mrs.	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	2	0	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Miller, W.	1	10	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Minturn, Miss E. T.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Mond, Ludwig	100	0	0
Morshead, E. D. A.	1	0	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. Shore	1	1	0
Oppé, A. P.	1	1	0
Palli, Miss F. L.	1	1	0
Paul, J. D.	1	1	0
Pearse, Rev. T. N. Hart-Smith	1	1	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	0	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Perry, W. C.	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Laura	1	0	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.	1	0	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, A. C.	1	0	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Pryor, M. R.	1	0	0
Rawlinson, W. G.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Richards, H. P.	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Sandys, Dr.	5	0	0
Scott-Moncrieff, Sir C.	1	1	0
Seaman, Owen	1	1	0
Searle, G. von U.	1	1	0
Seebohm, Hugh	1	1	0
Seymour, Prof. T. D.	1	1	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Smith, R. A. H. Bickford	1	1	0
Stewart, Mrs. H. F.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£863	9	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1906-1907 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	863	9	0
Stogdon, Rev. E.	1	1	0
Tancock, Rev. C. C. . .	1	1	0
Thompson, F. E.	1	1	0
Thornely, Miss A. M. M. .	1	1	0
Tod, J. N.	1	1	0
Tod, Mrs.	10	0	0
Tod, M. N.	1	0	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Tuckett, F. F.	1	0	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.	1	0	0
Verrall, Dr.	1	1	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Ward, John	1	0	0
Waldstein, Prof. C. . . .	1	1	0
Warren, T. H.	1	1	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Welsh, Miss	2	2	0
Wernher, Sir Julius . . .	25	0	0
Whibley, Leonard . . .	1	0	0
Wilson, R. D.	1	1	0
Woodward, A. M. . . .	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£938	6	0

	£	s.	d.
Received during the year	939	6	0
Paid in advance last year	2	2	0
	941	8	0
Less Paid in advance at date 2 2 0			
„ on account of 1905–6 as below 1 0 0			
	3	2	0
	£938	6	0

Received during the year Subscription for 1905-6, E. S. Forster . . £1 0 0

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

NOTE. Under No. V. of the Rules and Regulations, "the following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription."

In making out the following list, donations of less than £10 have been regarded as aggregate annual subscriptions of £1, and are spread over a corresponding number of years.

The Treasurer would be glad to be informed of any changes of address or errors in this list, which is made up to May 27th, 1908.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.
THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.
THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM.
THE McGILL UNIVERSITY, Montreal.
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES, 22, Albemarle Street, W.
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Burlington House, Piccadilly.
THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI (per E. H. Pember, Esq., K.C., 32, Great George Street, S.W.).
BRASENOSE COLLEGE, Oxford.
CAIUS COLLEGE, Cambridge.
CHRIST CHURCH, Oxford.
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, Oxford.
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J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
J. G. Frazer. M.A.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.[1]
William Loring. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Warden of the Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Secretary of the School 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

[1] This grant was afterwards returned to the University.

W. J. Woodhouse. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90 Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93.
G. C. Richards. M.A.	Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.
O. H. Parry. B.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.
J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.
R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
A. G. Bather. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.
E. E. Sikes. M.A.	Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.
J. G. Milne. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.
H. Stuart Jones. M.A.	Formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, and Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.
Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).	Girton College, Cambridge. Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.
F. Brayne Baker. M.A.	Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.
C. C. Inge. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Curate of Cranleigh, Guildford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.
E. F. Benson. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.
J. G. Piddington. M.A. (J. G. Smith)	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.
V. W. Yorke. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.
J. L. Myres. M.A.	Student and Tutor of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classical Archaeology in the University of Oxford. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94, and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.
R. J. G. Mayor. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Examiner in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.

R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95, Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895—96, and 1896—97.
J. M. Cheetham.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
T. Duncan.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna)	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
Charles R. R. Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Pieter Rodeck.	Architect to Arab Monuments Committee, Cairo. Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Assistant Director of Education and Acting Curator of Antiquities, Sudan Government. Formerly in the Education Department, Cairo. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College and University, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
A. E. Henderson. R.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
W. A. Curtis.	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897—98.

A. J. Spilsbury. M.A. — Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.

E. B. Hoare. — Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.

J. C. Lawson. M.A. — Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.

C. D. Edmonds. M.A. — Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Formerly at Aldenham School. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—99.

J. H. Marshall. M.A. — King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898—99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student 1900—01

Clement Gutch. M.A. — King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.

F. B. Welch. M.A. — Magdalen College, Oxford. Second Master at Pocklington School. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.

T. D. Atkinson. — Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.

J. K. Fotheringham. M.A. — Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Lecturer in Classical Literature at King's College, London. Examiner in the University of London; Brassey Research Student. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.

J. H. Hopkinson. M.A. — University College, Oxford. Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Formerly Lecturer in Greek, University of Birmingham. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—01.

S. C. Kaines-Smith. — Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.

Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith). — Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.

D. Theodore Fyfe. — Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.

K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S. — Brasenose College, Oxford. Ministry of Public Instruction, Egypt. Formerly Lecturer in Classics at Isleworth, Officer of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1904—05. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—01.

R. D. Wells. B.A., F.R.I.B.A. — Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—01.

J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. M.A. — Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British Schools in Athens and Rome. Admitted 1900—01.

Marcus N. Tod. M.A. — Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901–02.

F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School from 1906. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1902—03, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07.
C. Heaton Comyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1903-04.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—02.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—02.
A. P. Oppé. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Formerly Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrew's University. Admitted 1901—02.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—03.
C. T. Currelly. B.A.	Victoria College, Toronto. Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1903-04. Re-admitted 1904—05. Appointed Director 1906.
E. S. Forster. M.A.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classics in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—03. Readmitted 1903-04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, 1905. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07.
E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902—03.
J. F. Fulton.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—03.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—03.
M. O. B. Caspari. B.A.	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. University Scholar in German. Lecturer in Greek at the Birmingham University. Admitted 1903-04.
J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903-04.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Scholarship. Admitted 1903-04.
G. Dickins. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904—05. Re-admitted as School Student 1905—06, 1906—07.
C. C. T. Doll. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Wisconsin, U.S.A. Admitted 1904—05.
W. A. Kirkwood. M.A.	University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—05.

H. J. W. Tillyard. B.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906—07.
Miss G. M. A. Richter.	Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904—05.
J. P. Droop. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1905—06, 1906—07.
Miss M. Hamilton. B.A.	University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Scholarship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—06, 1906—07.
A. C. B. Brown. B.A.	Scholar of New College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905—06.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905—06.
R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A.	Admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Lecturer on Architecture to the Edinburgh College of Art.
Miss E. B. Abrahams.	University College, London. Admitted 1905—06.
J. Farrell. B.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906—07.
Walter George.	Admitted 1906—07.
T. E. Peet. B.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1906–7.
A. M. Woodward. B.A.	Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1906—7.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	„	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	„	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	„	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	„	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	„	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	„	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	„	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	„	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	„	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	„	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq	„	1906.

SUGGESTED PLAN OF STUDY.

Under an ideal system a student would spend two or three seasons in Greece, devoting *the first year to general studies, the second to some special subject.*

During the first year the student, while not losing sight of his special subject, might apportion his time thus:—

August and September.—Learn German in Berlin, Munich or Dresden, and thus be able to profit by the three or four courses of lectures given by the Secretaries of the German and Austrian Institutes in Athens. For archaeological literature some knowledge of German is practically essential.

October.—Arrive in Greece. Acquire if possible some use of Modern Greek. See Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus, the Argive Heraion, before the November rains.

November (middle).—Remain three or four months in Athens steadily working at sites and in Museums, attending courses of lectures and making frequent short excursions to points of interest by train, cycle, etc.

March and April.—Travel, study sites, join one of the Island cruises for students.

May and June.—Begin to concentrate on special work, *e.g.* assist in excavations, with a view to working upon the results during the coming year and excavating with more or less complete control in the second summer,

or explore a given district in Greece or Asia Minor, an island or a group of islands,

or work in museums in Italy, Austria, or Germany,

or attend lectures in Pompeii and spend some months in Rome and the cooler Etruscan cities. In this case the student is advised to attach himself to the British School at Rome (Palazzo Odescalchi), in order that he may be admitted to the Library, and have the right to attend the lectures (see rules of the School).

The second year should be devoted almost entirely to special work in a narrower field.

The course here suggested must be modified to suit each case. There will always be students who are already specialists in some branch of classical learning and only seek fresh material for research. There will be others who wish to see something of all sides of ancient life in order to illuminate their reading and fit themselves for general classical teaching, although they have not time for minute archaeological study.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.

(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.

(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1908.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1907—1908.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.
WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D.
GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, ESQ., D.Litt., *Chairman.* } *Trustees.*

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. Appointed by the *University of Oxford.*

J. E. SANDYS, ESQ., Litt.D. Appointed by the *University of Cambridge.*

SIDNEY COLVIN, ESQ., D.Litt. Appointed by the *Hellenic Society.*

REGINALD BLOMFIELD, ESQ., A.R.A., F.S.A.
PROFESSOR R. C. BOSANQUET, M.A.
ARTHUR J. EVANS, ESQ., D.Litt., LL.D.
PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, M.A.
MISS JANE E. HARRISON, D.Litt., LL.D.
D. G. HOGARTH, ESQ., M.A.
W. LORING, ESQ., M.A.
R. J. G. MAYOR, ESQ., M.A.
PROFESSOR J. LYNTON MYRES, M.A.
PROFESSOR J. S. REID, Litt.D.
CECIL HARCOURT SMITH, ESQ., LL.D.
M. N. TOD, ESQ., M.A.
PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D. } *Appointed by the Subscribers.*

V. W. YORKE, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.

JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, ESQ., M.A., *Secretary*, 22, Albemarle Street, W.

DIRECTOR, 1906—1907.

R. M. DAWKINS, ESQ., M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Assistant Director:—F. W. HASLUCK, ESQ., M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

British School at Athens.

THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of treasures of Antiquity found in Greek soil during the last few decades of years has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars. The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens. First, the command of an adequate library; and second, the advice of trained archaeologists residing on the spot, who follow the rapid advance of the science, due to new discovery and the rearrangement of old materials. These advantages are now provided for French, German, Austrian, American, and British archaeologists. By means of these Schools many excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, in Melos, in Crete, and, finally, in Sparta, by the British School during the past twenty-one Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School be adequately supported. The *Annual of the British School at Athens*, an archaeological periodical of recognisedly high standing, affords an opportunity for the publication of the Students' more important results.

Students are admitted free of charge. They are required to pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands,[1] and at the end of the Session to write a report of the work they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Secretary, JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, Esq., 22, Albemarle Street, W., who will also give full information.

Donations or annual subscriptions to the School are much needed, and will be gladly received. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, V. W. YORKE, Esq., M.A., The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.

[1] In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

June, 1908.

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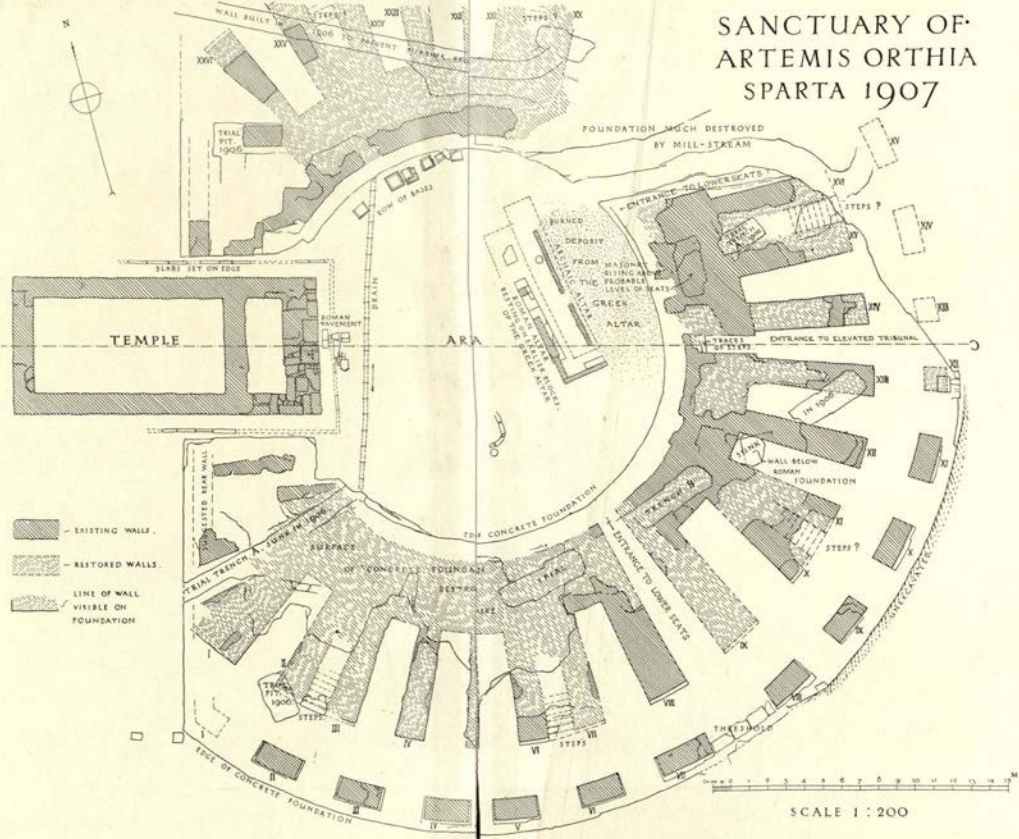

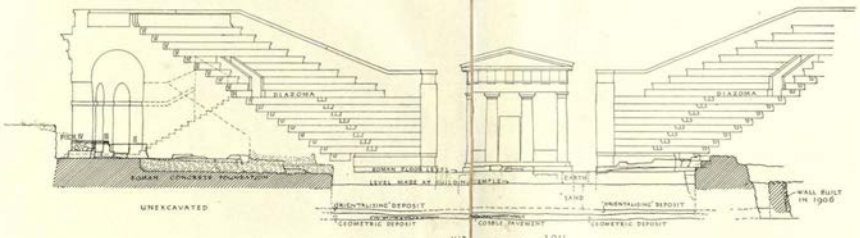

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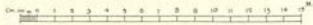

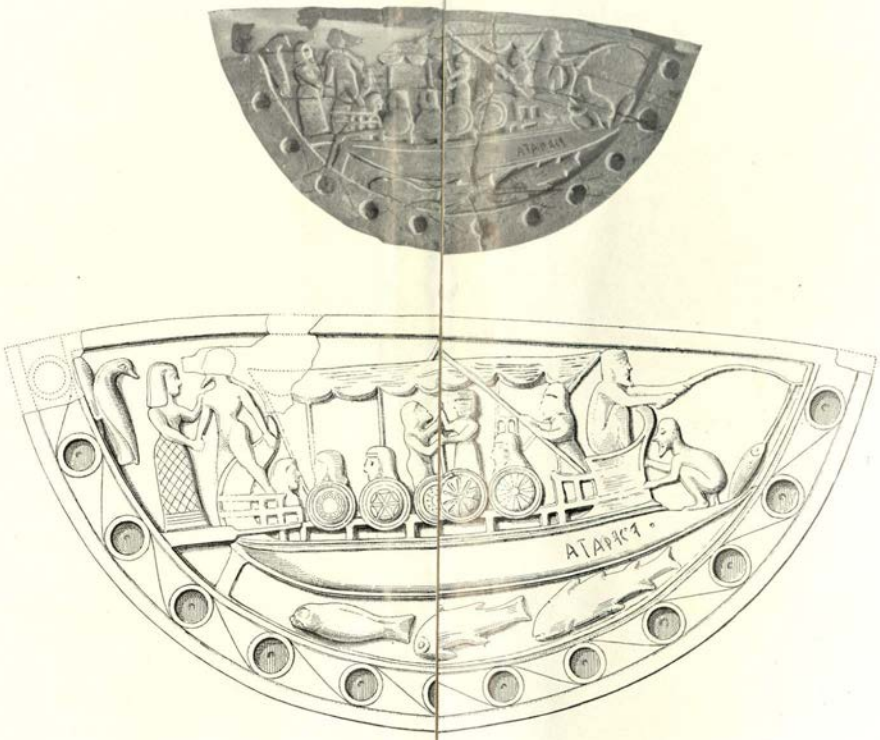

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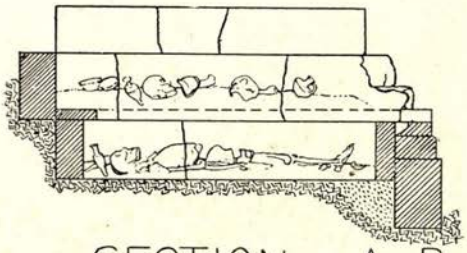

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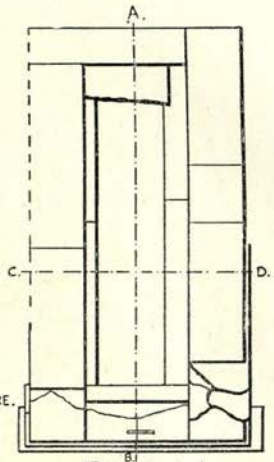

PLAN

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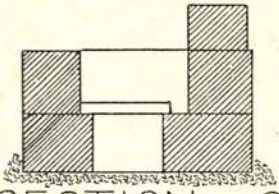

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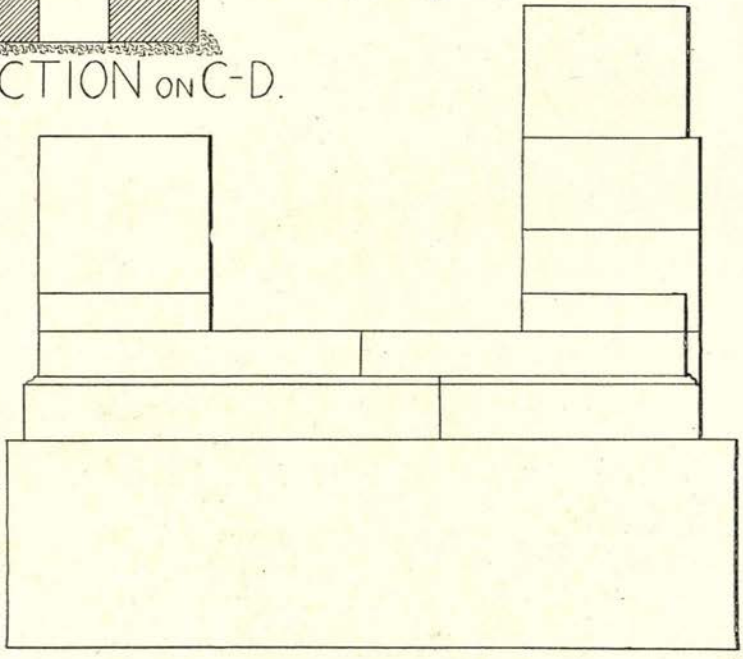

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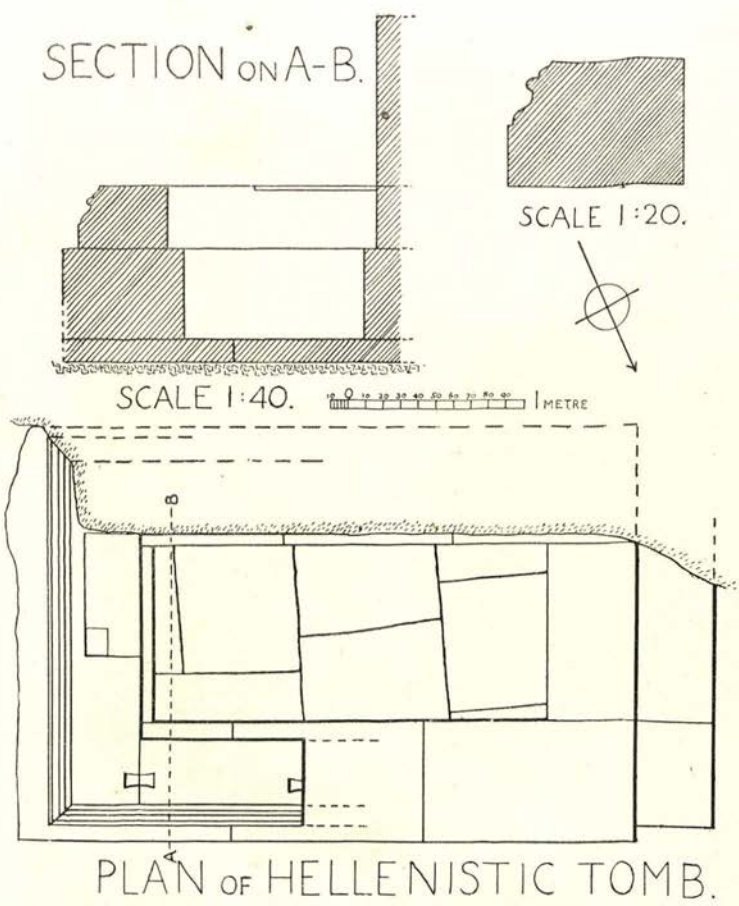

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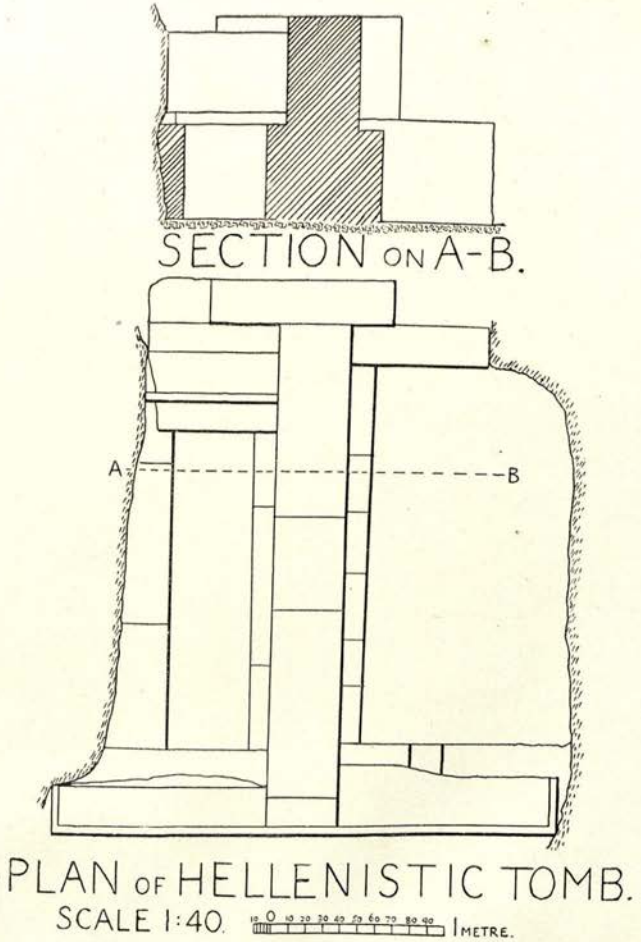


SPARTA: TOMB C.

PATRAS, FROM THE TOWN.

KARYTAENA, FROM THE SOUTH.

A BYZANTINE SCULPTURED STONE FROM THE KEEP WALL OF PATRAS.

THE ENTRANCE, CORINTH.

COAT OF ARMS FROM THE PANAGIA, KARYTAENA.

MEDIAEVAL FORTRESSES IN THE N.W. PELOPONNESUS.

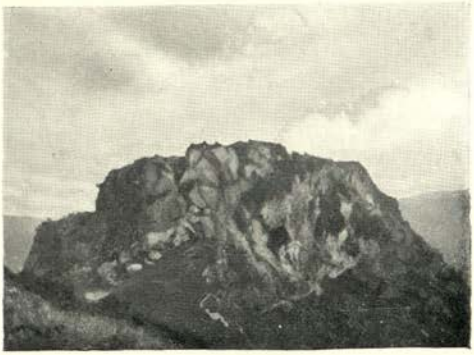
KALAMATA, FROM THE NORTH.

KATAKOLO, FROM THE NORTH.

CASTEL TORNESE, FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

CASTEL TORNESE, THE BATTLEMENTS OF THE COURT.

CASTEL TORNESE, THE GREAT HALL.



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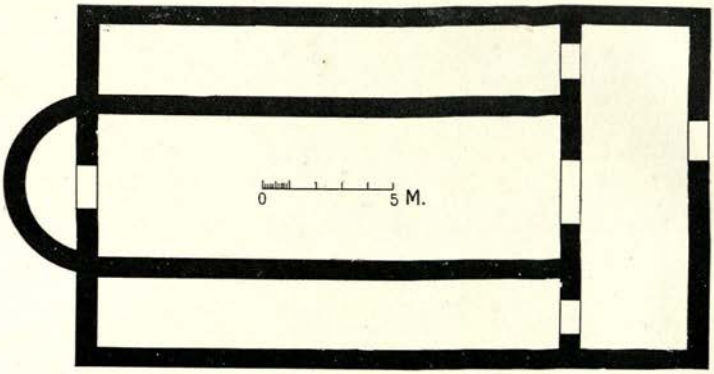

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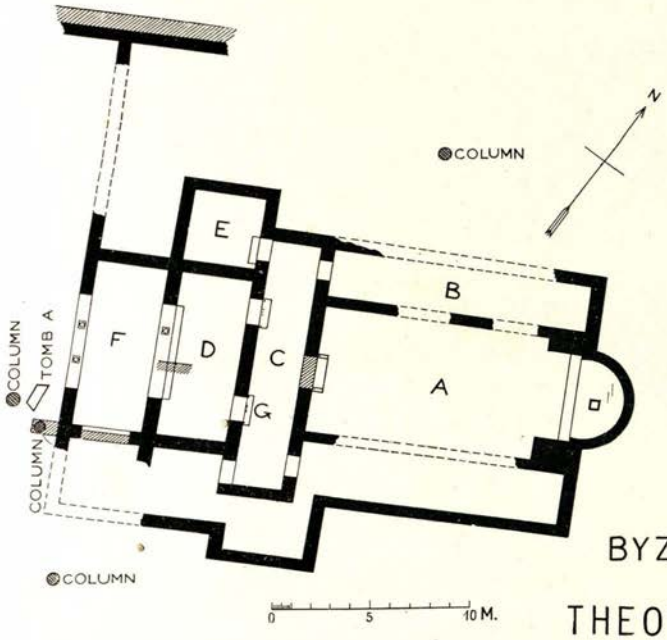
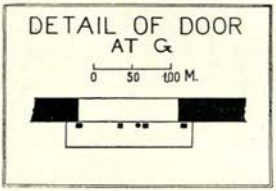
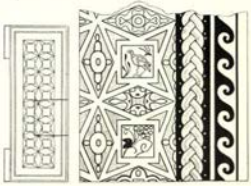




BYZANTINE CHURCH AT THEOTOKOU, THESSALY.



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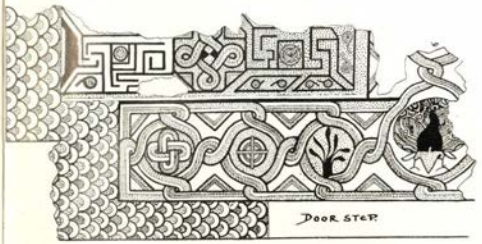

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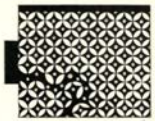

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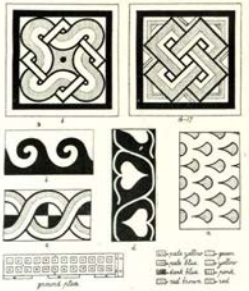
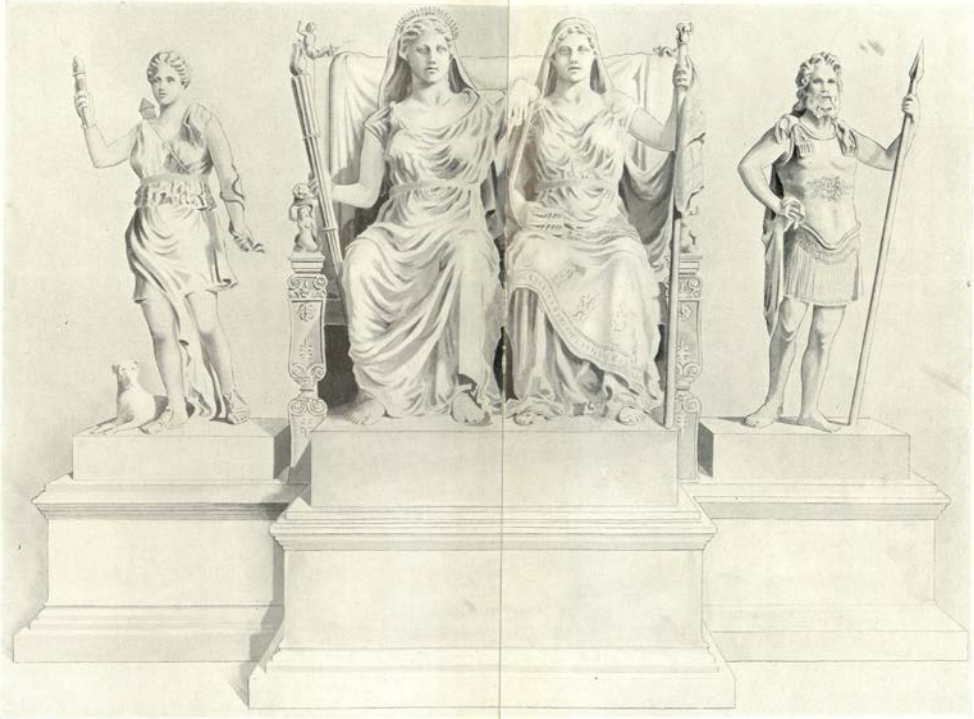


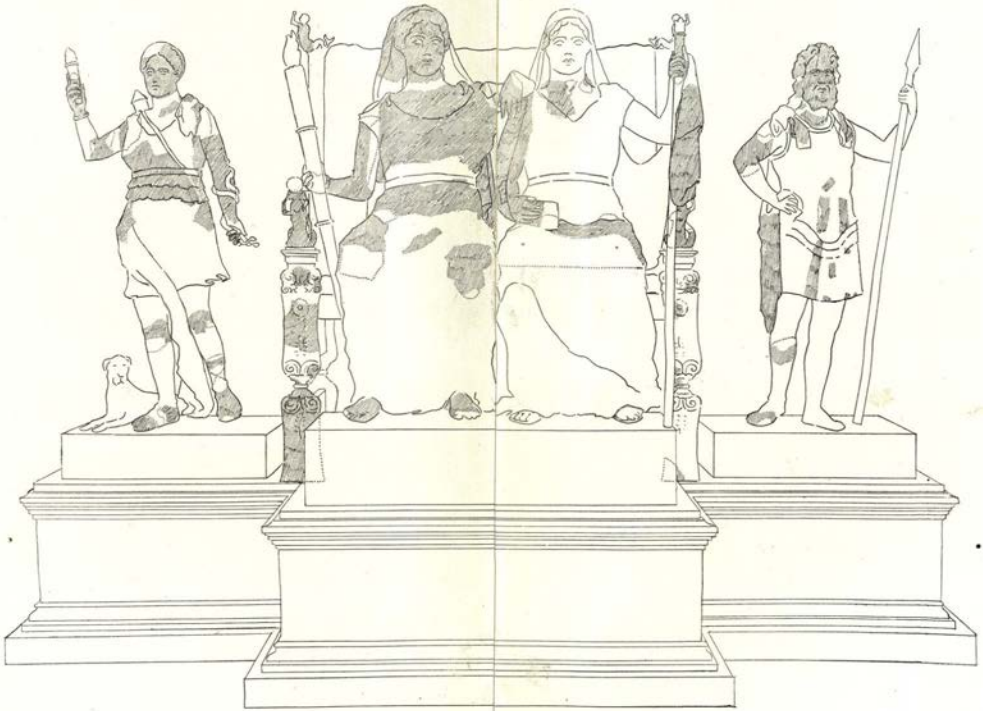
C

E

Excavations in Thessaly: Mosaic Pavements at Theotokocale A, 1:30; C, F, 1:20; D, 1:40; B, 1:80; Ground Plans: D, F, I | C, I, 1:400.)



DAMOPHON OF MESSENE: RESTORATION OF THE LYCOSURA GROUP.



DAMOPHON OF MESSENE: THE EXISTING FRAGMTS OF THE LYCOSURA GROUP AS RESTORED.

(N.B.—The fragments of the back of the throne have been used to avoid confusion with the seated figures. *Cf.* Fig. 6.)

DAMOPHON OF MESSENE: PART OF THE EMBROIDERED VEIL OF DESPOINA.

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